THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

ALOIS MUSIL

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

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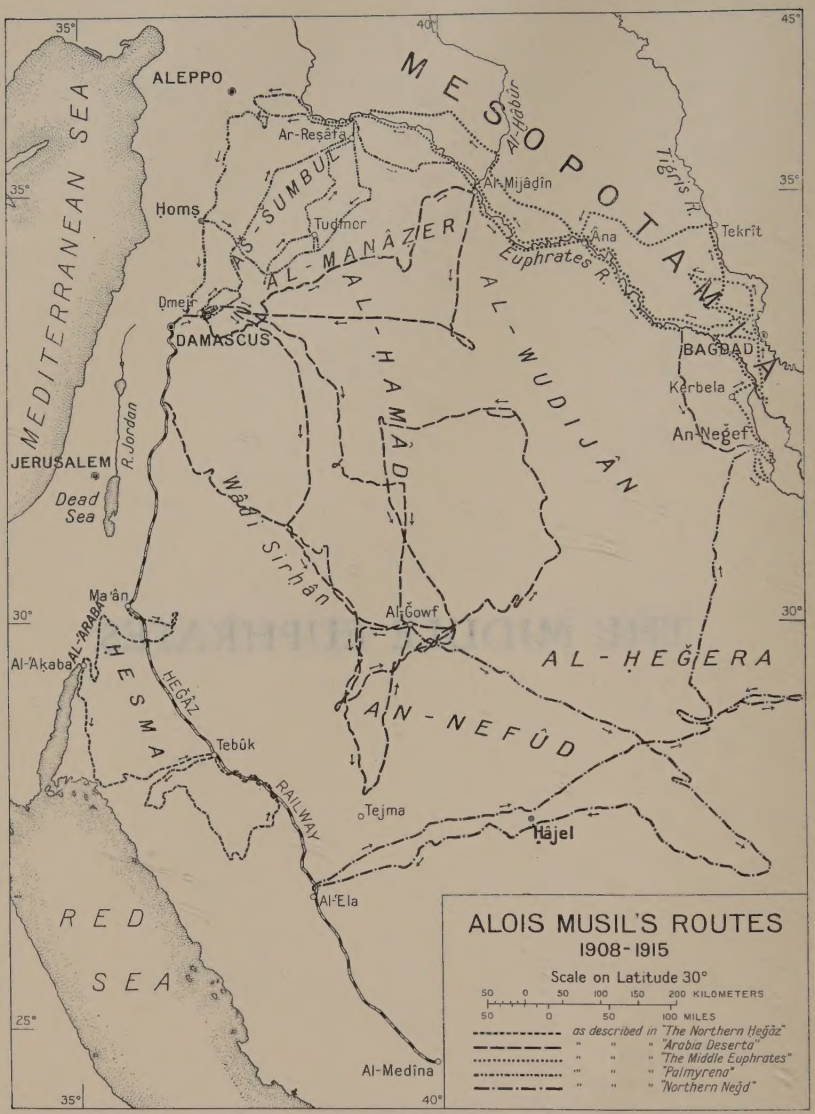

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THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

A Topographical Itinerary

BY

ALOIS MUSIL
Professor of Oriental Studies
Charles University, Prague

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Map of Northern Arabia (1:1,000,000, in four sheets) ... *in map case*

PREFACE

My explorations of the valleys of Arabia Deserta in 1908 and 1912[1] brought me to the right bank of the middle Euphrates, which I followed in the course of my expedition of 1912. Urged on by what the ancient and Arabic authorities had written of mysterious rivers Saocoras and aṯ-Ṯarṯâr, I penetrated also the interior of southern Mesopotamia in 1912 and 1915. In the latter year, on my return from an extended journey in central Arabia (which will be narrated in *Northern Neǧd*, a forthcoming volume of the present series) I not only made an investigation of the canal systems adjoining the former estuary of the Euphrates but on my way back to Syria traced the left bank of the Euphrates northward from al-Waššâš to ad-Dejr, following a route prompted by the study of historical records which demonstrate that in early times the left bank was even more important than the right as a commercial and military highway. These explorations both along the banks of the great river and in its vicinity form the subject of the present work.

A discussion of the method by which I constructed my map of Northern Arabia, which illustrates a part of the text of this volume, will be found in the preface of my *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), pp. xiii—xvi. The data for my map of Southern Mesopotamia, which accompanies this volume, were assembled in much the same manner. The map of Northern Arabia was printed by the Cartographical (former Military Geographical) Institute, Vienna, that of Southern Mesopotamia by the Military Geographical Institute (Vojenský zeměpisný ústav), Prague.

The primary motive of my explorations was historical, not cartographical; I therefore tried to collect as many topographical names as possible as a basis for historical researches, and in so doing I paid especial attention to the spelling. In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my two works *The Northern Ḥeǧâz* (New York, 1926) and

[1] See my *Arabia Deserta* (constituting No. 2 of the present series), New York, 1927, pp. 44—73, 212—273, 357—373.

Arabia Deserta, attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols will be found by experts below the title of the accompanying map of Southern Mesopotamia. For the general reader I would point out that *ǧ* is to be read like *g* in gem, *š* like *sh*, *ž* like *z* in azure, *č* like *ch* in chief, *j* like *y* in yoke, and that *ʿ* is a strong guttural sound. The remaining symbols need not trouble him.

Throughout this work most of the Biblical and Assyrian names have been transliterated consistently with the scheme of transliteration employed for Arabic names. The Biblical forms, therefore, are often somewhat different from those found in the King James version, but the latter may readily be ascertained by reference to the Bible itself. Greek names are in general spelled in their Latin form rather than directly transliterated from the Greek.[2]

References to the Bible are to Rudolf Kittel's second edition of the Hebrew text, Leipzig, 1913. The reader will observe that occasionally these references are at variance with the text of the King James version. These variations are due to the fact that my interpretations of the meaning of the original Hebrew sometimes diverge from that of the translators of the King James version.

Bibliographical references in the footnotes are given in abbreviated form. The full references, with the dates of Arabic and ancient authors, will be found in the Bibliography, pp. 371—383.

The meaning of the majority of Arabic terms used in the text will be evident from the context. Two terms, however, are frequently employed without explanation:

šeʿîb (plural, *šeʿibân*): relatively small watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream;

wâdi (plural, *wudijân*): relatively large watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream.

Arabic botanical terms appearing in the text are listed in the index with brief characterizations and Latin equivalents as far as these have been determined.

A sketch map showing the author's route and indicating the pages in this volume on which the different portions of his itinerary are discussed accompanies the volume.

[2] Exceptions to these general rules governing transliteration are made for those proper names that have acquired conventional English forms, the latter being used to avoid the appearance of pedantry.

Grateful acknowledgement is due to the directors and staffs of the National Library, Vienna, the Library of Charles University, Prague, the Library of Columbia University, New York, the New York Public Library, and the Library of the American Geographical Society, New York, for according me every facility for making use of their treasures; to Sidney Smith, Esq., of the British Museum, London, for suggestions in regard to the Appendixes; to Dr. J. K. Wright, the editor, for substantial aid, particularly in rearranging and revising the Appendixes; to Miss Anna Blechová, Secretary of the Oriental Seminar at Charles University, Prague, for careful work in reading proofs and preparing the index; and to Mr. Karel Dyrynk, technical manager of the State Printing Establishment (Státní tiskárna) at Prague, for his skilled supervision of the printing of this volume.

PART I

1912

CHAPTER I

DEJR AZ-ZÔR TO AL-FḤEJMI

In March and early April, 1912, in company with Prince Sixtus of Bourbon, whom we called our Emir, I made a journey through Palmyrena.[1] Rudolf Thomasberger, an official of the Military Geographical Institute in Vienna, accompanied our party as the scientific assistant whose duty it was to take care of our scientific instruments and to sketch our itinerary. The nine she-camels which carried us and all our baggage were in charge of Nâṣer eben ʿObejd al-Maṛlûḳ and Muḥammad eben Saʿadaddîn al-Ḥamûṭe, who also cooked and washed for us.

From Palmyrena we crossed over the ridge of al-Bišri, arriving on April 8, 1912, at the town of Dejr az-Zôr.[2]

DEJR AZ-ZÔR TO AS-SAḤEL

Dejr az-Zôr (Fig. 1), otherwise known as Dejr aš-Šaʿar or briefly as ad-Dejr, lies on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite a green islet, across which a permanent bridge leads to the left bank. Six white minarets rise above a group of white domes and flat brown roofs. To the east of the houses is a green mass of gardens and sown fields, while on the west are desolate bare spaces. To the north can be seen a large barrack, beyond it the Circassian settlement, and still farther north the gardens of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, the property of Ṣâleḥ Pasha. The houses in the northeastern part of the town are higher than the rest. The principal quarters of the town, called *maḥall*, are: as-Šejḫ Jâsîn, Abu ʿAbed, ar-Rušdijje, Ğâmeʿ al-Kebîr, al-Wasṭ, and ʿAbdalʿazîz. The government building (*as-serâja*) is situated on the Euphrates between Maḥall ʿAbdalʿazîz and Maḥall aš-Šejḫ Jâsîn. Ğâmeʿ al-Kebîr, or al-Ḥamîdi, was built in 1900; Ğâmeʿ al-ʿOmari is old and occupies the center of the town. Besides numerous public schools there

[1] This part of the journey is dealt with in *Palmyrena*, a forthcoming volume of the present series.

[2] A key to the place names mentioned in this volume and which appear on the maps of Northern Arabia and Southern Mesopotamia published in this series is included in the index. See also the index map.

was one *rušdijje* (polytechnic school) and one *ʿadadijje* (high school). Among the chief families I may mention the Bejt Ftejjeḥ, the Bejt ʿAbdalʿazîz, and the Bejt Ḫaṭṭâr.

The inhabitants make their living chiefly by trade. They buy wool, make carpets and blankets for the semi-*fellâḥîn* and even for the Bedouins, and also buy goat's and sheep's butter, which they export principally to Damascus. From the latter town and from Aleppo they import European wares, especially cotton and linen fabrics, and from Bagdad *tumbâk* (tobacco for the water pipe) and fine cloaks for the natives. In Bîreğîk they buy small rafts and load them with wheat and barley. Sailing by day and resting by night, they are said to reach al-Fellûğe in from eight to ten days. There they load the grain into wagons or on donkeys, sell the rafts at about two hundred piasters ($ 9.00) each, and return home. Sometimes they buy cheap butter and other articles in Irak, load them in sailing boats, and then travel from settlement to settlement offering their goods for sale. It takes about two months for such a boat to make the voyage upstream from al-Fellûğe to Dejr az-Zôr.

Besides four thousand Moslems there have long been Christians also living in Dejr az-Zôr, mainly Armenians and Syrians. These immigrants have increased to such an extent that in 1912 there were about eight hundred Syrian and six hundred Armenian Catholics; also two hundred Jews. The Armenians and Syrians had two chapels.

Subordinate to the command in Dejr az-Zôr there were gendarmerie barracks west of the Euphrates on the highway from Damascus to Bagdad, at al-Bêẓa, Tudmor, Arak, as-Suḫne, ad-Dîdi, al-Ḳebâžeb, and al-Ḳṣejbe; also on the highway from Aleppo to Bagdad, at al-Kassâra (or al-Kasra), al-Maʿdân, at-Tibni, aš-Šmêṭijje, Bu Ḥasan (or aṣ-Ṣôr), al-Mijâḏîn, aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, Abu Kemâl (or Abu Čemâl), and al-Ḳâjem. A gendarme received 160 to 180 piasters ($ 7.20 to $ 8.10) a month as salary and 120 to 150 piasters ($ 5.70 to $ 6.75) for horse keep. The garrison of Dejr az-Zôr consisted of four hundred *baṛṛâle* (men mounted on mules), and the patrol duty fell to 120 gendarmes. The fact that the mail was no longer sent from Damascus to Bagdad by the Darb as-Sâʿi, but from Aleppo along the right bank of the Euphrates to Hît and Bagdad, was of great advantage to the inhabitants of ad-Dejr, as the distance from Aleppo to Bagdad was covered in

eight days. For every hour of delay the fine was one Turkish pound ($4.50). The contract for carrying the mail was in the hands of al-Ḥaǧǧi Šejḫo of Dejr az-Zôr, who received 105 Turkish pounds ($475.50) a month for his services. He kept horses at all the stations. The messenger would transfer the letter bags to fresh horses and immediately leave again, riding at a trot all the time. Money or parcels he did not accept.

The carriages or coaches from Bagdad used to stop for the night at the following stations: al-Fellûǧe, ar-Rumâdi, Hît, al-Barḍâdi, al-Ḥadîṯa, ʿÂna, an-Nehijje, al-Ḳâjem, aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, al-Mijâḍîn, Dejr az-Zôr, at-Tibni, as-Sabḫa, al-Ḥammâm, al-Meskene, Nahr Ḏahab, and Aleppo.

We cannot state positively the ancient name of Dejr az-Zôr.[3]

We called on the *mutaṣarref* (governor of the sanjak) immediately after our arrival, but as he was asleep we handed our letters of recommendation to the commander of the gen-

[3] Following Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 662, and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 430, we might identify it with Dejr Rummân, as this was a large town with market places for the Bedouins between ar-Raḳḳa and al-Ḫâbûr, where the caravans from Irak to Syria used to stop for rest. —

Ar-Raḳḳa and al-Ḫâbûr (Ḳerḳîsija') lie, it is true, on the left bank of the Euphrates, while ad-Dejr is on the right, but Jâḳût rarely locates any place very precisely, and between the two towns mentioned on the left bank there is no trace of a great town called ad-Dejr. The caravans rested at Dejr Rummân because there the easiest road via Tudmor to Damascus branches off from the road along the right bank of the Euphrates to Syria.

Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golfe* (1899), Vol. 1, p. 330, writes that the first mention of ad-Dêr is found in Abu-l-Feda''s chronicle for the year 1331 A.D. and tells of the demolition of the dam at Dêr Basîr. — This passage, mentioned but not quoted by Oppenheim, occurs in the Cairo edition, 1905, Vol. 4, p. 106.

Ibn Kaṯîr, *Bidâja* (Codex vindobonensis, No. 813 [N. F. 187]), Vol. 7, fol. 20 r., relates that in 1331 the Euphrates was in great flood, the inundation lasting twelve days, and that much property was destroyed in the neighborhood of ar-Raḥba. The raging stream demolished the pontoon bridge at Dejr Basîr, in consequence of which the price of grain there went up very high. The inhabitants repaired the bridge, but the water tore it down a second time. —

The context indicates that the bridge in question was near ar-Raḥba (the present al-Mijâḍîn), forty-five kilometers southeast of ad-Dejr. Grain was brought there probably from Mesopotamia down al-Ḫâbûr, as well as from the fertile region around the ancient Dawrîn canal. According to this interpretation, Dejr Basîr should be located near al-Mijâḍîn and not at Dejr az-Zôr, where it is placed by Oppenheim and Moritz (*Palmyrene* [1889], p. 35). Ibn Kaṯîr refers only to a destroyed pontoon bridge. It is also possible that the name of the modern settlement of al-Bsejra is derived from Basîr.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 444, mentions the towns of Raḥba and Dejr as being in the political district of ar-Raḳḳa. He asserts that the fort of ad-Dejr is supposed to stand on a height in the administrative district of ar-Raḥba.

Evlija' Čelebi, *Ta'rîḫ* (Von Hammer's transl.), Vol. 1, p. 95, refers to the sanjak of Dejr Raḥba.

In 1807 Saʿûd eben ʿAbdalʿazîz and his Wahhâbites plundered ʿÂna and Dejr az-Zôr (Rousseau, *Pachalik de Bagdad* [1809], pp. 179 f.).

In 1809 Rousseau (*ibid.*, p. 79) described Dejr as a miserable village of a few huts of Arabs nominally subject to the pasha of Bagdad.

In 1857 this settlement was occupied by ʿOmar Pasha of Aleppo. His successor, Ḫalîl Bey, established some sort of order there as well as in the whole neighborhood, with the result that after only five years a *mutaṣarrefijje* (Arabic for Turkish sanjak) was organized. The first *mutaṣarref* was Ḥosni Pasha. His successor, Arslân Pasha, warred constantly with the Ǧebûr, ʿAḳejdât, Šammar, and ʿAneze tribes, thus extending his power; but after a year and a half he was recalled and superseded by the peaceable ʿOmar Pasha, who built in his political district schools, military barracks, hospitals, and a bridge across to the left bank of the Euphrates; the eastern part of this bridge was carried away by floods soon after (1886). In 1890, under Ḥâfeẓ Pasha, telegraphic connection was established and the road from Aleppo to Bagdad made safe.

darmes and at 2.20 P. M. left again, since there was absolutely no pasture for our camels around the town. The sparse grass had been eaten off by mules, and only the fields were green. On the right bank south of the town extended the gardens of al-Ǧofra; on the left, those of al-Ḥsênijje and al-Haṭla. On our right we had the group of hillocks aṭ-Ṯarde. At 3.45 we passed three small ruins, al-Ḫaẓar. At 4.35 we lay down to rest near the as-Saḥel ruins by the Euphrates, pitying the peasants from al-Mrâʿijje because of the labor necessary for the irrigation of their lands. All night long they draw the water from the river with the help of their cows, lead it by tiny ditches through the fields, and then dig it into the grain with broad shovels. It is cruel work, of a sort to which our peasants of central Europe would hardly accustom themselves.

AS-SAḤEL TO AŠ-ŠEJḪ ʿALI

On April 9, 1912, at 5.45 A.M. we entered the cultivated alluvial tracts of Mezrâḳ al-Ḫešel and al-Mrêʿijje. The river was flowing quietly under a cover of light mists; the rocky slopes enclosing it merged with the violet horizon; only in the east a red glow steadily brightened, until the sun, glistening like gold and appearing to have just risen from the river, at last came into view and looked around wonderingly on the quiet, sleeping country. Both to the right and left of the sun rose tiny wisps of thin smoke, which vanished in the rose-tinged blue of the sky. Nothing stirred. Only a wooden hoist, beneath a cluster of poplars on our left, creaked as water was drawn for the irrigation of a tract of land near by.

At 6.33 we had on our left the three ruin mounds of as-Seraʾ. At 7.05 we came in sight of two fair-sized groves of poplar, the western one called Bu Ḥasan and the eastern one on the left bank known as aṭ-Ṭâbijje. To the southeast appeared the gray dome of the little sanctuary of Abu Nhûd.[4]

[4] Abu Nhûd I take to be the shrine of Fam Saʿîd.

Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâʾib* (British Museum MS), fol. 33 r.; (Le Strange), p. 14, says that the Saʿîd canal branches off from the Euphrates at the little shrine of Fam Saʿîd, runs past many villages on the right bank, irrigates the farms of the town of ar-Raḥba, sends out a few branches to the farms of the little town of ad-Dâlija, and empties into the Euphrates above this place, which is called Dâlijet Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 840, likewise refers to the Saʿîd canal below the town of ar-Raḳḳa. It was so called after the son of the Caliph ʿAbdalmalek, who, owing to his piety, was also called Saʿîd al-Ḫejr. The district intersected by the Saʿîd canal was overgrown with bushes, a favorite hiding place of lions. Saʿîd received it in fief from his brother, the Caliph al-Walîd. He ordered a canal to be dug and the land around it to be settled.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 281, writes that the inhabitants of the chatelet and settlement of ar-Raḥba drink from the aqueduct issuing from the Saʿîd canal.

At 7.18 there appeared on our left the knoll with the aš-Šnâfijje ruins and at eight the aṭ-Ṭâleʿ ruins. The little shrine of Abu Nhûd is situated south of the hamlet of al-Ḳaṭʿa on a rather low heap of ruins. East of it rose several

Fig. 1—Dejr az-Zôr.

ruin mounds, half covered with sand and called Ṭuʿûs al-Ḫubez. Beyond them spreads an undulating plain with the al-Ḥrejm ruins and the hamlet of aṣ-Ṣôr, the property of the Bu Lîl family of the ʿAḳejdât. Al-Ḥrejm forms an oblong, flat hill, where the peasants excavate various antiquities during the winter months. On the right, about three kilometers to the south, projects a steep, rocky bluff, shutting in the valley which the Euphrates during countless ages has dug for itself through the plateaus of the Arabian desert.

To the northwest, in front of the bluff, rose the hillock Nîšân at-Tejs; southwest of us extended the bare plain of al-Mdawwara and to the east rose the hill Tell al-Žibel. Towards eight o'clock a cold northwest wind began to blow. At 8.40 we rode past some ruin mounds; at 9.20 we passed the ruin mound Tell umm Ḏakar, and at 9.33 we were among the ruins west

of the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭowb. East-southeast, on a low, oblong ridge running out to the Euphrates, the settlement al-Bsejra appeared; to the south rose the castle of ar-Rḥaba. On our right the plain was covered with *ʿerž* plants. At 10.20 on our left lay the aṣ-Ṣlêʿ ruins, beyond them the fields of Saʿluwa, and to the southeast the hamlets of az-Zebâri and al-Mimleḥa. At 10.35 we crossed the plains of al-Ḥrejse and Boṛros, which in time of flood are regularly inundated.

From 10.55 to 12.56 we rested on the fields of Lâjeẓ and sketched a map of the neighborhood. At 1.50 P. M. we had on our right the remains of a tower built of brick and on our left the fields of Belʿûm and as-Sajjâḥât. At 2.05 we passed ruins. The Euphrates eats away its right bank, thus constantly forming new islets (*ḥawîğe*, pl. *ḥawâjeğ*) which are overgrown with poplars. On the left two minarets and two palms came into view, marking the site of the little town of al-Mijâḏîn, hidden in the midst of cultivated fields. The town is inhabited by about four hundred Moslem, fifteen Syrian Christian, and three Jewish families. The Christians immigrated from Mardin not long ago. Altogether there are 2500 people in about 380 houses there. The town is also the residence of a *ḳâjmaḳâm* (or *ḳâjemmaḳâm*, governor of a *ḳaḍaʾ*). Order and safety are secured by ten mule riders (*barṛâle*), twelve gendarmes, and ten policemen. There is also one school for boys.[5]

South of al-Mijâḏîn lie the hamlets of al-Fâdse, al-Meḥkân,[6] Tell al-Ḳrejje, and al-Ğzejre. Near al-Meḥkân and al-Ḳrejje antiquities were being excavated.

On our right, on a hill artificially separated from the steep bluffs, the ruined castle of ar-Rḥaba (Fig. 2) glowered down on the flood plain. It is built on a spur separated from the plain to the west by a wide, deep moat, thus forming an isolated hill. The hill was surrounded by a solid stone wall in which a serpentine road to the castle was constructed. The material of which the wall was made has since been broken up and hauled away to al-Mijâḏîn, and the road has disappeared; it is therefore not easy to climb up to the castle.

[5] See below, Appendix XV.

[6] In the ruins between al-Meḥkân and al-Ḳrejje I locate the ancient town of Sirḳi.

When the Assyrian king Tukulti Enurta II (889—884 B. C.) camped in the fields of Aḳarbani, he was presented by Mudada of the land of Laḳê with two hundred wethers, thirty head of cattle, with grain, straw, bread, and drink. When he approached Sirḳi, the king of that town sent him three minae of gold, seven minae of pure silver, forty copper vessels, one talent of myrrh, several hundred sheep, 140 head of cattle, twenty asses, and twenty birds, as well as corn, straw, and fodder (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 4], reverse, ll. 2 f., 8-10; Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

Still in a good state of preservation are extensive subterranean vaults erected of bricks, and a high wall enclosing a rectangular court. In the center of this court stands a large building with thick walls, with a second court inside. Nearly

FIG. 2—Castle of ar-Rḥaba.

all the walls are partly demolished and some have been entirely carried away. North and east of the castle hill can be seen insignificant remains of old brick buildings and large heaps of broken earthenware. Freshly dug holes here and there show that the ruins are being excavated either for building material or treasure.[7]

[7] Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 281, asserts that Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ had been demolished and that nothing remained of it but a settlement in which the projecting towers of mosques and other buildings were the sole remnants of the former town. South of it, about one parasang from the Euphrates, Šîrkûh ibn Aḥmad ibn Šîrkûh, the lord of Ḥoms, built ar-Raḥbat al-Ǧedîde. This was said to be a small settlement with a fort on a mound of earth; its inhabitants drank water from a ditch issuing from the Sa'îd canal. About 1330 it was a halting place of caravans from Irak and Syria and a Moslem frontier post. Abu-l-Feda' in this connection cites the book *al-'Azîzi* as saying that from ar-Raḥba to Ḳarḳîsija' is three parasangs.

Della Valle, *Viaggi* (Venice, 1664), Vol. 1, p. 571, records that towards evening he saw at quite a distance from the Euphrates the fort of Raḥba, where, as he was informed, many old monuments still existed. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 574) he writes that he encamped by a settlement which was not walled in and was called Mesǧed 'Ali, as many settlements in Arabia Deserta were then called.

East of the castle of ar-Rḥaba, right above the bluffs, stand three little sanctuaries. The domes of two of these are intact, but the third is partly demolished. The name of the northern one is aš-Šibli; that of the next to the south, aš-

Fig. 3—Sanctuary of aš-Šejḫ ʿAli.

Šrejž; and that of the southernmost, aš-Šejḫ ʿAli, or ʿAli al-Ḥsejn. Below this at 5.12 we encamped by the fields of ʿAlijat al-Muḳallaṭ at the foot of steep bluffs. Climbing with some difficulty up the bluffs we examined the sanctuaries. ʿAli al-Ḥsejn lies in the south part of a large ruined settlement (Fig. 3) hidden in a small hollow which falls off to the southeast towards an abundant, but bitter, spring in the valley of al-Ḫôr. The huts are built of good stone, bricks, and mud, but nobody lives in them. The mosque, not a large building, is formed at the bottom like a square, which changes into an octagon above, and is topped by a dome. Northeast of the mosque stands an octagonal minaret. Aš-Šrejž is a poor sanctuary, consisting of an extensive mosque and a ruined minaret, and is built above a spring of fresh water. The two settlements of ʿAli and aš-Šrejž are of modern origin. At the foot of the

bluffs, on the edge of which Ḫirbet ʿAli and aš-Šrejž stand, lie the fertile fields of the Christians Ǧirǧi, ʿAbdalmesîḥ of Dejr az-Zôr, and Jûsef of Mardin, who bought them from ʿAbdallâh and ʿAli, the sons of Ḥefel of the Neǧres family, owners of the whole Euphrates flood plain from al-Mijâḏîn as far as the settlement of Abu Čemâl. Both ʿAbdallâh and ʿAli are chiefs of the al-Bu Čemâl clan. ʿAbdallâh is obeyed by the semi-*fellâḥîn* on the left bank, ʿAli by those on the right bank. They live in the settlement of al-ʿAšâra.

AŠ-ŠEJḪ ʿALI TO AṢ-ṢÂLḤIJJE

On April 10, 1912, at 5.55 A.M. we were again on the road. A cold wind was blowing from the northwest. To our right we had the broad valley of al-Ḫôr, through which the run-off is brought a great distance from the Arabian desert; on the left close by the river appeared old ruins on a black hill, on which cluster the brownish huts of the large settlement of al-ʿAšâra, or Tell ʿAšâra, inhabited by almost two hundred families. The hill is artificial and about twenty meters high; its eastern part had been washed away by the river. There was a government office in this settlement originally, but in 1862 it was moved to Dejr az-Zôr because military barracks were built on the road from Damascus by way of Tudmor to Dejr az-Zôr and from there to aṣ-Ṣwar.

Tracts of land irrigated merely by rain water are called *sejl*, while lands which can be watered from the Euphrates either artificially or in a natural way are known as *seraʿ*.

To the south of al-ʿAšâra are grouped the hamlets of as-Swêdân, al-Kasra, al-Ṛorejbe, as-Sôrâni, Sûr al-Ḥarb (also called Sûr al-Ḥarm), as-Sbejḥân, al-Maʿejzîle, al-Musejfe, al-Kišme, ʿAjn abu Šwêmer, and ad-Dwêr.

At 9.37 we were riding along the very foot of the rocky bluffs of al-Ḳamar, which are about thirty-five meters high and shut in the valley of the Euphrates on the southwest. At 10.20 we went through the cultivated fields of Sarât Abu Šwêmer and at 10.47 ascended the height of Ḳamraṭi, since at that point the Euphrates comes right up to the bluff of al-Andara which overlooks the flood plain on the south. From 11.27 to 12.40 P. M. we rested. At 12.52 we crossed the gully of Ab-al-Žâṣem, a deep cleft in the rocky ground. On its right by the Euphrates lies the hamlet of ad-Dwêr.

From here to the south as far as al-Ḳâjem the chief of the al-Bu Čemâl clan is Mḥammad ad-Dandal, whose usual residence is the settlement of Abu Čemâl.

At 1.54 the huge fortifications of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje came into view. Large, yellow buildings enveloped in layers of quivering air appeared and vanished with the slightest motion of the observer's head. It seemed as if the brown, scorched, gravel plateau across which we were riding now brought the walls closer to us, now made them recede—thus the mirage (*sarâb*) deceived us. At 2.30 we were at the demolished tombs of Umm Eṣbaʿ, built in the Palmyrene style like square towers; we rode through them until 2.52, when we made our camels kneel down within the northwestern corner of the extensive aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins (Figs. 4, 5).

In the southeastern part of these ruins, which are the ramparts of the ancient town of Dura, the Arabic writers locate the settlement of ad-Dâlija.[8]

North of the aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins, right above the Euphrates, stands the little sanctuary of aš-Šejḫ Bedr, and farther north appears the black spur of al-Mešneḳa; still farther north are the rocks of aš-Štêbe and al-Arbaʿîn, beyond which gapes the rift of Abu-l-Barâdeʿ.

At 5.10 we rode down the highway to the Euphrates and encamped at 5.22 on the swampy grounds of al-Ǧizle—which are overgrown with *ṭarfa*—not far from the camp of the al-Bu Čemâl, of whom our gendarme bought barley for his

[8] In 903—904 A. D. Abu Šâma, the lord of the Carmathians, fled with his little son and an uncle from the environs of Ḥama' across the desert to al-Kûfa, guided by a native. When he came near the settlement of Dâlija in the district of Ṭarîḳ al-Furât, he sent his companion to buy provisions for his party and fodder for the animals. The companion entered the settlement called Dâlijet ibn Ṭowḳ, but betrayed himself by his manner of speaking and was led before the commander of the local garrison. He told the latter where the lord of the Carmathians was awaiting his return. The officer went with his soldiers to the place indicated, a hillock not far off, found the Carmathian party there, arrested them, and brought them to ar-Raḳḳa, then the residence of the Caliph al-Muktafi (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, pp. 2237 f.).

In January, 906, a troop of Carmathians came to ad-Dâlija by the Euphrates road and, after being joined by some Bedouins, went on a marauding trip in the direction of Damascus (ʿArîb, *Ṣila* [De Goeje], p. 9).

In 908—909 an army marched from Ḳarḳîsija' by way of ar-Raḥba to ad-Dâlija (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 2284).

In 928 the Carmathian lord, Abu Ṭâher, came to the settlement of ad-Dâlija in the district of Ṭarîḳ al-Furât and killed many of its inhabitants, but obtained no booty as there was nothing of value there. Then he marched on ar-Raḥba, which he entered on March 3, 928, and here also killed many of the inhabitants (Ibn Miskawajh, *Taǧârib* [Amedroz], Vol. 1, p. 182; Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 8, p. 132).

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 538, says that ad-Dâlija is the little town on the right bank of the Euphrates between ʿÂna and ar-Raḥba, where the leader of the Carmathians was captured.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 386, in copying this statement remarks that in his time ad-Dâlija was no longer known.

Between ad-Dâlija and al-Baḥasna, on the left bank of the Euphrates below Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ, the monastery of Ḥanẓala was situated (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 655; Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 428).

horse. Below the crag on which the castle of the fortified town of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje stands an ancient canal is still visible, but the Euphrates has broken into it in some places. Near both the right and left banks are large and small islands, proof that during the last few centuries the Euphrates has changed its channel. In the flood plain east of the river bed the ancient channel of the Euphrates still remains. The canal stretched along the right bank to the southeast, irrigating the fields of numerous settlements, the ruins of which lie between aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje and al-Bîẓe.

AṢ-ṢÂLḤIJJE TO AL-ḴÂJEM

On April 11, 1912, we broke through the brush to the highway. At 6.35 A. M. in the rocky bluffs on the right appeared the wide rift of the *šeʿîb* of Swêḥel. In the Euphrates valley east of Swêḥel rise the last remnants of once thick strata not yet worn away by erosion. At 6.40 we had on our left the gendarmerie station of Nuḳṭat aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje with a khan owned by a citizen of Dejr az-Zôr. By the Euphrates were seen some common water hoists called *čerd*. The simplest of these consist of two posts supporting the axis of a pulley, on which works a rope with a large leather bucket on one end; a cow hitched to the other end of the rope pulls up the full bucket.

We now went through the plain of al-Lâjeḥ, in which the *šeʿîb*[9] of Werd terminates. This plain is cultivated in some places, in others overgrown with big bushes of *ṭarfa*.[10] At 7.10 we passed the hamlet of ar-Rôṭ and at eight o'clock al-Ḳaṭʿa, beyond which stood a few huts known as al-Ḥrejṭa and ad-Demîm; on the west was the ruin mound of an-Nsûrijje, beyond which ran the bluffs of Rḳêbt al-Jehûdi. At 8.45 we saw on our left the al-Mṣallaḥa ruins and southwest of them the broad ruin mound of al-Ǧaḥaš, with the village of ar-Rumâdi (or Rumâdi az-Zôr). From 9.45 on we rode through the fields of Sarât abu Ḳbêʿ and past the Šeʿbân, Ummu Znâd, and al-Ḥarîri ruins, situated west of the hamlets of al-Ḥasrât, as-Sejjâl, and al-Ḥlêbijje. At eleven o'clock we were at the large hill formed by the Madḳûḳ and smaller Rasûl ruins.

[9] Arabic terms (except botanical terms) not defined in the text are explained in the Preface.

[10] Latin equivalents and brief characterizations of many Arabic botanical terms appearing in the text are given in the index.

Needing pasture for our camels, at 11.25 we turned to the right and rested from twelve to one o'clock near the Abu Sêbât ruins. The heat was oppressive. The wind blowing from the southeast carried with it clouds of fine sand and irritated

Fig. 4—Aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, plan of ruins.

the nerves. On the left bank there came into view the huge rocky spur of al-ʿErṣi, which sinks steeply into the Euphrates. On the right beyond Sarât abu Ḳerâmi was seen al-Ṛebre, a demolished gendarmerie station, and the remains of old buildings. We were now going through the fields of al-ʿAšâjer, as-Sukkerijje, and al-Bîẓe.

At 2.15 P. M. we saw the new settlement of Abu Čemâl with its rather small mosque and slender minaret and a few larger buildings in the southwestern part. At Abu Čemâl the western upland merges into the cultivated flood plain. We stayed there from 2.32 to 2.58, negotiating with the *ḳâjmaḳâm* for an escort of gendarmes. At 3.12 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of ar-Raṭḳa at the shrine of Mizâr (or Ḳaṣr) ʿAli, west of the

hamlet of Umm ʿAjjâš, and made camp at four o'clock by the fields of as-Swêʿijje, north of the elevation of aṣ-Ṣifr.

On April 12, 1912, at 5.38 A. M. we set out through the fields of as-Swêʿijje. At 6.10 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥmêẓa

Fig. 5—Aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, a gate.

and immediately afterwards that of al-Fhede. South of this, far from the Euphrates, the horizon is shut in by the upland of Ẓhûr al-Mânʿi. At 7.10 we had on our left to the north the old burial place Ḳubûr ʿAli. For a long time we had in view the high table rock of al-ʿErṣi, with a great number of large and small remnants of ruined, tower-shaped tombs. We rode through the fields of Sarât abu-l-Ǧaras, south of the hamlets of al-Ḥṣêbe and al-Heli and the ʿAnḳa[11] and al-Waḥlât ruins.

[11] The ʿAnḳa ruins I connect with Ḳâjem ʿAnḳa.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwim* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 51, quoting Sulejmân ibn Muhanna, writes that on both sides of the Euphrates a wide plain stretches as far as Ḳâjem ʿAnḳa, from where the valley narrows down to ʿÂna, al-Ḥadîṯa, Hît, and al-Anbâr. Beyond the town of Hît the Euphrates flows through the irrigated plain of Irak. — Ḳâjem is Dejr al-Ḳâjem, the present station of al-Ḳâjem. The Euphrates flood plain ends eight kilometers west of ʿAnḳa and more than twenty kilometers west of al-Ḳâjem.

Having crossed at 7.56 the *šeʿîb* of al-Mânʿi (or al-Mâneʿi), we found ourselves in the ruins of Tell al-Ǧâbrijje—or aš-Šejḫ Ǧâber, as the little sanctuary built in the midst of the ruins by the Euphrates (Figs. 6, 7, 8) is called. There we stayed from 8.10 to 8.52.[12]

At 9.15 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Saʿede and at 9.50 the *šeʿîb* of as-Sidde, beyond which the jagged bluffs again approach the Euphrates. On the road some *fellâḥîn* were riding on donkeys. The last of them, an elderly one-eyed man, cursed us incessantly: "Oh, may you die even today; Oh, that it were your last day in this world!" he repeated at least a hundred times. Our servant Muḥammad wanted to beat him, but bidding him keep his temper I turned off from the highroad to the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫwêḫel by the station of al-Ḳâjem, where we remained from 10.00 to 12.20 P.M.

AL-ḲÂJEM TO ʿÂNA

The gendarmerie station of al-Ḳâjem stands on a rise on the right bank of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫwêḫel or al-Ḳâjem. West of it, down by the highway a khan has been built; to the

[12] The position of the ruins of al-Ǧâbrijje compels us to identify them with the ancient town of Ḫindânu.

Amme Alaba, king of the town of Ḫindânu, delivered to the Assyrian king Tukulti Enurta II (889—884 B. C.) ten minae of gold, ten minae of silver, two talents of lead, one talent of myrrh, sixty pieces of copper, ten minae of the *zadidu* plant, eight minae of the *šimzida* stone, thirty camels, fifty head of cattle, thirty asses, fourteen large birds, two hundred sheep, bread, drink, straw, and fodder (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 3], obverse, ll. 76-79; Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 18).—

The myrrh and the camels show that Ḫindânu had dealings with merchants importing various South Arabian produce from the Persian Gulf.

When Asurnazirpal, shortly after his ascension to the throne (884 B. C.), was quelling the rebellion in the town of Sûri in the land of Bît Ḫadippê, Ḫajâni, the lord of Ḫindâni (*sic*) sent him silver, gold, lead, bronze, precious stones, purple, and riding camels as tribute. As a proof that he acknowledged Asurnazirpal's supremacy, he had his statue with an inscription erected in his palace and a stele with a similar inscription placed by the town gate (*Annals* [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 3, pls. 17—26], col. 1, ll. 96—99; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], pp. 287 f.).

In 878 the inhabitants of Ḫindânu paid Asurnazirpal III silver, gold, lead, vessels, cattle, and flocks (*Annals* [Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*], col. 3, l. 13; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 350).

Šamsi-Adad VII (824—811 B. C.) mentions that the lord of Ḫindânu joined Ašurdâninpal, the rebellious son of Shalmaneser III (859—824 B. C.), but that the rebellion was suppressed and the land of Ashur from the town of Aridi as far as the land of Sûḫi again obeyed Šamsi-Adad (Obelisk Inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 29), col. 1, l. 50; Abel in: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. 1, pp. 176 ff.).

About 653 B. C. Sin-šar-uṣur, from whom some of the records are dated, was prefect in Ḫindânu (Peiser, *Studien* No. 4 [1901], p. 37; Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 46, No. 1, ll. 43 f.; *Corpus inscr. semiticarum* [1881—1911], Part 2, pl. 2, no. 22).

In 616 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, looted Ḫindânu (British Museum Tablet No. 21,901, obverse ll. 1—11 [publ. and transl. in Gadd, *Fall of Nineveh* (1923), pp. 31 f.]).

Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), p. 247, knew of the town of Giddan, which according to his description must have been identical with Ḫindânu.

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 260, calls the town of Eddana on the Euphrates a Phoenician settlement named after the *dux* Eddanon. — The assertion that Eddana, which is identical with Ḫindânu, was a Phoenician settlement, proves its commercial importance.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 668, says that the town of ʿAzzân on the Euphrates belonged to Queen Zabbaʾ and the town of ʿAddân on the opposite bank of the

east stands a heap of ruins, above which project the remains of a tower.[13]

At 1.10 P. M. we had on our left the plain of al-Fejjâẓijje, on our right the rocky slope of at-Trejčijje. At 1.44 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Selmân, on the right bank of which rise several flat-topped, oblong hillocks, the Ẓhûr al-Ḳnêṭre. At two o'clock we were in the *šeʿîb* of Abu Rbêʿ, where a large commercial caravan, bringing dates and butter from ʿÂna to Aleppo, was just camping. Abu Rbêʿ originates at the slope Ṭaraḳ abu Saʿad and makes its way between the hills of ar-Rḥejmijjât and at-Trejčijje. At 2.12 we left the flood plain of al-Frêẓijje and started eastward over the upland of Mefâzt aš-Šnâne, as we did not desire to ride around four peninsulas made by the course of the river. On the right bank of the Euphrates hereabout are situated the hamlets of al-Frêẓijje, al-Ḳnêṭre, al-ʿObejdi, al-Mutreẓijje, Mišʿal, al-Berd, al-Ḥṣêm, aš-Šǧêra, al-Ǧerwa, aš-Šḳaḳijje, ar-Râfda, al-Ǧeren, aṣ-Ṣafra, al-Wuẓaḥijje, al-Haffe, al-ʿAmmâri, az-Zaʿfarâne, az-Zelle, aš-Šeṛwânijje, and an-Nehijje. Near aš-Šǧêra are the large ruins of al-Ḥṣêr, where the peasants find various antiquities. At al-Ǧerwa ends the *šeʿîb* of Ab-al-Ǧerwa, on the left side of which, about six kilometers from the river, more ruins are to be seen. To the south rise the two hillocks of al-Eḳrûn, which terminate to the southeast in a long elevation. At 3.10 we had on our left the hill of Riǧm al-Faras; at 3.40 we re-entered the plain of the Euphrates near al-Berd, crossed the Ab-al-Ǧerwa valley, and at 5.14 bivouacked on the left of the highroad among some *ṭarfa* bushes. From the Dlejmi camp at the ruins aš-Šǧêra, where Farḥân eben Šerži was the chief, we heard all

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Euphrates to her sister. — ʿAddân suggests the pronunciation Eddana, Giddan, and Ḫindân, while in ʿAzzân the Aramaic Ḫinzân persisted.

Al-Ḳazwîni, *ʿAǧâʾib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 283 f., writes that ʿAzzân belonged to Queen Zabbaʾ, who had two towns built on the banks of the Euphrates opposite each other and had them connected by a tunnel under the river.

[13] Al-Ḳâjem was a Persian frontier town.

Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* (Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 5, pp. 123 f. (al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], pp. 359 f.), writes that the monastery of al-Ḳâjem al-Aḳṣaʾ, visited by him, is situated on the west bank of the Euphrates on the road leading to ar-Raḳḳa. It is said to have been originally a high watchtower, such as the Persians and Greeks used to erect on the frontiers. Close to it a monastery was built, but in the middle of the tenth century this was already without roof or gate. It was still inhabited in the reign of Harun ar-Rashid (786—809 A.D.), who stopped there three days on his journey to ar-Raḳḳa, attracted by the vicinity, which is overgrown with pied anemones and other flowers; the hospitality of the monks pleased him to such a degree that he freed them from the payment of the *ḫarâǧ*, or ground tax, ordering them to pay only ten *dînârs* annually from their whole property.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 684, and Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 437, quote Abu-l-Faraǧ's words on the subject, but add that they too had seen this monastery. It was said to be called al-Ḳâjem (rising tower) because of its high spire, from which both the Persian and Roman frontier lines could be observed. This spire was supposed to resemble the ʿAḳarḳûf at Bagdad or the Eṣbaʿ Ḫaffân in the environs of al-Kûfa.

FIG. 6

FIG. 7

FIG. 6—From al-Ğâbrijje looking southeast.
FIG. 7—Milking goats at al-Ğâbrijje.

night the monotonous sounds of a big drum. They were preparing for a circumcision there and both men and women danced from evening until morning.

On April 13, 1912, at 5.46 A. M., we again traversed the plateau intersected by the *šeʿibân* of aṣ-Ṣafra. The Ertâğe

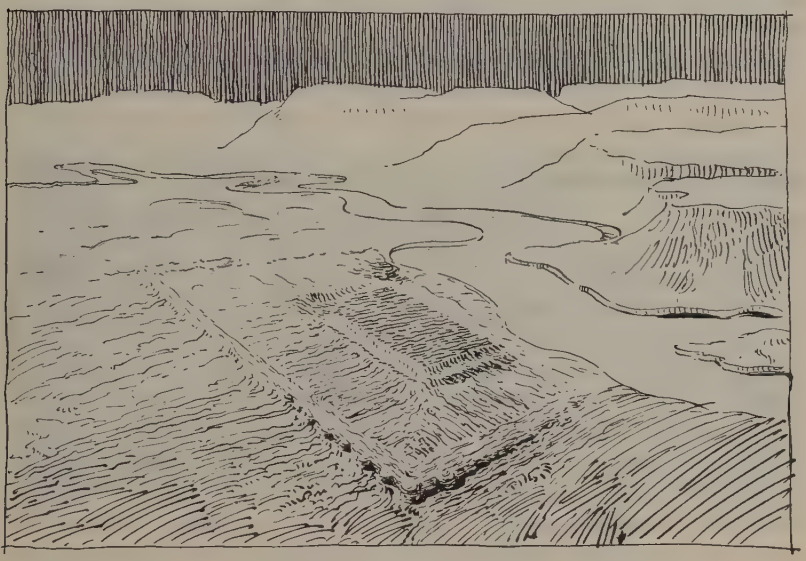

Fig. 8—Al-Ğâbrijje.

ruin appeared on a high crag to the left. At 6.44, in the fields of al-Haffe, we saw the first water hoists of the kind known as *nâʿûra* (Fig. 9), a largewooden wheel with longish earthen jugs tied to its rim. The wheel rests very deep in the river on an axis supported by two pillars of stone. It is connected with the bank by a row of set pillars carrying arches, on which a trough is placed. The stream sets the wheel in motion, the water fills the jugs and is poured by them into the trough, from which it flows into the fields. The hoarse squeaking of these wheels is heard day and night.

At 6.55 the farm Ḳaṣr al-Mšawwaḥ came into view to the north in the fields of az-Zaʿfarâne. At 7.28 we rode down to the Euphrates by the fields of az-Zelle. From eight to 8.50 we rested at az-Zawije, then passed through the flood plain of Rbêẓa, which is enclosed on the south by the hil-

locks of Edene, where many camels were seen grazing. These were herds of the ʿEbede tribe, who were camping in the *šeʿibân* of al-Fḥejmijjât. At 10.30 we reached the gendarmerie station of an-Nehijje, lying south of the road near a pile of old building material. To the east of it, in the fields of Bureḳnijje and al-Afṭarijje, was a large camp of the Dlejm. At 11.10 we rode up the rugged upland of Maḳaṭṭ al-Ǧbâb. On the left on the river lay the ad-Dînijje ruins and, a little farther on, the hamlets of al-Mhedijje and al-Ebrahmijje, the al-Ḫalâwi and at-Tîzalijje ruins, and the fields of al-Hedrijje. In ad-Dînijje various glasses, pitchers, and big earthen vessels were being excavated. To the south appeared the low mesas Ḳûr al-Baṭâṭîḫ, north of them the hillocks of al-Ṛzuwijjât, east of these the mesa of Četf al-Moṛr, and still farther east the flat ridge of aṯ-Ṯmejdijjât. From 11.35 to 1.10 P. M. we rested. At 3.10 we were by the river again, near the fields of al-Ebraḫijje. On the right the gaps formed by the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥaẓka showed black. At 4.30 we encamped by the fields of al-ʿŮnijje north of the hillocks of al-Ḥmejdijjât.

On April 14, 1912, we passed between the hillocks of al-Hlâlijjât south of the hamlets of al-Ḥsênijje, aš-Šeṛwânijje, as-Swêwîde, aš-Šraḫlijje, and al-Manṣerijje. From 6.30 to 7.00 A.M. our camels grazed in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥaṣa, where the spring of ar-Raḫîṣi bubbles out. In front of us we saw a group of half-demolished buildings of the sanctuary of al-Mašhad (or al-Mašhad al-Čebîr) and north of it a mill, with the gardens of the settlement of Râwa to the east, overtopped by a rocky spur with a barrack and the shrine Mizâr aš-Šejḫ Reǧeb eben Aḥmed ar-Refâʿi. At 8.23 we were at al-Mašhad al-Čebîr. This is a ruined hamlet close to a sanctuary with one large and two small domes.[14]

Near al-Mašhad al-Čebîr we saw the first humpbacked cows. On our left was the islet of al-Karâble with five houses and fine palm trees. At 9.06 we had the shrine of ʿAli on our left, beyond it the tomb of aš-Šejḫ Muḥammad and the islet of Libbâd. At 9.15 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Čehef and from 9.24 to 9.38 halted below steep rocky bluffs, from which there was a splendid view of the northeast. The left bank of the Euphrates is crowned by green gardens; above them rise terrace-like the huts of the settlement of Râwa (Fig. 10) and still

[14] Al-Mašhad al-Čebîr was formerly a Christian monastery, for seven years the abode of Muʿajn, at one time commander under the Sassanian King Sapor II (309—379 A. D.) (Hoffmann, *Auszüge* [1880], pp. 30 f.)

higher, on a table-shaped rock, stand the great military barracks of al-Ḳlêʿa. To the left above al-Ḳlêʿa the pilgrim sanctuary Mizâr aš-Šejḫ Reğeb tops the horizon. The waters of the Euphrates dash against numerous palm-covered islets here, and

FIG. 9—Flush wheel, fields of al-Haffe.

on the right bank rise yellowish rocky bluffs, which partially conceal the palms and huts of ʿÂna. Al-Ḳlêʿa was built in 1872 by Midḥat Pasha, but is now deserted, as it is said to be haunted.

At 9.50 we reached the gardens of the settlement of ʿÂna.[15] Of the vegetables cultivated here, onions and garlic were the most plentiful. As to trees, besides the palms there were pomegranates, figs, mulberries, and, but rarely, olives. We rode at first among the gardens and along the rocky slope, in which are many natural and artificial caverns. Later we followed a narrow lane among the gardens and huts, which look as if they were pasted to the rocks, for the settlement is nothing but a single street almost five kilometers long between a steep cliff on the south and the Euphrates on the north. From 10.53 to 11.41 we waited for the representative of the absent *ḳâjmaḳâm*. The government building stands by

[15] See below, Appendix XVI.

the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳanṭara. When we went on we saw at twelve o'clock on the right the tomb Ḳubbet al-Barmakijje; then we crossed the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šejḫ Ḥaẓar, and at 12.07 P. M. came to the ruined bridge (Fig. 11) connecting the settlement with

Fig. 10 — Râwa from the southwest.

the islet Ḥawîğet al-Ḳalʿa — otherwise known as ʿÂna al-ʿAtîže, the old ʿÂna, — where the remains of a stout fort are still visible. It was 12.32 when we left Maḥall al-Hadâhde, as the eastern quarter of ʿÂna is called.

The oldest quarter of ʿÂna is the western, Bejt al-Koḫli; then follow al-Ḥomrân, as-Sâğe, as-Serâje, Ğmejla, al-ʿÛğe, aš-Šerîʿa — also called ad-Dalâbḥe — as-Sâdde, and al-Hadâhde. ʿÂna is inhabited by about seven hundred Moslem and five hundred Jewish families. The Jews live in the quarters of al-ʿÛğe and aš-Šerîʿa. They have a synagogue (*kenîse*). Their head is Ḫôğa Rubên eben Menâhem. Many houses in aš-Šerîʿa are built in the antique style (Fig. 12), forming either a square or an oblong, narrower towards the top and covered by a flat roof enclosed by a low, machicolated wall. Many of them are three stories high but without windows on the ground floor. The islands near ʿÂna are called Libbâd, al-Ḥaẓra, al-Mesğed, al-Bišen, al-Ḫrâb, and aš-Šejḫ Nuṣṣâb.

ʿÂNA TO AL-FḤEJMI

Once past the settlement we rode through small fields sown with barley, and encamped at 1.30 P. M. opposite the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ğerâbeʿa (Fig. 13). On the left bank rose before us the al-Maftûl minaret of the ruined monastery of al-Melwijje near the deserted hamlet of Ḥâbûlijje.

On April 15, 1912, we started at 5.50 A. M. along the strip of flood plain between the rocky bluffs on the south and the river. The flood plain here is narrow and stony. At six o'clock we had on our left a demolished farm beside a

Fig. 11—ʿÂna al-ʿAtîže from the southeast.

shrine called al-Ḳaṣr or al-Mašhad aṣ-Ṣaṛîr; on the right the gap formed by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳaṣr, the branches of which, aṭ-Ṭawîl and Abu Tîn, rise between Ṭaraḳ abu Saʿad and Ḫašm al-Waʿarijje. At 6.25 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Muḥaddar and, just opposite the inhabited islet of Telbes, began to climb to the upland of ar-Râḥâne (also known as ar-Rîḥâne), which is bordered on the south by low hillocks among which winds the Wâdi Ḥežlân. At 8.30, through the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿAwṣijje, we could see the palm trees of the settlement of Hbên on the left bank. From 9.30 to 10.38 our camels grazed. Shortly before eleven o'clock we met the *ḳâjmaḳâm* and a major with twenty soldiers mounted on mules *(baṛṛâle)* escorting two chiefs of the Dlejm tribe who, as we were told, had refused to pay for a second time dues which the tax collector at the settlement of al-Ḥadîṭa had embezzled. At 11.35 we reached the Euphrates. On the north lay the fields of aš-Šwêmijje, Bêğân, and al-ʿÛṣijje; to the south of these

stretched a strip of *ṭarfa* and *ʿawseğe* bushes along the river to a width of about thirty meters. The bushes were all red and white with countless blossoms, and the slope was covered with a green carpet of various annuals and perennials. Our camels were tired and hungry and we longed for a good bath; therefore, at 11.48 we encamped on the left of the high-road, close by the Euphrates itself.

Both the sixteenth and seventeenth of April were spent in examining and perfecting our topographical and cartographical notes, gathering plants, and arranging the photographic plates. I should have liked to make up a list of all the Dlejm clans, but could not find even two informants who agreed regarding them. They would reduce the clans familiar to them to bands or even single families; or sometimes they would represent single families as great clans, whereas clans of which they knew but little they would consider as insignificant families.

CHAPTER II

AL-FḤEJMI TO AR-RUMÂDI

AL-FḤEJMI TO WÂDI ḤAWRÂN

On April 18, 1912, we started at 5.49 A. M. At 6.20 we crossed the wide *šeʿîb* of al-Fḥejmi (also called al-Ḥaẓar) and ascended to the upland of Mefâzt al-ʿAwsǧât. On the left stood the gendarmerie station of al-Fḥejmi with two high piles of stone in front of it, which point out the way. The narrow strip of fields along the river is called Ǧeren. Farther east the river washes against the southern rocky bluffs, forming many islets. After eight o'clock we had on our left the peninsula of al-Marzûḳijje, on the north and east bank of which lie the hamlets of Žerna, aš-Šhame, Ternâne (with ruins), Šeṛjâṯe, Tartâse, Sûse, and Ščâl. The Euphrates winds lazily between low, cultivated banks and numerous islands. To the south rise the low, dark hillocks of al-ʿÂmri and Abu Šâbûr. At 9.16 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of as-Sikke, at 10.02 that of al-Bâreč, and at the hamlet of Bâhijje again came close to the Euphrates. On the south appeared the hillocks where rises the *šeʿîb* of Abu Šâbûr, which we crossed at 11.26. On the left were the hamlets of al-Buštijje, Ṯemânje, Beni Ḥâreṯa, and al-Ǧizel. From 11.38 to 12.46 our camels grazed in the al-Ḥaǧar valley.

At 1.10 P. M. we rode by the hamlet of al-Bṯêne and the shrine of aš-Šejẖ Ḥadîd (Fig. 14). The latter is built on a square base upon which rest five circular steps; on the fifth step stands a cone. At 1.26 we saw on our right the tomb of as-Sajjed Mḥammad (Fig. 15), an octagon supporting eight circular steps and a cone. The fields on the left were called Ḫamse, ʿAlâte, Ḥabîb, and al-Meẖâẓa (the ford). At 1.40 we reached the settlement of al-Ḥadîṯa.

Al-Ḥadîṯa lies on an island. The houses of its northern half stand close together; in the southern half grow fine palm trees. A bridge leads to the right bank, and close to it stand the gendarmerie station and a khan. On the surrounding hillocks are seen many white graves.[16]

[16] Al-Belâdori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 179, writes that in the reign of the Caliph ʿOmar (641—642 A. D.) Midlâǧ ibn ʿAmr as-Sulami marched out from al-Kûfa towards Hît and other

South of al-Ḥadîṭa cluster the hamlets of Muḥasse, al-Ḳâjed, Ḥandûl, Mêlân, Sarw, al-Meğêwed, an-Nağmi, al-Ḥağar, Beni Ẓâher, Ḳarhêfe, and aš-Šrûne; by the last-named ends the Wâdi Ḥežlân and above it rises the shrine of al-Imâm ʿAli. All these hamlets are also called Beni Ẓâher. At 2.47, when opposite the island of al-Wrbân, we ascended to the upland Mefâzt ad-Dibes. At three o'clock we crossed the deep Wâdi Ḥežlân, down which the islet of at-Temîmijje in the Euphrates was visible. Our way took us through the bare, scorched plain of al-Ḳaʿîdên, where only in the lowest places some dry annuals *(ḥemri)* could be seen. At four o'clock we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Zṛâdân, at 5.20 that of al-Jehûdi; at 5.55 we turned to the left and then descended the west side of a short gully which drops down to the river opposite the island of Âlûs, where we camped for the night. There are about twenty high and solidly built houses on the island with huge palm trees rising above them.[17] Beneath the rocky bluffs overlooking the right bank stands a demolished fortress. Lightning was flashing that night over Mesopotamia.

April 19, 1912. As early as 6.17 A. M. our camels carried us through an undulating plain, intersected by the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḫafâğijjât, the slopes of which are full of caves. At 7.08 our gendarme showed us near the *šeʿîb* of Banât al-Ḥasan some skeletons of horses and camels, remnants of a fight between gendarmes and the warriors of the aẓ-Ẓefîr tribe. The Ẓefîr, whose camping grounds lie near the Persian Gulf, attacked a caravan of ʿÂna merchants who were bringing *tumbâk* (tobacco for water pipes) and fine cloaks from Bagdad. Two gendarmes

forts lying in that direction, conquered them, and founded al-Ḥadîṭa on the Euphrates. His son is supposed to have been born at Hît.

In the first half of January, 1060, the Caliph al-Ḳâjem came from his exile in ʿÂna to the settlement of Ḥadîṭat ʿÂna, whence he returned to Bagdad (Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *Ḏajl* [Amedroz], p. 89; Abu-l-Feda', *Muḫtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 3, p. 172).

In 1122—1123 the lord of the settlement of al-Ḥadîṭa was the Emir Sulejmân ibn Muhâreš of the ʿOḳejl tribe; he granted asylum to the deposed vizier Ğelâladdîn ibn Ṣadaḳa, who before long rebelled against the caliph (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 10, p. 425).

In November, 1144, Emir ʿImâdaddîn Atabeg, learning that the inhabitants of Ḥadîṭat ʿÂna were rebelling against him, sent troops against them, who took the settlement, killed many persons, and looted everything there (Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *op. cit.*, p. 280).

In 1190 Ḥadîṭat ʿÂna was captured by an-Nâṣerlidînallâh, but only after an obstinate resistance and when the inhabitants were guaranteed grants of land in other territories (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, p. 38).

According to Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 223, Ḥadîṭat al-Furât (also called Ḥadîṭat an-Nûra) lay several parasangs from al-Anbâr on an island in the Euphrates and formed a notable stronghold. He cites as-Semʿâni (died 1166—1167) as stating that the settlement of al-Ḥadîṭa was the residence of the an-Nuṣejrijje sectarians.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 287, locates the settlement of al-Ḥadîṭa between al-Anbâr and ʿÂna.

[17] Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 65, 352, refers to the settlement of Âlûsa, or Alûs, near ʿÂna and al-Ḥadîṭa on the Euphrates.

Abu-l-Feḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 88, adds that Alûs lies below the settlement of ʿÂnât not far from al-Ḥadîta. — From al-Ḥadîta to Âlûs is eleven kilometers.

were killed, three wounded, and the caravan robbed of everything. The merchants escaped, but all the camels with their loads were driven away by the Ẓefîr. The fallen animals were skinned by the peasants and semi-*fellâḥîn*, who also cut out the best parts of the flesh, leaving the rest to the beasts of prey. At 8.15 we crossed Wâdi Ḥawrân.[18]

WÂDI ḤAWRÂN TO HÎT

At 9.28 the palm trees of the settlement of Ǧubba came into view to the southeast; to the east the gardens and huts of the hamlets hugged the rocky slope on the right bank by the island of Âlûs. The hamlets are: al-Flêfli, as-Sborût, al-Ḳaṣab, al-Ǧedîde, Ǧinfe, al-Wardijje, ar-Ribʿi, ʿAnâje, aṣ-Ṣwêneḫ, Ebli, Abu-l-ʿAla, al-Ebrâzijje, al-Ǧôdefijje, as-Semʿânijje, and al-Merwânijje, the last-named lying close to Ǧubba. At 9.39 we saw the island with the settlement Ǧubba directly to the east of it, and were once more approaching the Euphrates.[19]

South of Ǧubba are the hamlets of al-Žđâmijje, Ummu Dwêl (also called Ǧanafte), al-Mišhed, al-Mhêrijje, Bejt Ḫalaf, and Halbasijje.

From 10.25 to 12.30 P. M. we rested. At 1.09 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳaṣr, near which a gendarmerie station and the khan of al-Baṛdâdi stand on the banks of the Euphrates. At 1.20 we had on our left a large garden, the property of Fahad eben Haddâl, the head chief of the ʿAmârât tribe. The *šeʿîb* al-ʿAšali terminates at this garden. We then pursued our way past the hillocks of al-Bejâder on our right, while to the left of us were the fields and hamlets of: Sḥâḳijje, al-Ǧedîde, al-Wusêṭa, Lammâʿ, al-Mžâwil, ad-Derʿa, al-Bešîri, az-Zwejje, az-Zrejž, ad-Dwêlje, and the al-Ǧâbrijje ruins situated by a defile (*muzîž*). Beyond the defile lay the hamlets of: al-Ǧnânijje, az-Zarrâʿa, al-ʿElije, al-Lissijje, al-Mašḳûḳe, al-Ḳoṭbijje, al-Ḳraje, aẓ-Ẓeḫîḫe, an-Naṛâše, al-Bâzijje, an-Nuwêʿem, al-Fâlež, al-Weršânijje, al-Ǧrejdijje, al-Ḫaẓârem, Beni Ḫazrağ, al-Muferdât, ad-Dibbijje, Saʿdân, aš-Šejḫ Ẓâher, as-Sakkârijje, al-Bosṭâmijje, al-Buštijje, al-Obrodijje, as-Selijje, al-Ḫôldijje, as-Sredijje, as-

[18] Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 20 : 3, refers to a district of Auranitis by the Euphrates in Babylonia. — If the name Auran is not transcribed wrongly from Aram, Auranitis should be looked for in the neighborhood of Wâdi Ḥawrân, although this region was not in Babylonia but in Arabia Deserta. But Ptolemy often places localities in the adjoining countries and may have done so with Auranitis. The northwestern part of Babylonia was called Aramitis.

[19] Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 13, and Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 240, record an island of Ǧubba in the vicinity of Hît.

Smaʿânijje, al-Masḫan, Ǧezîret Ṛânem, al-Blâtje, al-Ḥesnijje, aš-Šejḫ as-Slejje, al-Ḳamijje, ad-Dlêṭe, al-Ḥaǧr, and Knân near the town of Hît.

From 2.18 to 2.56 we rested not far from the inhabited island of an-Nâûsa.[20]

The heat was oppressive, especially as the peninsula of al-Maʿajzîle separated us from the cool river while we were riding over the bare, scorching plain of as-Sêbât. At five o'clock we bivouacked in a hollow west of the highroad.

On April 20, 1912, we rode through a rough rocky country with low cones rising here and there. At 6.05 A. M. we crossed the first and at 6.28 the second *šeʿîb* of al-Fâlež, where *šîḥ* and *ʿasansal* grew in abundance. To the east of us appeared the white shrine of al-Imâm Ab-az-Zîn by the hamlet of aš-Šejḫ Ẓâher, and to the southeast rose clouds of black smoke from the town of Hît. At 6.57 we entered the salty ground of as-Sahalijje and al-Ḥesnijje. At 7.12 we rode past the islet of al-Eflêwi (or al-Flêwi), which has been converted into a garden. From 7.32 to 7.52 we filled our water bags at the gardens of aš-Šejḫ Mḥammad as-Slejje. At 8.01 we left the Euphrates and rode between some low bare hillocks and at 8.28 we passed through the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Merǧ, which extends between white crags. From 8.34 to 9.22 we rested.

The town of Hît,[21] from which columns of smoke rose continually higher and blacker, at last came into view. It was hidden behind the rich green of the gardens of Knân, al-Bsâjer, and Kandi, and only a few dark houses and a slender but ominously leaning minaret were to be seen on its east side. To the south stretched the broad, low ridge of Ḳôs as-Sinn, south of which projected the high minaret of al-Muʿêmîre. At 10.53 we reached a light railway, used for hauling building stone from the old quarries at al-Muʿêmîre to the Euphrates. The stone was being shipped in boats to al-Hindijje to be used in the construction of a dam over the Euphrates. West of this railway, on the edge of the gardens, stood the half ruined little shrine Maḳâm ʿAli and not far off a spring bubbled up. From 11.10 to 12.15 P. M. we halted at the gardens of ad-Dawwâra on the south

[20] An-Nâûsa is an old station on the road from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 144, says that Naûsijje is a little town with many inhabitants on an island in the Euphrates; in the gardens surrounding it grow fine fruit and various vegetables.

Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 192, remarks that the settlement of Nâʾûsa lies in the administrative district of Hît.

[21] See below, Appendix XVII.

side of the town. Nâṣer went to buy salt, some vegetables, and also barley for the gendarme's horse.

The dark brown buildings of the town of Hît cover from top to bottom a yellowish cone about thirty meters high. The

FIG. 12—A Jew's house, ʿÂna.

largest and tallest houses are on the east side, where also stands the old mosque with the leaning minaret. A broad street divides the town on the cone from the khans and warehouses at its southwestern foot. Between the suburb and the gardens of ad-Dawwâra are ovens for melting and refining bitumen. Hît has about five thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom come from the Dlejm tribe and only about a fifth from the ʿAḳejl. The houses are usually two stories high, the streets narrow, crooked, and dirty, as they are washed only during the copious winter rains. Above the houses rises the tall minaret. Among the inhabitants are numerous Jewish families who have lived there from time immemorial. The name of the most prominent family is al-Jâsîn, with Muḥammad eben Ḏijâb as its head. The principal occupations of the inhabitants are gathering bitumen and naphtha, quarrying stone, gardening, and building boats (*šaḥâtîr*). The material used in making these boats is wood and palm pulp, with pitch for coating both the outsides and insides. A boat sells for six or seven Turkish pounds ($27 or $31.50). All the salt and naphtha springs are state property and are rented at one hundred ($90) and even as much as two hundred *meǧîdijjât* ($180). The bitumen (*žîr*) is used in building as well as in coating the flat house roofs and the

boats, which are exported chiefly to Kerbela. The very narrow gardens are located only on the river bank. A little farther off, the soil is saturated with salt to such an extent that nothing grows in it. The garden of al-Ḥammâdi, which adjoins

Fig. 13—Our camp opposite the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ğerâbeʿa.

the long gardens of Bannân, has been recently laid out east of ad-Dawwâra.

The ground in the vicinity of Hît consists of yellow limestone, covered with a thick layer of roughly crystallized gypsum, from which issue many springs with salt or somewhat bitter water, the latter smelling of sulphur. From these springs various gases escape, which form large bubbles. The bitumen flowing on the surface resembles dirty scum. The salt surrounded by rosy-tinged slime settles on the edges of the springs. The bitumen is scooped up with palm leaves, stored in large pieces, then diluted with lime and exported by boat. Jugs are also woven at Hît from straw or palm leaves and are smeared both inside and outside with pitch; they are then hung on the high wheels used in raising the water from the Euphrates for the irrigation of the gardens. These wheels are as much as ten to fifteen meters in diameter. Southwest of Hît is a broad, flat area where innumerable springs of salt water bubble out; the water runs into square reservoirs, where salt is obtained from it by evaporation. The most important pitch or bitumen springs are the ʿAjn Lṭajjef, aḍ-Ḏahabi, ad-Durûbi, Lâjež, al-Maʿmûre, al-Merğ, and al-Ğarb.

Many reproaches are brought against the inhabitants of Hît and its environs by their neighbors and guests. As long as the caravan trade between Syria and Irak flourished, herds of pack camels used to graze in the vicinity of Salamja, a town in northwestern Palmyrena, whence they returned, when rested, with new wares to Irak. Near Hît a part of the goods was reloaded into boats and the camels sent to pasture. But in the immediate neighborhood of this settlement no pasture could be found for them and hospitality was refused even to their owners, whence arose these sayings:

"When Allâh granted rain to Salamja he withheld it from Hît, for the men there are lewd as devils. May Allâh consume the fruits of their lands with bitumen, salt, *šnân* (a plant the ashes of which are used in making soap), and sulphur."

"Don't ask for night lodgings at Hît, for the dogs of al-Muʿêmîre are better than the first men of Hît."

Al-Muʿêmîre is a settlement west of Hît. All that remains of it is a mosque; its inhabitants have moved to the settlement of al-Kubejsa.

A member of the Dlejm tribe married a girl from Hît and took her to his tent where she had to help him milk the sheep and cows. But the life in the sunny pasture was not to the liking of the fair maid. She yearned for her native place and said to her husband:

"Even if you like the sunny country, I do not; give me the sound of the flush wheels and the palms of Hît."

From Hît the ancient transport road to Damascus led in a westerly direction. Its actual starting point was the settlement of al-Kubejsa about fifteen kilometers to the west.

In al-Kubejsa live about nine hundred families. The most powerful of these is the Bejt Ṛâẓi, with Farağ ab-al-Ḥâfeẓ at its head. There are many springs there, the ʿAjn al-ʿEẓi having the best water of them all. The whole vicinity has been converted into extensive gardens with many palms but no olive trees. The majority of its inhabitants make their living by trading with the nomads, whence the name Kubejsi (plural, Kbejsât) meaning peddler. The Bedouins ridicule them for their cowardice. As the story goes, once upon a time the Beni Kubejs, while journeying through the desert, saw from afar a black object not unlike a rider. Their elder then spoke thus: "Look out! If that is a real rider (*in čân az-zôl zôl*), lie down

on your bellies and pretend to be *ḥabâri* (bustards). But if that dark object is only a bush, then, fully armed, advance like men!"[22]

The settlement of al-Kubejsa lies north of Wâdi aš-Ša'îr, which starts as the *še'îb* of al-Bezem in the plain Fejẓat 'Âmež

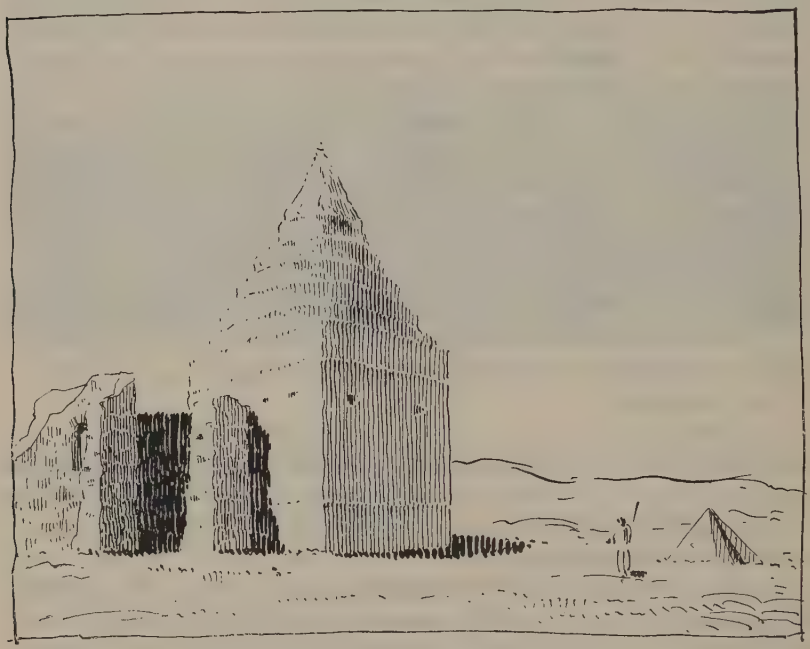

FIG. 14—Tomb of aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd.

at Ṛadîr al-'Awağ and Riğm aṣ-Ṣâbûn and winds between the al-Meẓâhîr mesas. On the right this *wâdi* is joined by the *še'ibân* of Ab-al-'Ofejn, aš-Šwa', and Abu Žalta. On the transport road in the main part of the aš-Ša'îr valley stands the ruin Ḳṣejr Ḥabbâz; the springs of Za'zû'a and al-'Eẓi also bubble forth near this valley; in the *še'îb* of Ab-al-'Ofejn is the spring of al-'Awâsel and in that of Abu Žalta the springs of aš-Šejḫ and al-'Aṣfûrijje.

[22] Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 235, refers to a spring of Kubejsa on the border of the as-Samâwa desert four miles from Hît. There are several settlements around, the inhabitants of which are often destitute on account of their proximity to the desert.

In the spring of 1320 the head chief Muhanna and his clan, the 'Îsa, were driven out from the neighborhood of Salamja. They encamped in the region around 'Âna and al-Ḥadîṯa on the Euphrates. The Syrian troops pursued them as far as ar-Raḥba and even to 'Âna, whence they fled to the desert beyond al-Kubejsât (Abu-l-Feda', *Muḫtaṣar* [Adler], pp. 340 f.).—Al-Kubejsât stands for the groups of huts in the oasis of al-Kubejsa, sixty-five kilometers from al-Ḥadîṯa.

About thirty kilometers south of al-Kubejsa flows forth the bitumen spring of Ab-al-Žîr, around which the cultivated lands of the al-Bu Člêb clan are situated. Still farther south, by the wells of aṯ-Ṯmejl, this clan also sows crops. There are no houses there, but only a few miserable huts.

Fig. 15—Tomb of as-Sajjed Mḥammad.

HÎT TO AR-RUMÂDI

At 12.50 P. M. we reached the southern edge of the salt marsh as-Sabḫa, where we rested until 2.28. Our Emir (Prince Sixtus of Bourbon) was made sick by the heat and the smell of the pitch. We then proceeded until 3.10 across an undulating, white, rocky plain. The bluffs which overlook the right bank of the Euphrates disappear by the ruins of Kalka north-

The name of the spring of al-ʿEẓi suggests that of al-ʿAṣa', which Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 683, says is a place on the Euphrates between Hît and ar-Raḥba. It is so called after the mare whose speed saved the avenger of Prince Ǧuḏejma al-Abraš, who was murdered by Queen az-Zabba'. The battle of al-ʿAṣa' and Ḫajfaḳ was famous among the Arabs. — The location of the existing spring of al-ʿEzi near Hît and al-Baḳḳ, where the notorious Queen az-Zabba' used to reside, corresponds with that of al-ʿAṣa. The name in the text of Jâḳût should probably have been written al-ʿAḍa', instead of al-ʿAṣa', the error being due to an exchange of letters not difficult in Arabic. The name al-ʿAṣa' likewise suggests that of the hamlet al-ʿAwṣijje.

west of Hît and do not come into view again until the southwest end of the Bannân fields is reached, where they are cut into an upland called al-Mrêr and al-Ḥaḳba. By 3.20 we were in the pass of Maẓîž between the bluffs and the river. On the northwestern slope of al-Mrêr flows the spring of ar-Rajjân. After four o'clock we rode through the salt basins of aš-Ša'îr, al-Ḥôẓa, and al-Mḥammadi, which are partly cultivated. At 4.45 we began to ascend the rocky spur of al-'Oḳoba, on the southern slope of which we camped at 5.10. We hastened at once to the river to wash off the salt dust which completely covered us. The heat was scorching and the east wind enervating.

Branching off immediately below the spur of al-'Oḳoba, the old clogged-up canal Žeri Sa'de runs southeast through the fertile plain of Abu Ṭîbân. At the beginning of this canal both its banks are lined solidly with stone; the reason why the left bank was provided with a wall of considerable breadth was probably to make it serve as a dike to prevent the flood waters of the Euphrates from eroding away the plain of Abu Ṭîbân.

On April 21, 1912, we were in our saddles as early as 5.27 A. M. The wind had fallen altogether. The whole east was wrapped in golden haze. The separate palms appeared as gigantic trees with tops projecting above the horizon and nearly touching the sky. We rode along the east side of the canal Žeri Sa'de through the fields constituting part of the plain of Abu Ṭîbân. The bluffs shutting in the valley of the Euphrates on the west become lower south of al-'Oḳoba and draw away from the river. On the right in the fertile plain stood the Tlêl al-'Adde ruin mound; at 6.55 it was due west of us. East of it the Sa'de canal rejoins the Euphrates, which beats against the rocky spur of al-Aswad and then makes a considerable bend towards the south. At 7.47 we were at the farm and khan of Abu Rajjât, where there are several small ponds filled with water from the Euphrates. North of the river appeared the palms of al-Ḳoṭnijje. From 8.35 to 9.40 our camels grazed at ad-Dwâr.

On a pool hard by *ḳaṭa* sand grouse were quenching their thirst. Flying in a long row they dropped down to the surface of the water and drank one after another from the same place without stopping in their flight; then they turned, came back, and drank again. Not before they had had

their fill did they fly away. There were thousands of them, forming a great ellipse.

At ten o'clock, beyond the little shrine of al-Imâm al-Uwês, we came to the range of hillocks as-Serğ, which runs from the southern bluffs northwards very close to the Euphrates. The shrine of al-Uwês consists of a whitewashed dome resting on a square base and a courtyard. From 10.30 to 11.45 we stopped in the plain of al-Mijâḏîn, which is intersected by shallow brooks. We also scared a lizard (*arwal*) which fled before us with such lightning speed that even Mḥammad could not overtake it—good runner as he was. In the fields of al-Ḫarfaše the peasants were beginning their harvest. The wheat was fully ripe but the grain small; moreover the peasants could not keep off the *ḳaṭa* birds which flew in swarms from field to field destroying the ears of grain. The luxuriant palm groves of the town of ar-Rumâdi beckoned to us from afar. At 2.35 P. M. we crossed the canal of al-Warrâr, at 2.40 that of aš-Šerîʿ, and at three o'clock the canal of al-ʿAzîzijje and entered the palm gardens and the town of ar-Rumâdi. At 3.30 we encamped on the marshy meadow northeast of the town.

Ar-Rumâdi is a wealthy settlement with about fifteen hundred inhabitants, who own all the fields from Bannân as far as al-Fellûğe. The Bejt Aram is the richest family, al-Ḥağği ʿAli being their representative. For about forty years, or since the time of Midḥat Pasha, who greatly improved or, one may say, even founded ar-Rumâdi, about 150 Jews have lived in the town together with the Moslems and have had their own synagogue. ʿAli eben Slîmân al-Bekr, the head chief of the Dlejm, built many houses in the southern part of the town. Although the town, with the surrounding district, was administered by a *ḳâjmaḳâm*, or subordinate Turkish official, it was called by the peasants *wilâje*. Similarly they called Hît as well as Kerbela *wilâje*, although no *wâli*, or governor of a vilayet, resided in those towns.

We negotiated with the *ḳâjmaḳâm* for an escort for our further trip, completed our supplies, and bought barley for the gendarmes' horses. Besides this I also arranged my cartographical records and sketched a map of the region we were to pass through.

To the east of ar-Rumâdi lie the gardens and fields of al-Ḳoṭnijje, al-Ğwejbe, aṣ-Ṣûfijje, al-Mšêhed, and as-Saḥalât.

South of them rises a hillock with the old sanctuary al-Mšêhed,[23] divided by the hollow of al-Munsarbe from the hillocks al-Muẓahrât, which, on the south, shut in the Euphrates flood plain, with the hamlets of Sôra, al-Ḳṣejbe and Sṭêḥ. Southeast of the last, on the rocky bluffs of ar-Raʿjân, stand the ar-Raḥâja ruins.[24]

East of the ar-Raḥâja ruins the plain of Šaṭṭ al-ʿAtîž widens out and is irrigated by the ditches of al-Fellâḥât, Naṣṣâf, az-Zwejr, and az-Zaʿêrijje. Above the al-Fellâḥât fields, in the midst of which stand the al-Bârûd ruins, rise the bluffs of Ǧurf al-Ḥamar and al-Ḥejṭân with the little sanctuary aš-Šejḫ Masʿûd. Farther east, the rocks of al-Muʿajjed, bordered by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫaẓar to the south, approach the Euphrates.

From ar-Rumâdi we rode via ʿAjn at-Tamr to an-Neǧef.[25]

[23] The shrine al-Mšêhed is a remnant of the settlement of Ṣandawda'.

In 684—685 A. D. Saʿd ibn Ḥudejfa ibn al-Jamân marched from Ḳarḳîsija' by way of Hît and joined al-Muṯanna ibn Muḥarraba al-ʿAbadi at Ṣandawda', where they stayed one day and one night (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 568).

Ibn Munḳid, *Iʿtibâr* (Derenbourg), Vol. 2, pp. 128 f., relates that in 1169—1170 the Caliph al-Muḳtafi Biʾamrallâh visited the mosque built in honor of the Prince of the Faithful in the environs of al-Anbâr on the right bank of the Euphrates; it was at Ṣandawdija'.

Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 168, writes that Ṣandawda' was the name of a ruined settlement on the right bank of the Euphrates above al-Anbâr. In Ṣandawda' was the mosque of ʿAli.

The traveler Pedro Teixeira noticed, when two leagues out of Ummu-r-Rûs a mosque called by the Arabs Mexat Sandadiah at a distance of about three leagues on his left (Teixeira, *Travels* [Sinclair's transl.], p. 75). — Ummu-r-Rûs is situated about twelve kilometers east-northeast of al-Mšêhed.

[24] According to the itinerary of Tukulti Enurta II we might regard these ruins as the remains of the ancient frontier town of Rapiḳi (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 2], obverse, ll. 56-57; Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

Hammurabi in the eleventh year of his reign took over the government of the towns of Rapiḳu and Šalibi (King, *Chronicles* [1907], Vol. 2, p. 99).

Adadnirari I (about 1325 B. C.) in his *Annals* (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 4, pl. 44), obverse, l. 7 (Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], p. 5), names Rapiḳu, a frontier place of the Assyrian empire.

Tiglath Pileser I (1120—1100 B. C.) conquered Dûr-Kurigalzu, Sippar ša Šamaš, Babylon, Upi, great cities with their forts, and plundered Akarsallu as far as Lubdi; also Sûḫi as far as Rapiḳi, all of which he conquered (Synchronistic History [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 4, No. 3], col. 2, ll. 18—24; Abel in: Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 198).

Streck, *Keilinschriftliche Beiträge* (1906), pp. 36 f., states that the first mention of Rapiḳi on the borders of Sûḫi occurs during the reign of Mardûknâdinachê (about 1100 B. C.).

Asurnazirpal boasts (Limestone Tablet [British Museum, No. 92,986], ll. 7-8; Inscription of Makhir [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pl. 69], obverse l. 9; Standard Inscription [Layard, *Inscriptions* (1852), plates 1 ff], l. 8; Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pll. 17-26], col. 2, l. 128; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 169, 216, 254) that he became the lord of the whole land of Laḳê and of the land of Sûḫi with the city of Rapiḳi.

Sargon (Cylinder Inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 36] ll. 12 f.; Schrader, edit., *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. 2, p. 40) mentions that he conquered Dûr-Kurigalzi, Rapiḳu, and the whole desert as far as the Brook of Egypt.

[25] This portion of our journey, as it took us into the desert away from the Euphrates, is described in the author's *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 330—335.

CHAPTER III

AN-NEĞEF TO BAGDAD BY WAY OF KERBELA

AN-NEĞEF TO ḤÂN AL-MṢALLA

On April 27, 1912, early in the morning, we visited the town of an-Neğef. From its northern gate a broad market street (*sûḳ*) runs south. The part of the town west of the *sûḳ* is called Smert and the part east of it, Sḳert. Going by the *sûḳ* one reaches the splendid mosque of Imâm al-Muʾminîn ʿAli, where ʿAli, son-in-law of the Prophet and the greatest saint of the Shiites, lies buried. As-Sajjed Ğwâd, *kilidâr* of al-Ḥaḍra, the chief administrator of the mosque of ʿAli (which is called al-Ḥaḍra), is the most powerful man in the town and its neighborhood. The Turkish Government built two military barracks in an-Neğef, one in Smert, or the main town, and another in its southwestern suburb, Ḥawwâš, where about 250 soldiers, infantry and mule cavalry besides the gendarmes, are quartered. Above the northwestern gate the town offices (*al-baladijje*) were installed. The citizens of an-Neğef annex tracts of land wherever possible, but their largest source of profit is from the pilgrims.

The flat, barren elevation on which the town is situated is called *neğef*, a name which has been transferred to the town itself, called by the Bedouins either an-Neğef, al-Mašhad, al-Mešhed, or Mašhad ʿAli.[26]

At 5.40 P. M. we departed by the road alongside the horse tramway leading to al-Kûfa. This tramway was built at the expense of the city council in 1909. On both sides of it are some poor burial grounds, al-Ḥennâne on the south, al-Kumejl farther north. From 6.03 to 7.12 our camels grazed. After this

[26] Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 309, writes that al-Ḥîra is three miles from al-Kûfa. Al-Ḥîra is built on the elevation an-Neğef, which once formed the coast of the sea, which reached in ancient times as far as here. From al-Ḥîra to the manor of al-Ḫawarnaḳ is three miles in an easterly direction. As-Sadîr was built in the desert near al-Ḥîra. — The center of al-Ḥîra is located southeast of the ruin mound of al-Knêdre, whence it is the same distance to the ruins of al-Kûfa and al-Ḫawarnaḳ.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, III, 6, says that six miles from al-Kûfa a huge dome was built, resting on pillars and with a gate on each side. All the walls were covered with splendid carpets and the floor with costly rugs. It is said that ʿAli ibn Abi Ṭâleb and his descendants are buried there.

Ibn Ğubejr, *Riḥla* (De Goeje), p. 210, records that an-Neğef by its position in the barren vicinity of al-Kûfa forms a sort of border between this town and the rocky desert. It is in rough, open country with an unobstructed and delightful view far around. About

we crossed the tracks and proceeded eastward between ruin mounds. At eight o'clock we had on our left Ḳṣejr al-Ḳena' by a subterranean aqueduct. At 8.10 we rode over an old canal and at 8.58 encamped by the Euphrates (Fig. 16) under palm trees on the fields of the Eben Barrâḳ clan. The chief of the clan, Dṛejjem eben Barrâḳ, was just then in prison, where he had been put at the request of the citizens of an-Neǧef who, whether rightly or wrongly, deeply hated him. During his absence his brother, as his representative, welcomed us in a friendly way and offered his protection to us as his guests. And of that protection we certainly were in need, as the Eben Barrâḳ clan belongs to the Ḫazâ'el tribe, with whose troop we had had a skirmish shortly before on the al-Lisân height.[27]

We explained to him what had happened and he replied that all was buried and forgotten, because the fault lay with the Ḫazâ'el, who were the attackers, while we were doing no more than defending ourselves; he added that it was also Allâh's will that our rifles carried farther than theirs.

On April 28, 1912, we perfected our notes and sketches and made a list of the tribes in the region between ar-Ruḥbe and al-Msajjeb.

April 29, 1912. We left our camp at 5.20 A. M., going in a north-northwesterly direction. At 6.05 we passed the ruins of Tell as-Sajjâr, where people from al-Kûfa search for antiquities. All the vaults and walls were built of bricks. At 6.25 we had on our left the fairly well-preserved monastery of Muslim, enclosed by high walls reminding one of the walls of the manor of al-Aḫejẓer; on our right lay the as-Shale ruins and to the east beyond them the sunken walls of the gardens of al-Kûfa. South of us a mound of ruins about one kilometer long by four hundred meters wide could be seen.

one parasang west of al-Kûfa is a famous sanctuary known by the name of ʿAli ibn Abi Ṭâleb. It stands on the spot where the she-camel carrying ʿAli's dead body knelt down. He is supposed to be buried there, but this is not certain.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, pp. 414 f.) slept in the town of Mašhad ʿAli ibn Abi Ṭâleb on the plain, an-Neǧef. He says that it is a fine town on hard, level ground and, owing to the number of its inhabitants and its architecture, is counted among the chief towns of Irak. It also has large, clean market places, which are entered by the al-Ḥadra gate; this gate leads likewise to the tomb where ʿAli is supposed to lie buried.

In 1263 the Mongol governor of Bagdad had a canal dug from the Euphrates to an-Neǧef, but it was soon clogged by sand. In 1508 this canal by order of Shah Ismâ'îl was cleaned and vaulted; the vaulted roof was then provided with holes through which the water could be drawn up. Its original name was Nahr aš-Šâh; at the present time it is called al-Ḳena' (*Luṛat al-ʿarab*, Vol. 2, 1330—1331 A. H. [1912 A. D.], p. 458).

In 1793 a new canal was built, but this was also soon clogged up by the sand. Later the canal Żeri aš-Šejḫ was dug and in the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II the canal of al-Ḥajdarijje was constructed, but the sand filled both of these in a few years. In 1912 the laying of iron pipes was begun, to lead water to an-Neǧef directly from the Euphrates (*ibid.*, pp. 458 f., 491).

[27] See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 368—369.

Farther north no remains of any considerable size were visible. This was all that remained of the once great town of al-Kûfa.[28]

A rocky, sand-strewn slope rises gradually west of the old canal of Saʿde, where we halted from 7.20 to 7.30. We photographed the old brick bridge spanning the canal (Fig. 17). At 7.48 at the farm Ḳaṣr abu Fšêže we crossed another half-caved-in canal. From the Euphrates a subterranean aqueduct branches off, which now brings water to an-Neğef. On the west extends the bare, desolate plain of al-Mamṛûṭa, with here and there isolated hillocks projecting above it. To the east our guide pointed out the hamlet Ḳaṣr Bêk Ahâmi, north of it the hamlet of Ummu Šwâri, still farther to the northeast the palm gardens of ʿAnab, and to the north-northeast the minaret of the settlement of Čifil rising above the palm trees.[29]

ḤÂN AL-MṢALLA TO KERBELA

At nine o'clock we had the Ḫân al-Mṣalla on our right. This is a large, rectangular building enclosed by high walls of brick. Each of the walls is buttressed in the center by a semicircular tower. The gate opens on the east. Along the walls in the court arcades have been built. To the east stand three smaller khans, a few coffee houses and other buildings, and a tomb. From 9.26 to 10.05 our camels grazed; from 10.30 to eleven o'clock we filled our bags with water from a pond connected with the flooded Euphrates. At 10.35 we saw on the right bank the hamlet of Umm al-ʿAğa, which is surrounded by the waters of the lake Hôr Beni Ḥasan, and on the east beyond it the large settlement of Čifil. The Euphrates was here about one kilometer wide and studded with numerous islets.

[28] Barhebraeus, *Chron. syriacum* (Bedjan), p. 106, says that al-Kûfa is identical with al-ʿAḳûla.

Elijah of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* (Brooks), p. 173, records that in 751—752 A. D. several towers were built along the transport road from al-Kûfa to Mecca to serve as sign-posts for the pilgrims.

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 165, writes that there were in al-Kûfa eighty thousand inhabitants, among them forty thousand fighting men. He mentions (*ibid.*, p. 174) the Mesğed Zafer, also called Mesğed as-Sahla.

Ibn Ğubejr, *Riḥla* (De Goeje), p. 213, relates that the destruction of the town of al-Kûfa was caused by the Ḫafâğe tribe, which camped in the country around and oppressed the inhabitants incessantly.

[29] Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 335, reports that the village of Šûša lies in the Babylonian territory below Ḥillat Beni Mazjad. There al-Ḳâsem ibn Mûsa al-Kâẓem ibn Ğaʿfar as-Ṣâdiḳ is buried, and near his tomb at Barmalâḥa is the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel, called Du al-Kifl.

Ḥağğî Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 464, mentions that Du al-Kifil is a settlement three hours from al-Kûfa, famous for the grave of the prophet al-Kifil.

Many herds of buffaloes were moving about in the water. The inhabitants cross from islet to islet on inflated skin bags. At 12.20 P. M. we had on the west the deserted Ḫân Ǧedʿân, on the east the hamlet of al-Meǧarr, and beyond it al-Melewijje.

Fig. 16—Boat on the Euphrates near al-Kûfa.

From 12.43 to 1.47 we rested opposite the hamlets of Flêfel and Umm ar-Raǧi.

Above the palms on the north the ruin mound of al-Biris came into view. Seen from the south it reminded us of the Rotunda in Vienna. On a huge ruin, which resembles a dome tilted to the east, stands a narrow, longish remnant of ancient walls.[30]

Westwards on our left extended the undulating plain of Mazrûr al-Mḥejmîd with the remains of the ancient fortress of Išân al-Mḥejmîd; on the right were seen a few ruined brick ovens (*kûra*), in which bricks for the Ḫân Sabbâr had been burned. At 3.20 we sighted, opposite the hamlet of al-Aǧdaʾ, the inlet of the Žeri Saʿde canal. Not far off to the north of it stands the Ḫân Sabbâr, a large building with semi-

[30] Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 255, calls al-Biris Burs or Aǧmet Burs, recording that Rustam marched out against the Moslems and encamped at Burs, then between al-Ḥîra and as-Sajlaḥûn, while the Moslems camped between al-ʿOḏejb and al-Ḳâḏesijje.

The Moslem leader sent out a troop mounted on horses, which rode as far as Burs, killing whoever crossed its path. The Persians fled to al-Madâjen (*ibid.*, p. 259).

By a written message ʿAli assessed the people of Aǧmet Burs for a payment of four thousand *dirhem*. Aǧmet Burs is situated below Ṣarḥ Nimrûd near Bâbil (*ibid.*, p. 274).

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 238, refers to an upper and a lower al-Burs.

circular towers. Three small khans, several coffee houses and huts, as well as some dilapidated houses, enclose it on its eastern side. On the northeast the palms of the hamlets of al-Mnêfer, Umm Helâl, al-Ḫumejsânijje, and Aʿejle showed black. Al-Biris stood out between the palms of the last two hamlets, resembling, when seen from this side, a symmetrical pyramid with an annex. Beyond and east of it were grouped high piles of old building material and on the north the horizon was shut in by the palms of the hamlets of Šantûnija, al-Ḫarḳa, and Ṛaẓbân, the high buildings of the last-named glistening in the rays of the sinking sun. We bivouacked at 4.55 west of al-Biris, close to a branch of the Euphrates.

On April 30, 1912, we started at 5.15 A. M. The sun was just coming up behind al-Biris, its rays striking the ruins and sending out countless long shafts. In the bare plain of Ammu Šwejč to the west was seen the ʿAṭšân mound of ruins from which a road leads west via Nîšân as-Saḥar and the Ḫirbet al-Mûžde to the manor Ḳaṣr al-Aḫejẓer. North of Nîšân as-Saḥar is the plain of az-Zâjdi, east of which lie the farms Ḳaṣr Nûr and ar-Rḫêṭ and farther north the farm of aṭ-Ṭemânije. Northeast of the last is the hamlet of Abu Rwejje. At seven o'clock we had to the east the huts of ar-Reẓîbe and az-Zibdijje, behind them the hamlet of Ṭwêrîğ — or, as it is officially called, al-Hindijje — and northwest of them that of Abu ʿAbed ʿAwnijjât. Riding through the al-Meğâhîl plain we met many Shiite pilgrims mounted on donkeys journeying to an-Neğef. They hire the animals from men of Bagdad, who take the pilgrims to Kerbela and return home from there with new passengers, while the Kerbela people take the pilgrims on to an-Neğef and back again. For the loan of the donkey the pilgrim has to pay from fifteen to twenty piasters (73 to 90 cents) the trip.

At eight o'clock the crags of Sdêra Ṣubḥân appeared to the west. At 8.10 we reached the Ḫân eben Nḫejle. By the side of the large khan stand three smaller ones.[31]

Beyond the Ḫân eben Nḫejle begins the lake Hôr Brâz, east of which lie the settlements of at-Taʿbûri, Hnêdijje, az-Zibîlijje, and as-Slejmânijje. To the west extend the desolate undulating plains of al-Mlêḥa and aṭ-Ṭafḥât.

[31] The present Ḫân eben Nḫejle is perhaps the Moslem military station of an-Nuḫejla.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 771, says that an-Nuḫejla lies near al-Kûfa on the Syrian borders.

To the north-northwest appeared the black outlines of the Kerbela gardens, and the golden dome of the mosque of Saḥn Ḥusejn shone out brightly. From ten to eleven o'clock we rested. At 11.45 we sighted on the west the cleft hillock of

Fig. 17—Bridge over canal of Sa'de.

Abu Râsên and in front of us numerous limekilns (*kwar*). At 12.35 P. M. we entered the Kerbela gardens at Ḳaṣr al-Hendi. After a short ride over the salt plain of al-Ḥačîme, at 1.05 we reached the town itself. As the dam of the al-Ḥsênijje canal had broken in one place and many streets were inundated, we had some difficulty in leading our camels through the town to the northern gardens where, at 2.24, we encamped by the Umm Tell ruin.

Kerbela has about thirty thousand inhabitants, half of them Persians. The most prominent tribes among the population are the Beni Sa'ad, Salâlme, al-Wuzûm, at-Tahâmze, and an-Nâṣerijje. The Dede family is the richest. It was they who constructed the canal Nahr al-Ḥsênijje, for which the Sultan Selîm rewarded them with a grant of extensive tracts of land. The most respected family is the Âl Bwe', for they buried

Ḥusejn. The main sanctuary, which stands in the western part of the town, is as-Saḥn or al-Imâm Sajjedna Ḥusejn, with a golden dome. The mosque in the eastern part is called Sajjedna ʿAbbâs. The government building was begun in 1871 at the southern edge of the town by the governor Midḥat Pasha, but it is not yet finished. The same governor also enlarged the market place, which begins at the government building. The name Kerbela is used to designate merely the eastern part of the gardens. The town proper is called al-Mašhad or Mašhad al-Ḥusejn. North of the Kerbela gardens lie the suburbs, gardens, and fields of al-Bḳêre; to the northwest, those of Ḳurra; and to the south, those of al-Ṛâẓerijje; west of the latter lie Ṛazze, then Ṛalṭawijje, Nahr al-Ḥorr, Nahr al-ʿEjsâwi, and last of all al-Ḥajdarijje on the west. From here to the southeast lie al-Bâzûl, al-Bdewânijje, aš-Šerîfijje, al-Hendi, Blêbel, and Kerbela.[32]

[32] In 684 A. D. Sulejmân ibn Ṣurad, the leader of the penitents, marched with his followers from an-Nuḫejla and spent the night at Dejr al-Aʿwar. Next day they encamped at al-Aḳsâs, or Aḳsâs Mâlek, on the banks of the Euphrates. Leaving before daybreak, they reached Ḥusejn's grave in the morning, stayed there a day and a night, and then marched on al-Ḥaṣṣâṣe, al-Anbâr, aṣ-Ṣadûd, and al-Ḳajjâra (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 545).

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 85, writes that Kerbela lies west of the Euphrates opposite Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 166, says the same thing, adding that the grave of Ḥusejn, son of ʿAli, was there, with a large tomb above it, and that the grave was visited by great numbers of pilgrims several times a year.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, IV, 6, repeats the statement of Ibn Ḥawḳal.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 130, records that Ḥusejn's grave is on the very spot where he was killed in the settlement of Kerbela, beyond Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra.

In 1016—1017 Ḥusejn's tomb at Kerbela caught fire from two candles and burned to the ground. Ḥasan ibn al-Faḍl, who had a wall built around the tomb, died about 1023—1024 A. D. (Ibn Taṛri Birdi, *Nuǧûm* [Popper], Vol. 2, pp. 123, 141). According to Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 9, p. 154, Ḥasan ibn al-Faḍl also had the fortification wall of Mašhad ʿAli built.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 870, mentions that in the administrative district of Ninawa also lies the settlement of Kerbela, the place where al-Ḥusejn was killed.

Ḍabba ibn Muḥammad al-Asade of ʿAjn at-Tamr, head chief of many clans, violated al-Mašhad (Ḥusejn's tomb) at al-Ḥâʾir (Kerbela). In 980 an army was sent to ʿAjn at-Tamr, but Ḍabba escaped in fear into the desert (Ibn Miskawajh, *Taǧârib* [Amedroz], Vol. 2, pp. 338, 414).

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 2, pp. 99f.) journeyed from al-Ḥilla to Kerbela; he says that Kerbela is a rather small town lying in a palm grove which gets its water from the Euphrates. The sacred tomb is in the center of the town by the side of a large schoolhouse and the famous monastery where pilgrims are given food. The gate to the tomb is guarded and nobody can enter unless the guards permit. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang lamps made of gold and silver. On all the doors are silk curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the Awlâd Raḥîk and Awlâd Fâjez, between whom there is constant friction, although all are Shiites. These internal dissensions are blamed for the decay of the town.

Al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâʿiẓ* (Codex vindobonensis 908 [A. F. 69]), fol. 62 r., records that to the settlement of Kerbela, where there is the grave of Ḥusejn, belong many fields.

In March, 1535, the Sultan Suleiman visited both Kerbela and an-Neğef and had the canal of al-Ḥusejnijje dug (Chiha, *La province de Baydad* [1908], p. 34; Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanisches Reich* [1827—1835], Vol. 3, p. 154).

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 464, writes that the town with the grave of Imâm al-Ḥusejn lies in the district of Kerbela, one day's march north of al-Ḥilla. It is famous for its dates.

In the neighborhood of Kerbela I locate Dejr al-Ǧemâǧem and Dejr Ḳurra, which figured in the campaign of 635 A. D. between the Moslems and Persians. The name Ḳurra has been preserved in the northwestern part of the gardens.

After the defeat at al-Ḳâdesijje, 635 A. D., a part of the Persian army fled to Dejr Ḳurra and, when hard pressed there, went on farther to al-Madâjen (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2357 f.).—

KERBELA TO THE ḤÂN AL-MAḤÂWÎL; RUINS OF BÂBIL

We were visited by a few peasants working in the gardens near by and they sketched for me in the sand a map of the surrounding country. Thus I was able to complete my topographical notes on the region between the settlements of Kerbela, Šeṭâṭa, and ar-Rumâdi. One of the peasants was camping west of al-Imâm Ḥorr, a little shrine built on the southwestern edge of the gardens, by the well of al-Ḫnêfes. South of here is the hamlet of Šerîᶜat aṣ-Ṣlejb, south of this Rezâza, and on the west ar-Rašdijje and Ẓuḫne. The canal Nahr al-Ḳâẓi, after supplying all these hamlets with water, ends in the swamp Hôr abu Dibes south of the hill Tell Ğessâne. In the evening we ascertained the latitude; we were much disturbed that night, being tormented by mosquitoes.

May 1, 1912. We departed at 5.16 A. M. To the west the trees of the hamlet of al-Ḳurṭa showed green, and southeast of the hamlet shone the sanctuary of al-Imâm Ḥorr with its bluish dome. At 5.22 we crossed the canal Nahr al-Ḳâẓi and at 5.45 the canal of al-Ḥorr. Our hungry camels grazed from

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Evidently we must seek Dejr Ḳurra north or northwest of al-Ḳâdesijje, on the west side of the Euphrates. The Persians could not flee to the south or southeast, the regions there being under the sway of the Bekr ibn Wâᵓil tribe, allies of the Moslems. The territory of this tribe stretched as far as al-Ḳâdesijje. From here northwards were the camping grounds of the Taṛleb, who remained faithful to the Persians and therefore offered a place of refuge for the fugitives.

In 701 A. D. al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ ibn Jûsef, the governor of Irak, on his march from al-Baṣra reached the region between al-ᶜOḏejb and al-Ḳâdesijje. His enemy Ibn al-Ašᶜaṯ sent against him a strong troop of cavalry, which pursued him from al-Ḳâdesijje as far as Dejr Ḳurra and then encamped. Ibn al-Ašᶜaṯ himself had joined the troop at Dejr al-Ğemâğem. Al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ even before reaching Dejr Ḳurra received reinforcements from the Syrian Caliph ᶜAbdalmalek. He had planned to escape by way of Hît to Mesopotamia and thus to be nearer to Syria, but first he encamped at Dejr Ḳurra, near al-Falâlîǧ and ᶜAjn at-Tamr. Both armies entrenched themselves and a battle took place (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1072 f.). Ibn al-Ašᶜaṯ was defeated and in his flight reached the hamlet of Beni Ğaᶜde in al-Fellûğe, where he crossed the Euphrates in a boat (*ibid.*, p. 1095).—

This report also shows that Dejr Ḳurra was situated north or northwest of al-Ḳâdesijje. Al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ wanted to escape to Hît; therefore, starting from al-Ḳâdesijje, he went west around al-Kûfa and joined the auxiliary detachment hastening to his aid from Syria. Hît he did not reach, as Ibn al-Ašᶜaṯ with the other troops joined his enemies and blocked his further progress. Dejr Ḳurra lay in the administrative district of al-Falâlîǧ, not far from ᶜAjn at-Tamr. Al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ apparently did not advance in the direction of ᶜAjn at-Tamr (for had he done so we should have been informed that he fortified himself in this stronghold), but stopped about half way between the settlements of al-Falâlîǧ situated right on the Euphrates and ᶜAjn at-Tamr — thus at the very spot where the gardens of Kerbela now lie. That al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ's communications with Mesopotamia were interrupted is also evident from his lack of provisions, because nobody brought him anything, while his enemy Ibn al-Ašᶜaṯ was in uninterrupted communication with Irak. Dejr al-Ğemâğem must have lain south of Dejr Ḳurra and at least half a day's march from the Euphrates, for Ibn al-Ašᶜaṯ reached the river in his flight only after a long forced march and then crossed it in a boat.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 652, located Dejr al-Ğemâğem on the borders of the desert in the vicinity of al-Kûfa, about seven parasangs from the latter on the road to al-Baṣra. Abu-l-Faḍâᵓil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 427, merely repeats Jâḳût's account. —

From what source Jâḳût learned the distance between al-Kûfa and Dejr al-Ğemâğem we do not know, but that Dejr al-Ğemâğem could have been on the road from al-Kûfa to al-Baṣra is out of the question. Seven parasangs south or southeast of al-Kûfa take us to the territory of the Bekr ibn Wâᵓil tribe far from Hît, to which al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ was hurrying, and, likewise, far from al-Falâlîǧ and ᶜAjn at-Tamr, between which places — at Dejr Ḳurra near Dejr al-Ğemâğem — he fortified himself.

5.55 to 6.17. At 6.20 we rode over the Nahr al-Čmâlijje. To the north, on the southwestern spur of a broad elevation, stood the shrine of al-Imâm ʿOnk. At 7.10 we had to the northwest some ruins and to the right the gardens of Ḳurra with the gardens of al-Ṛâẓerijje to the southwest of them. At 7.45 we rode through sandy, uncultivated ground past the shrine of al-Imâm ʿAwn with a green dome and a green inlaid gate. To the northwest of us was seen the upland of Umm al-Hawa and to the northeast that of Marḳada. At eight o'clock we were in the old canal of ʿAlḳumi, which once brought water from the Euphrates through the hills of ad-Daʿâlež to Kerbela and was connected with the canal running west of Hôr Râjed. At 8.18 we saw to the east some rather small ruins and the hamlet of al-Uwend; to the north the upland of Marḳada. The swamps of al-ʿEneb and al-Bḥêra west of it are shut in by Ṭâr Sawîd and the hills of al-Mṛarâṛer. We now proceeded between the knolls of ad-Daʿâlež and the salt plains of Ğâzje and as-Swâreğ, which are intersected by numerous half-caved-in canals. At 9.58 we saw more ruins on our right and from 10.05 to 10.52 we rested. At 11.20 we were in the plain of al-Bowbehâni, an area protected against inundation by earth ramparts and in which extensive gardens have been planted where cucumbers especially were grown on a large scale.

At 12.40 P.M. we crossed the boat bridge over the Euphrates and entered the town of al-Msajjeb (Fig. 18), which is wreathed, as it were, by palm trees. After turning south-southeast, we waited from 1.20 to 2.50 for the gendarme. To the north were seen the domes of the sanctuary of Awlâd Muslim.[33]

Security on the roads in the neighborhood of al-Msajjeb is guaranteed by Chief Eben Fejḥâl of the Maʿâmre clan.

The fields here are irrigated by the long canal of an-Nâṣrijje and the shorter one of al-Ḳaṭṭ. At 3.17 we had on our right the large Tell Masʿûd and al-ʿEğêmi ruins; then other ruins including that of the shrine of as-Sajjed Ibrâhîm and the Išân Najnwa. To the east lay the ruin knoll Išân al-Manṣûrijje.[34]

[33] In this settlement the Shiite pilgrims revere a grave where al-Musajjeb ibn Naǧaba is supposed to have been buried. He was a member of the Fezâra tribe, lived at al-Kûfa, was an ardent follower of ʿAli, and desired to avenge the death of Ḥusejn (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 497, 551).

[34] These extensive ruins are in part the remains of the Moslem town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra. About 750 A.D. Jazîd ibn ʿOmar ibn Hubejra built a farm near Ğisr Sûraʾ, which came to be called Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra (al-Belâdori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], p. 287).

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 121, asserts that Ḳaṣr Hubejra is a large town irrigated from the Euphrates, with well-frequented markets. A *ǧâmeʿ* (cathedral mosque) is built in the market place; among the inhabitants there are many weavers and Jews.

Both to the right and left we could see the high embankments of ancient canals. At 3.55 the ruins Išân al-Ḥaṣn appeared on the left; to the east of these the Išân al-ʿÛfi, and to the southwest of the latter the Išân as-Sajjed ʿAbbâs.

FIG. 18—Al-Msajjeb from the west.

Difficulty in crossing an irrigation ditch caused a delay from 4.30 to 4.52. At 5.20 on the left we saw the Išân al-Badd and east of it the Išân umm al-Ward. At 6.15 we passed over a wide old canal and at 6.43 camped behind the Ḫân al-Maḥâwîl. In the large *ḫân* was a gendarmerie station and behind it clustered about thirty huts. The settlement Ḳaṣr al-Maḥâwîl lies farther east. I was seized by a violent attack of fever which shook me all night and did not leave me until morning.

May 2, 1912. At 5.16 A.M. we took the road going south. At 5.33 we had on our right the ruins Išân abu Rûṭe, to the

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 305, says that Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra is situated near the Euphrates proper, from which many small canals lead to it. On the opposite side, to the west in the desert, lies Kerbela. Ibn Hubejra, the political administrator of Irak in the reign of the Caliph Merwân II, built the town near the boat bridge of Sûra' and the old city of Babylon.

The book *al-ʿAzîzi*, as quoted by Abu-l-Feda', gives the distance from the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra to the Euphrates proper as two parasangs.

The Išân Najnwa is the Nînawa' mentioned by aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser.3, p. 2190. Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 870, writes that Kerbela is a town in the administrative district of Nînawa', which lies in the fertile country around al-Kûfa.

southeast the Išân al-Ḥâṭûnijje, to the south the al-Ḳrejni and al-Bezel ruins, and to the southwest the palm grove of al-Baṭṭa. At 6.50 we crossed the canal of Bedʿat as-Sejjâḥijje and then that of al-Fendijje; the latter brings water to the shrine of Umm Ḥamdân. The region is owned by the families of al-Jisar, al-Ğerâwne, and al-Ğedi. At 7.37 we rode over the bridge spanning the canal Nahr Nîl and came to the high, crumbling ruin mound of Bâbil. At 8.25 we halted near the shrine of ʿAli eben al-Ḥasan and walked to the ruins, just then being excavated under the direction of Professor Robert Koldewey. This gentleman welcomed us in a friendly way, spoke about the results of the excavations, and showed us different parts of the old town. Then, after regaling us with refreshments, he bade us good-by, and we returned to our camels. At 2.15 P.M. we left ʿAli eben al-Ḥasan, reaching the Ḫân al-Maḥâwîl at 4.55.

THE ḪÂN AL-MAḤÂWÎL TO BAGDAD

On May 3, 1912, we started at 5.17 A.M. in a northerly direction. At 6.12 we had on our right the shrine of al-Imâm Ḫaẓer and on our left the aẓ-Ẓbâʿ ruins. At 7.12 we crossed the Nahr an-Nâṣrijje and at 7.21 were at the deserted khan of the same name, northeast of which stands the Išân abu Šaʿîr. From 8.05 to 8.52 our camels grazed. The soil here is much mixed with sand and small gravel and overgrown chiefly with *ʿačreš*, but those places which are sufficiently irrigated either from the river or springs are covered with luxuriant grasses. On the other hand, spots depending on the rain alone soon dry up and from May onwards resemble a bare, scorched desert. At 8.55 we crossed the Nahr al-Msajjeb. At 9.20 on the left we saw the shrine Mizâr Kâẓem al-ʿÛfi; at 9.35 we passed two buttes formed by the aṭ-Ṭwejbe ruins and sighted to the northwest the Išân aṣ-Ṣlejbi.

We met several hundred soldiers marching against the Ba ʿEjğ *fellâḥîn*, owners of the lands southeast of Ḫân al-Maḥâwîl, who only a few days before had attacked the *ḳâjmaḳâm* of al-Ḥilla and killed the officer in command of the gendarmes and several of his men. At eleven o'clock we reached the khan and gendarmerie station at al-Ḥaṣwa. West of the highroad from al-Msajjeb lies the farm of al-Hrâwi. At 11.17 we crossed the Nahr as-Sikandarijje (or al-Iskandrijje), west of

which on the highroad stands the khan of the same name. At 11.44 the road leading by this khan to al-Msajjeb and Kerbela turns to the left. We continued our way across a desolate country and through the Ammu Sfûᶜ ruins, and at 1.34 P. M. reached the ruined Ḫân al-Bîẓ, with old ruin mounds adjoining. From 1.48 to 2.35 we rested at the Nahr al-Laṭîfijje. On the right was the Šejšebâr ruin. At 3.58 we reached the *nahr,* khan, and gendarmerie station of al-Maḥmûdijje. This is a village with twenty inns, coffee houses, shops, and a few dwelling houses. To the west appeared the huge Išân abu Ḥabba and northeast of it the al-Meḳâᶜîd ruin. At 4.40 the Išân ad-Dêr was to the left. We then crossed the old Nahr al-Malek. At 5.20 we saw the deserted Ḫân az-Zâd on the left. In the vicinity camp the Ba ᶜÂmer, a branch of the Maᶜdân tribe.

This is a wild, inhospitable region. Both to right and left are ruin mounds and between them scorched, bare ground. Only here and there in some low-lying spots *ᶜačreš* was thinly growing, and even these spots were covered by a dark gray layer of dust. Ahead of us the wind raised dust and sand which, forming high columns and moving from place to place, frequently covered us from head to foot. With the dry air, the hot sun, and the parching southeast wind it was no wonder that we were eager to make headway. From 5.50 to 6.27 our camels grazed southeast of al-Abjaẓ, after which we remained in the saddle until 8.55, when we bivouacked in the ditch to the left of the highroad. We could not light a fire as there was no fuel and we were afraid of thieves, whom our fire might have attracted. That the Tigris was not far away we were soon aware from the multitudes of mosquitoes which found us in less time than it takes to tell.

On May 4, 1912, we started at 5.11 A. M. On the right sailing boats on the Tigris came into view, floating lazily on the river, which is here bordered with palms. The sun sent out its first rays as if to spy out the country and seemed to rise from the water, so low was it on the horizon. The road was full of people. Peasant folk of both sexes were bringing vegetables, poultry, and grain to market; Shiite pilgrims were marching to the Holy Cities or returning from them; several funeral parties with the bodies of dead Shiites were making for Kerbela or an-Neǧef to bury them there; Bagdad townsmen with their servants were journeying to their country estates; dealers in live stock drove before them buffaloes and sheep

for the butchers of Bagdad — the rush and bustle on all sides were unmistakable signs that we were near a big town. But Bagdad itself was still covered with a heavy blanket of mist, asleep on both sides of a beautiful river. To the north above the town and through the vapory clouds shone the gilded domes of the Shiite sanctuary of al-Kâẓimên.

At 6.15 we ascended the long embankment of al-Ḫerr (which had been built for a railway but was being used as a highroad), crossed the iron bridge, and turned north through a barren plain overgrown with nothing but *ʿačreš*, in order to reach the highroad to Mosul. Not far from the tomb of as-Sitt Zobejde soldiers were having rifle practice. The officer in command permitted us to pass between the firing party and the target, but gave the gendarme a sharp scolding for leading us that way. The poor gendarme! He was an old man from al-Maḥâwîl whom we kept in our service that he might buy clothes for his ragged grandchildren. His son had been killed a few days before by the Ba ʿEjğ.

At eight o'clock we reached the Mosul highroad and encamped under the palms in the garden of ʿAli Ḥâğğ Ṭaʿma. We enjoyed our stay there very much. The ground was dry, the palms gave us their shade, and the mulberries their fresh fruit. Although there was but little water in the Tigris hard by, the banks were covered with lush grass, a pleasing sight to our camels who had had very little to eat for several days past; therefore nothing was lacking now for our complete recreation. And recreation was something we very much needed.

CHAPTER IV

BAGDAD TO TEKRÎT

BAGDAD TO WELL OF AL-ḤṢÊNI

On May 8, 1912, we proceeded toward the west, at first through the gardens and then over the fields of aṭ-Ṭaff. The soil grew wetter as we approached the lake Hôr Dihne, which dries up in the autumn but in the spring fills again. On its western as well as on its southern shore the Baṭṭa clan of the Zôbaʿ tribe was camping with their chief, Ẓâri eben Ḥamûd. At 6.20 A. M. we turned northwest and at 7.40 crossed the canal Nahr Baččâč, which conducts the water from the Hôr Dihne southeast to the Tigris. In front of us in the morning light shone the summit of the ancient tower of ʿAḳarḳûf, to the south the ruin mound of al-Bẓâr, and to the west the hillocks of as-Sarrâḥa and the Hôr abu Ǧedâjed.

From 9.20 to 9.55 we halted at ʿAḳarḳûf. This is the remains of a huge tower, with heaps of old brickwork lying about. The tower was built of large sun-dried and burnt bricks, between which were laid palm leaves cemented with pitch.[35]

Northwest of ʿAḳarḳûf stands the ruin mound of Bajjûẓ, a little below it the al-Asmar and al-Faras ruins, and west of them the shrine of Sâlḥijjîn adorned with a small dome. At 11.25 we saw the latter due south of us.[36]

We rode northwest along the dry edge of the Hôr ad-Dam, which was planted with turnips (*šalṛam*). From twelve o'clock to 1.10 P. M. we rested. At 1.35 we were at the wells Bijâr Ḳarma. Passing them we crossed the Nahr al-Ḳarma,

[35] ʿAḳarḳûf is the ancient frontier stronghold of Dûr-Kurigalzu, built perhaps by the Babylonian king Kurigalzu I (1460—1445 B. C.) (Winckler, *Thontafeln*, in: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* [1889—1900], Vol. 5, p. 16), where there was the temple of the god Bel.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 697, and al-Ḳazwînî, *ʿAǧâʾib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 284, call ʿAḳarḳûf a settlement in the administrative district of Duǧejl, four parasangs from Bagdad. Close by rises a high knoll which can be seen for a distance of five parasangs.

[36] Sâlḥijjîn was a station on the highroad from Bagdad to al-Anbâr.

Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 3, p. 1600, relates that in 865 A. D. the moat of the town of al-Anbâr was filled with water from the Euphrates and overflowed so that it inundated the whole country around, even as far as as-Sâliḥîn. — Most likely it flowed through the channel of al-Ḳarma and flooded the vicinity of as-Sâliḥîn, just as it did in 1915.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 13, writes that this place name is written Sâliḥîn and pronounced Ṣâliḥîn, but that both are wrong, as the correct way of writing and pronouncing it is Sajlaḥîn. Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 4, adds that this settlement lies on the Nahr ʿÎsa.

which branches off the Euphrates west of as-Saḳlâwijje. This channel is scarcely two meters deep and had in it at that time no more than twenty centimeters of water. West of it and to the south of where we were stood the Bijâẓ and al-Ašhâbi ruins and to the north of us the al-ʿAḳla and al-Mḳajjer ruins.

At 1.55 we had on our left the shrine of Sajjedna Ibrâhîm eben Ḫalîl ʿammu ʿAli. At 4.10 we rode east of a ruin mound on the top of which are two white shrines, Banât al-Ḥasan; and we encamped at 4.31 at the foot of the plateau of Ḥamra Beni Saʿed east of the white hill of al-Mağaṣṣa. A little distance from us there was a camp of the Dlejm, whose feelings were very bitter against the Government and, oddly enough, against us, too, because we were accompanied by the gendarmes. They reproached us with having imprisoned their head chief, Neğres eben Ḳâʿûd. According to them he had committed no offense whatever but was deceived by the tax collector, who wanted him to pay a tax a second time, although he had already paid it without getting a receipt. The gendarmes did not sleep all night for fear of the Dlejm, and, as a matter of fact, after midnight someone fired a shot at them. We all sprang to arms, though to no purpose, for nobody appeared. Yet in spite of the absolute quiet we could not sleep any more.

May 9, 1912. At 5.16 A. M. we rode northwestwards along the eastern edge of the Hôr abu Rwejs, where glistened the tabular hill of al-Mağaṣṣa, while beyond it farther to the west appeared the white shrine Makân al-Mahdi. At 6.20 we passed through the Hôr abu-l-ʿWejžîle, to the north of which rises the Tell Ṛarîb.

Our guide, a native of Tekrît, said that the Dlejm had told him that the Šammar had revolted against the Government and were now raiding both the highroad from Bagdad to al-Fellûğe and the one from Bagdad to Tekrît and Mosul. The reason was that twenty days earlier their head chief, Meğwel eben Farḥân, had been deposed by the Government and superseded by his brother, Ḥmejdi. Meğwel, enraged, had leagued himself with Fejṣal, another brother, and had gone on the warpath. The preceding winter Fejṣal had been in Neğd, in central Arabia, the original home of the Mesopotamian Šammar, for the purpose of appeasing the Tûmân, who, after a disagreement with his father, Farḥân, had migrated to Neğd in a body. Fejṣal's mission had met with success, even to the

extent of bringing the recalcitrants back to Mesopotamia. Once there, it had not been difficult to gain them over for the revolt, as they hated Ḥmejdi fiercely because he had been the favorite son of Farḥân.

This story frightened our gendarmes almost out of their wits, and they both began to lament the cruel fate Allâh had reserved for them. For were we not traveling in a country which the Šammar would have to pass if they wished to attack travelers on the Bagdad-Fellûğe road? And we should soon have to take the Tekrît road where the Šammar might also be plundering. And surely they would not spare the gendarmes, the representatives of the Government. We did our best to console them, but in vain. They kept up their wailing.

We rode over an undulating plain which rises gradually towards the west. Here and there were scattered low, domed hillocks. Only the low-lying spots were overgrown with perennials and annuals. In one of these flat areas at the southern foot of the upland of Redâjef north of the well of Abu Čalb, our camels grazed from 8.40 to 9.20. To the west our guide pointed out the wells of al-Kejfijjât and to the north the well of ar-Rašrâši.

The gendarmes could not be pacified. All the time they spoke of their children, parents, and brothers, insisting that we should all perish in the desert, that nobody would ever know our murderers, and that we should therefore remain unavenged. The air was now full of dust, the sun shining but feebly, and the heat oppressive. From 11.02 to 11.55 we rested in the district of aṯ-Ṯrêṯer. There was not a hill, knoll, or tree to be seen in any direction. Only the undulating plain with its broad rises and shallow depressions extended before and behind us. It was very difficult to keep a straight course and the guide himself begged us to take our direction by the compass.

THE WELL OF AL-ḤṢÊNI TO KAHAF KALB

West of the well of al-Ḥṣêni our camels grazed from 3.42 P. M. to 4.20. To the south were seen the low hills of ʿAkkâz, to the east of which is the well of as-Sabʿa with the water of ʿAlît al-Banât to the south, and to the north at the foot of the upland of Redâjef the well of al-Eḫsêfât. Suddenly the gendarmes refused to go any farther, even threatening to

return to the Tigris if we persisted on our course. As the guide joined them, nothing was left for us but to negotiate. All that day we had not seen a single tent nor a human being. We could have done without the gendarmes, but not

FIG. 19—Rampart mound (*čâlw*) near well of Abu Ẓhêr.

without the guide. Finally we agreed to go to the Tigris but in a northerly, not easterly, direction; and therefore we turned north-northeastward toward a huge mound of earth which appeared on the horizon. To the west we had the wells of Ḫenfsân, al-Ṛziwi, and Ḥlejž aḏ-Ḏîb; to the east that of as-Šabʿa. At 6.50 we encamped in a valley covered with grasses and perennials.

On May 10, 1912, by 5.02 A. M. we were in our saddles and at six o'clock, when north of the well of al-Ṛardaḳijje, we reached a rampart mound (*čâlw*) between four and six meters high, thirty meters wide at the bottom, and fifteen meters on the top. In some places circular bulges projected, resembling remnants of towers. On the west side there extended a shallow depression from which the earth for making the mound may have been taken and which would also explain why the mound was considerably higher on the west than on the east side. We continued along the mound, for the most part on its eastern side. In the neighborhood grew *rimṯ* and *arṯa*. To the west appeared the broad upland of aš-Šnânât, in which are the wells of Lubbâd and al-Barâṛîṯ. East-northeast of al-Ṛardaḳijje is the water of Abu ʿAẓâm. From 8.25 to 8.53

our camels grazed between the wells of Abu Ẓhêr and Abu Šerrâṭa (Fig. 19). To the east the horizon was shut in by the low, broad hills of al-Mṭabbaḳ, near which the wells of al-ʿEnêḳ and aš-Štêṭ are located. To the west the tomb of Abu Ḥğêra came into view.

At eleven o'clock a high minaret appeared above the horizon, and west of it a dome in the town of Sâmarra shone like gold. Other domes and then some buildings began to appear through the haze, which made their glitter, position, and shape seem constantly to change. The burning sunbeams scorched us unmercifully, the air quivered, and presently the haze formed dense sheets, which hung above the wide horizon, altering the aspect of the whole country every little while. To the east on the Tigris were seen the Eṣtablât ruins and the ruins and hamlets of al-Ḳabbân, al-Muʿêber, Ammu Šaʿêfe, Tell al-Mṣâjeḥ, al-Ṛaẓâẓer, al-Bḥêrijje, al-Ḥbâb, Tell Ḏahab, and at-Twêṯe.

At 12.45 P. M. we turned a little to the right from the rampart mound, crossed at one o'clock an ancient canal, and rode through a desolate, white plain overgrown with *ʿerž* and *šefalleḥ* plants and *sidr* trees. From 1.30 to 2.35 we rested between the hamlets of Šerîʿat al-Ṛazâl and al-Maʿôğîl by the highroad leading from Bagdad to Tekrît. To the west of us was the end of the rampart mound, to the east were tents belonging to the working gangs building the railroad track. We now proceeded along the highroad northwards. To the left rose gradually a rocky slope, which soon changed into a line of precipitous bluffs overlooking the Tigris valley and shutting off the western view. In the southern part of these bluffs, which is called Kahaf Kalb, are the wells of Abu Ḳṣêr and Abu Šenîne. At 3.55 the ruin mound of Kahaf Kalb was seen on our left, north of it the aṣ-Ṣlejbijje ruin, still farther north on the high bluffs the castle Ḳaṣr al-Ḫalîfa or al-ʿÂšeḳ, and to the northeast the few huts of Ḳerje ʿÂbed.

In the undulating plain known as Ṯummûm, west of al-ʿÂšeḳ, are the natural well of al-Ağwadi and the ruin mound of al-Ḥwêṣlât.

KAHAF KALB TO TEKRÎT

At 4.20 we had on our left the bluffs of Kahaf Kalb with the cave of the same name. The land we were passing

through was cultivated. Between the road and the foot of the bluffs stretches the old canal of al-Isḥâḳi. On our right we saw the modern town of Sâmarra and the ruins of the older city, long since abandoned. How gigantic must once have been the capital Bagdad, built and embellished by so many caliphs, when even Sâmarra, only a temporary residence of theirs, boasted of such an extent! Sâmarra is full of memorials of times long past, while in the capital, Bagdad, not one of the splendid ancient buildings is preserved. There all has been torn down and destroyed, and the remnants of stately palaces have been used for repairing the houses and huts of today.

At 5.05 we made camp on a small headland right on the river below the castle of al-ʿÂšeḳ.[37]

From the rocky right bank (Fig. 20) there issues on the very brink of the Tigris a vigorous spring of pure fresh water, much cooler and better than that of the river. Not far from it some raftsmen, returning from Bagdad, were lying down for a short rest. Their donkeys were laden with large panniers filled with bags sewn of tanned goatskins. The raftsmen travel with these bags as far as Kurdistan, where they buy lumber, grain, wool, or butter; then they make small rafts of the lumber, and, tying skin bags filled with air underneath and loading the rafts, they sail down the Tigris to Bagdad. There they sell everything with the exception of the skin bags. These they put again on their donkeys, which they either bring with them or buy on the road, and go back to trade with the Kurds once more.

On May 11, 1912, at 4.58 A. M., we traveled along the eastern bank of the al-Isḥâḳi canal.[38]

[37] Ibn Ğubejr, *Riḥla* (De Goeje), p. 233, relates that he encamped near the settlement of al-Ḥarba, which lies in a beautiful and very fertile region. From there he wandered all night and rested in the morning on the banks of the Tigris not far from a castle called al-Maʿšûḳ. This is said to have been the pleasure site of Zobejde, daughter of the uncle of Harun ar-Rashid and his wife. The distance from this point to Tekrît is one day's march.

Thevenot, *Voyages* (Paris, 1689), Vol. 2, p. 206, saw on the right a village called Aaschouk (ʿAšûḳ) and another, Maaschouk (Maʿšûḳ), on the left. The natives explained to him that there was a tower in each of these places, with a lover living in one and his sweetheart in the other. Here is the sixth halting place for caravans traveling from Mosul to Bagdad.

[38] Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâ'ib* (Brit. Mus. MS), fol. 36r.; (Le Strange), pp. 18 f., writes that the Nahr al-Isḥâḳi branches off the Tigris a little distance from Tekrît, flows past various farms and lonely places, touches the settlement of Ṭejrân and the manor of al-Ǧaṣṣ, built by the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣembillâh, irrigates the farms opposite Sâmarra, which are called by number from first to seventh, and empties into the Tigris opposite the settlement of al-Maṭîra. —

The manor of al-Ǧaṣṣ stood on the right bank above the manor of al-Hârûni, opposite which, on the left bank, rose the manor of al-Maʿšûḳ. It is identical with the Ḳaṣr al-ʿÂšeḳ of today. Al-Maṭîra was a pleasure resort for the inhabitants of Bagdad and Sâmarra, and lay about two parasangs below the latter (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 4, p. 568). The settlement of Ṭejrân is located north of the manor of al-Hârûni, perhaps in the al-Ḥwêṣlât ruin.

To our right, on the left bank of the Tigris, rose the walls of aš-Šnâs and the minarets of Abu Ẓalaf and Imâm Dôr. At 6.15 we sighted on a bluff to our left the ruin mound of al-Ḥwêṣlât; on the right were the cultivated fields of al-

Fig. 20—Rocky right bank of the Tigris near the castle of al-ʿÂšeḳ.

Bu ʿAbbâs. The flood plain widens out here as the aẓ-Ẓbâʿi bluffs withdraw towards the west. After seven o'clock we rode through fields where barley was being harvested. At 7.15 the hamlet of ʿAbbâs was on our right; behind it, on the left bank, rose the rectangular minaret of Abu Ẓalaf. From 8.32 to 8.55 our camels grazed near a path which comes down from that part of the upland of aẓ-Ẓbâʿi where the al-Mčêšîfe ruins, the spring al-Hwêra, and the well of al-Ḥajza are situated. At 9.20 we saw on the right of the road the ruin mound of Rasm al-Mḥêğîr, where the flood plain is only about one kilometer wide. At 10.50 we were at the tomb Ḳabr al-ʿArûs below the bluffs of Ḥašm al-Žadme. The fields northeast of the tomb,

Along the right bank of the Nahr al-Isḥâḳi the road Ṭarîḳ al-Isḥâḳi led from Sâmarra to al-Anbâr (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, p. 1600). — Since at no place did the main channel of the Nahr al-Isḥâḳi approach nearer than eighty kilometers to al-Anbâr, we must assume that the road followed along the right bank of a branch of this canal. In order to avoid the irrigation ditches, this road must have kept upon the upland of Redâjef. The branch canal must have left al-Isḥâḳi west of the present Eṣṭablât and run south, while the Nahr al-Isḥâḳi proper rejoined the Tigris southeast of Eṣṭablât. The branch I regard as the now filled-in canal of al-Farḥaṭijje.

called Ḥâwi al-ʿÔğa, are owned by the Bêğât clan of Sâmarra. From 12.00 to 12.30 P.M., near the al-Mžêbre fields, we filled our bags with water from the flooding river, which had already reached the rocky bluffs on the west, cutting off the direct route to Tekrît. Hence we took the highroad leading through the *šeʿîb* of al-Fahal (which rises at the water of aš-Šâčmi) and ascended to the upland of al-Maṭlaʿ on the west. In the river numerous islets covered with poplars showed black, but all the way from al-ʿÂšeḳ neither tree nor bush grew on either bank. At 1.15 we crossed the deep *šeʿîb* of ar-Rûmijje, at 1.25 the *šeʿîb* of Šîšîn, and at 2.02 that of Šaʿeba. Down in the river to the east we could see the somewhat large island of Čîwân, the property of al-Bu ʿAği; far away on the northeastern horizon appeared the ridge of al-Ḥamrîn, to the west of us the sanctuary of al-Arbaʿîn with the tomb of Mḥammad al-Bedr to the north of it, and ahead of us the ruin mounds Tlûl al-Ğaffa, which we soon left on our right.

The houses of modern Tekrît[39] cover a rocky spur of the upland in the northeastern quarter of a tract of ruins. To the east the spur falls steeply to the river; to the south it sinks into a deep hollow; to the north it gradually merges into a cove in the river bank; while to the west a steep saddle connects it with the higher levels of the upland. The southern part of the inhabited settlement is called al-Ḳalʿa; the northern, al-Ḥâra. In the saddle is a cemetery, where we made a halt at 2.27. The hollow to the south, which is called al-Mesîl, divides the ruins into two parts. The ruin mounds of the southern part, al-Ğaffa, are of more than the usual height. Another large ruin mound, as-Seken, lies northwest of the present settlement. Tekrît is inhabited by about one thousand families, of which many are Jewish; but there is not a single Christian family. The inhabitants' principal means of living is through trading with the Kurds and with the towns of Sâmarra and Bagdad.

[39] See below, Appendix XXI.

CHAPTER V

TEKRÎT TO RÂWA BY WAY OF AṮ-ṮARṮÂR

TEKRÎT TO THE ŠEʿÎB OF ŠÎŠÎN; THE COUNTRY NORTH OF TEKRÎT

Having found a reliable guide in the person of one Aḥmed al-Ḥaṭṭâb and after taking in a supply of barley for the gendarmes' horses, we left the untidy settlement of Tekrît at 5.25 and set out westward over the bare plain. We rode past the tomb of Mḥammad al-Bedr and the large ruined sanctuary — once a monastery — of al-Arbaʿîn, until the wide but shallow valley of Šîšîn was reached, where we bivouacked at 6.20. Our hungry camels found fairly good pasture there, while we enjoyed the pure atmosphere and perfect quiet of the place.

Our guide drew for us in the sand a map of the country.

North of Tekrît stand the hills Tlûl Ğaḥaʾ. In the flood plain north of these hills end the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥamar, close to which lie the aṭ-Ṭwejbet ruins and the cave Moṛârat as-Saʿlûwa; farther on are the *šeʿibân* of al-Čerîm with a well of the same name, then come the *šeʿibân* of Abu Reǰâš, al-Ğêsât with the wells of Abu Ḳoṭob and ar-Rbêẓa, and finally aš-Šrejmijje with the spring of aš-Šbejha. On the river bank by the last-named *šeʿîb* is the gendarmerie station Nuḳṭat aš-Šrejmijje and by al-Ğêsât the Ḥân al-Ḥarnîne. Close to the *šeʿîb* of al-Čerîm is the shrine Ḳubbet abu Ḥalḥalân. North of aš-Šrejmijje, the ridges of al-Makḥûl[40] and al-Mčêḥîl run north-northwest from the Tigris and are divided from each other by the hollow, Ğufrat al-Ḥâr, through which winds the *šeʿîb* of Ğehennam, which enters the Tigris near the ruined fort Ḳaṣr al-Banât.

The erosion of the Tigris through the southern half of the ridge of al-Mčêḥîl has created the defile of al-Ḥânûḳa. Close to this defile the Ḥân an-Namel is built by the river; above it, to the north, lie the Ḳalʿat

[40] The ridge of al-Makḥûl is a part of the mountain chain which was once called Bâramma'. The present name may have been given to it after the settlement and creek of al-Kuḥejl.

Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* (Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 11, p. 58, and Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 4, p. 260, refer to a *šeʿîb* of al-Kuḥejl twenty parasangs south of Mosul. There, in the time of the Caliph ʿAbdalmalek (685—705), the allied Taṛleb and al-Jemen tribes met the Ḳejs tribe in battle. — Twenty parasangs from Mosul would lead us to the ridge of al-Makḥûl.

The father of the learned bishop Moses Barcepha, who died in 903, was a native of the settlement of al-Kuḥejl on the Tigris (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719—1728], Vol. 2, fol. 218).

Al-Iṣṭaḥri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 75, records a place called as-Sinn on the Tigris, about one day's march from the ridge of Bâramma', through which the river Tigris cuts its channel. The ridge stretches west far into Mesopotamia.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 480, says that the settlement of al-Kuḥejl lies below Mosul on the west bank of the Tigris opposite al-Ḥadîṯa. The mosque there is called Meshed al-Kuḥejl. Al-Kuḥejl is said once to have been a great town.

Thevenot, *Voyages* (Paris, 1689), Vol. 2, p. 197, journeyed from Mosul to Bagdad alongside a ridge where, as the story goes, a Frank built a castle called Mekhoul-Calaï (Ḳalʿat

Šerḳât ruins, or the ancient Ashur. Along the western foot of the ridge of al-Makḥûl winds the valley of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr, which rises northwest of the end of the ridge near the hills Tell ʿAbda,[41] al-Mrejḳiṣ, and an-Neğme.

The natives locate the head of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr in the *šeʿîb* of aṭ-Ṯrejṭîr, which is joined on the right by the ʿAbdân, Ḫorr Morr, al-Ḫnêfes, and Fwêʿa *šeʿibân* and on the left by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥamar. In the last-named *šeʿîb* are the waters of Saḥl Ḥamed, al-ʿElêbât, and ad-Dibšijje; in that of aṭ-Ṯrejṭîr, the water of al-Ǧemal. At the junction of al-Ḥamar with aṭ-Ṯrejṭîr are the remains of the bridge al-Ḳanṭara, southwest of which lie the ruins of al-Ḥaẓr. East of these ruins, near the river bed of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr, is the al-Asrab ruin. Out from the ridge of al-Makḥûl run the *šeʿibân* of aṣ-Ṣafaʾ, al-ʿAnejbe, Čhaft al-Ḫejl, as-Swejse, al-ʿAžâreb (with the spring ʿAjn Muṭlaḳ), Umm al-Ṛuruba, al-Manğûr, and az-Zubejdi. In the last-named are the natural wells of az-Zubejdi, Belâlîž,[42] Abu Šâṭen, and Ḫedren.

West of the well of Ḫedren rises the Tell Baḳr ruin mound, and south of it stands the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd. On the ridge of al-Makḥûl, above the Tigris, are the al-Msaḥḥaḳ and al-Ǧabbâr ruins with, to the south, the well of al-Maras and the *šeʿîb* and shrine of al-Mṣallaḥa. South of az-Zubejdi aṭ-Ṯarṭâr is joined on the left by the *šeʿibân* of at-Tmêrât, Ab-al-Ḳdûr, as-Samûme, Umm Ṛurube (with the well al-Ḫejl), al-Efêteḥ, and Abu Ǧedʿa; this last *šeʿîb* is traversed by the road to ʿÂna. The *šeʿibân* which join aṭ-Ṯarṭâr on the right are shallow and short. South of al-Ḥaẓr are the *šeʿibân* of Sadde, ad-Dbârijje, and aṭ-Ṯejlijje, the latter coming from the wells of aš-Šûh, al-Kḥejfât, and al-ʿAẓâmijjât. In the *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧuḥrân is a well of the same name, west of which lies the Bîr Nufejʿa and to the south the watering place of as-Ṣharijjât. East of this are the wells of al-Ṛorejrât, with the well of aš-Štejṭât to the south of them. Below the *šeʿîb* of az-Zubejdi aṭ-Ṯarṭâr is joined by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥdejbe, at the head of which lie the Bîr abu Ḏkêr and the Benijjet al-Fâğ ruin. Southwest of the latter are the wells of al-Baḥḥât, as-Semadân, Abu Zbêr, Ammu Ṭbûḳ, al-Lôlaḥijje, and al-Helhi. Southeast of Abu Zbêr are the wells of al-Merwân, aṭ-Ṯmejlijjât, al-Muṣṭafjât, and al-Mraʾ. West of at-Tmêrât are the wells of al-ʿArsa, al-Mâneʿe, and Benijjet al-Mâlḥa. Immediately below the junction of the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ṛurube with aṭ-Ṯarṭâr is that of the *šeʿîb* of aṭ-Ṭbejšijje, and close to the mouth of the *šeʿîb* of al-Efêteḥ near Ḳabr aṣ-Ṣlubi is that of a *šeʿîb* descending from the springs of al-Ǧrejbîʿât.

Makḥûl). — Ḳalʿat Makḥûl is also known as Ḳaṣr al-Banât. Right below it the Tigris receives the *šeʿîb* of Ǧehennam, which may be identical with the *šeʿîb* of al-Kuḥejl. This agrees with the twenty parasangs distance from Mosul.

Al-Makḥûl, perhaps, is also identical with the older al-ʿAḳr.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 2, p. 133), after two marches from Tekrît, reached the settlement of al-ʿAḳr on the bank of the Tigris. He writes that above the town rises a conical hill with the remains of a castle at the foot of which stands the Ḫân al-Ḥadîd, solidly built and strengthened with towers. From here to Mosul there was one settlement after another on the road.

According to Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 267, this settlement was called ʿAḳr ibn Zuʿlaʾ.

[41] Al-Aḫṭal, *Dîwân* (Salhani), p. 32, mentions Tell ʿAbda near al-Ḥaššâk on the aṭ-Ṯarṭâr river.

[42] Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 711, says that al-Belâlîḳ is a place between Tekrît and Mosul and that it is also called al-Belâlîğ, by interchanging *ḳ* with *ğ*. — The *ğ* here represents a palatal pronunciation of *ḳ*, which in the Rwala dialect differs from the sound of *ğ*.

THE ŠEʿÎB OF ŠÎŠÎN TO AL-ĞAMMA

On May 12, 1912, we began our march at 5.12 A. M. in a westerly direction through an undulating country with a few broad valleys. To the southwest appeared a rather low cone where the well of al-Ṛurbân is situated; to the northwest some little heaps of stone marked the position of the small spring of al-Bêğât. At 6.05 we had to the south the ruin and well of al-Ğabrân, and at 7.10 we rode through the *šeʿîb* of al-Bsejtîn, at the head of which is the water of al-Bsejtîn and farther down the springs of ad-Drejğe, al-Ṛuzlâni, al-Ḥrejs, al-Abṭaḥ, aš-Šujûḫ, and al-Ḫammâš. By 8.07 we were at the wells of al-Ḥumrâni,[43] situated in a broad vale sloping to the south and bordered with the low hillocks Ḳârt al-Ḥaṣa. The water of al-Ḥumrâni is brackish and the vicinity desolate with dark-gray crumbling soil. About five kilometers to the west could be seen the ruins of the khan of al-Eḫwên on the road to ʿÂna which leads west past the wells of Abu Ğedʿa, aṣ-Ṣlubi, Benijjet Ḥamad, al-Maʿâlef, Ammu Rkêba, Abu Darağ, al-Ehdjêbe, al-Mčabbaš, an-Nḫejle, Saḥl aṭ-Ṭawîl, Saḥl abu Ḫrejbe, aṭ-Ṭaḳâḳe, and aṣ-Ṣfaʾ.

The *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥumrâni converges with the *šeʿîb* of al-Bsejtîn; to the west of the latter are the wells of Abu Ğḥâš, al-Manḳûb, aš-Šaḳra, and as-Sâdde. From 8.25 to 8.56 we took our rest. Then turning southwest we reached at 10.10 the well of al-Ḥejjâẓijje and at eleven o'clock saw before us, twenty-five kilometers away, the right bank of the aṭ-Ṭarṭâr valley, bordered with a row of *sidr* trees. At 12.20 P. M. we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Mrêr, which has many wells with brackish water, and from 12.30 to 1.31 we rested.

Al-Mrêr runs southwest between the hills of Marḳab Farḥân and Marḳab al-Ḥama on the west and of al-ʿAwseğijje on the east. The wells of Abu Zumâjel and al-ʿAwseğijje are both in this valley. South of the latter rises the Tell al-Mâlḥât, close to which lies the well of al-Mâlḥa, while to the west flows the spring ʿAjn al-Arnab. From this spring and from the wells of al-Mumbaṭaḥ, al-Ḳrejde, and Umm al-Ḥajâja several short little gullies descend to aṭ-Ṭarṭâr. At 2.35 we had on our right the spring of an-Nḫejle, which lies at the southern foot of the hillock of Abu Ğeḍaʾ.

[43] Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 333, states that Ḳaṣr Ḥumrâna is the name of a settlement one day's journey from Tekrît near al-Maʿšûḳ west of Sâmarra. — Evidently the farm of Ḥumrâna lay on the road from Tekrît; we may therefore identify it with our Ḥumrâni.

At 2.45 we reached the western edge of the plateau that stretches between the Tigris and the broad valley of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr, which we saw before us, bordered on the west by a gray slope and filled with dark-green groves and little, reddish, glistening ponds. The valley disappeared far to the south behind the high red cone of al-Ḫšejbi, where shone the surface of a salina not unlike a frozen pond. Our guide recognized this as Umm Raḥal. People from all the settlements far around, as well as from Tekrît, get their salt from this lake, claiming it to be of much better taste than that from the salt pan Melḥ al-Ašḳar north of ᶜÂna, or from other salt pans west of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr. The descent was quite difficult, especially at first because the yellowish ground was worn away to some depth and all the gradients were steep. At 3.25 we rode past the spring ᶜAjn al-Ḥasa, just then full of locusts. After winding our way between innumerable mounds of earth, we finally descended to the small basin of aṭ-Ṯrejṭîr (not to be confused with the *šeᶜîb* of the same name at the head of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr), which is covered with a thick growth of grass and in which we encamped at five o'clock in the afternoon. The setting sun was already disappearing beyond the plateau to the west. To the north the mesas of Ḥumr aṭ-Ṭubejšijje and Ammu Rkêba were still visible.

On May 13, 1912, at 5.06 A. M. we were again on the road. The *šeᶜîb* of aṭ-Ṯrejṭîr widens into a plain bordered on the east by a high escarpment with layers of rock salt. On the north appeared the white tomb Ḳabr aṣ-Ṣlubi. At 5.40 we were on the bank of the channel of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr. The valley of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr is from six to ten kilometers wide and is very swampy and shallow, so that the river spreads far abroad when in flood. At such times it is very difficult to cross, as the animals cannot avoid the swamps. Only on the left bank of the *šeᶜîb* of aṭ-Ṯrejṭîr rocky ground reaches almost to the channel and thus makes crossing possible. On the right bank is the well of al-Ǧamma, which, like all the other wells along our route is scarcely a meter deep. Here we stopped from 6.00 to 6.18. As we could not be sure that all the other wells would not, like this one, be polluted with locusts, we threw the dead ones out and poured the yellow, brackish, and evil-smelling water into our water bags.[44]

[44] The river aṭ-Ṯarṭâr was known to the ancient authors.
Tukulti Enurta II (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 2], obverse, ll. 45 f.; Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 14) caught nine wild bulls by the Ṯarṭâr.

AL-ĞAMMA TO AL-MUSTAFEŽ

The well of al-Ğamma is on the ancient road from Bagdad and Mesčîn northward by way of al-Ḥaẓr. Leaving al-Kâẓimên, this road passes Tell Ṛarîb, the wells of as-Sabʿa, al-Wšêl, Umm al-Ḥajâja, ʿAjn al-Faras, al-Ğamma, Benijjet Ḥamad, al-Ğrejbîʿât, Benijjet al-Mâlha, al-Merwân, Benijjet al-Fâğ, Benijjet aṭ-Ṭejlijje, al-Ḥaẓr, Šrêʿa, Sifra Ṯarṯâr, and Tell ʿAbda. Along the whole road at intervals of about thirty kilometers halting places or roadside inns (called *benijje*) were built.

At 6.30 we came in sight of the eastern bank of the valley of aṭ-Ṯarṯâr (Fig. 22), formed by a precipitous bluff about twenty meters high. Then we passed through the undulating plain of aṭ-Ṭablât, which rises towards the west and is strewn

Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 35, is of the opinion that Tukulti Ninip (Tukulti Enurta) II ordered rain water to be drawn from artificial cisterns, which he called *gubbu*, along the Ṯarṯâr. The word *gubbu* is identical with the modern *ğubb*, signifying an artificial well with spring water; and of the latter there is a multitude along aṭ-Ṯarṯâr.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 18 : 3, refers to a river Saocoras between the Euphrates and the Tigris. This branches off the river Chaboras (al-Ḫâbûr) and flows by itself into the Euphrates. —

The river Saocoras, not mentioned by any other classical writer, is identical with the Araxes canal, the Dawrîn of today, which branches off from al-Ḫâbûr at the settlement of as-Sukejr, the ancient Saocoras. Of the river aṭ-Ṭarṯâr Ptolemy makes no mention whatever, although a very important commercial center, the fortified town of Hatra, was situated on it. Ptolemy must have known of Hatra, which he introduces by the corrupted name Bematra (rather than Bethatra).

The Arabic authors adopted Ptolemy's explanation of the origin of the Saocoras — as issuing from the Chaboras — and explained the origin of aṭ-Ṯarṯâr in the same manner.

In the reign of the Caliph ʿAbdalmalek (685—705 A. D.) the rival Ṭarleb and Ḳejs tribes often met in battle on the banks of aṭ-Ṯarṯâr. Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* (Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 11, p. 62, relates that the Ḳejs and Ṭarleb came to the river aṭ-Ṯarṯâr between Râs al-Uṭejl and al-Kuḥejl. A fresh troop of the Ṭarleb crossed the Tigris at the village of Aba' between Tekrît and Mosul and also arrived at aṭ-Ṯarṯâr.

Al-Aḫṭal, *Dîwân* (Salhani), p. 22, mentions wild asses on aṭ-Ṯarṯâr.

Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 4, pp. 255 f., writes that the river aṭ-Ṯarṯâr rises east of the town of Sinǧâr near the settlement of Sarraḳ and empties into the Tigris between al-Kuḥejl and Râs al-Aǰl, both of which belong to the administrative district of al-Faraǧ. — The settlement of Râs al-Aǰl is identical with Râs al-Uṭejl. Aṭ-Ṯarṯâr never emptied into the Tigris.

Ibn Ḫordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 175, relates that aṭ-Ṯarṯâr branches off from the river al-Hermâs, flows around al-Ḥaḍr, and empties into the Tigris. — Al-Hermâs is a branch of al-Ḫâbûr. Ibn Ḫordâdbeh does not state at what point aṭ-Ṯarṯâr enters the Tigris.

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 129, also describes the Nahr aṭ-Ṯarṯâr which, he says, originates at Sinǧâr, divides the town of al-Ḥaḍr in two, and irrigates many smaller settlements and gardens. It is navigable and flows into the Euphrates. — There were, however, not many settlements along aṭ-Ṯarṯâr except, probably, a small garden here and there. Neither could boats sail on it, as it has practically no water for many months and its gradient is fairly steep. It never emptied into the Euphrates.

Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâ'ib* (Le Strange), p. 18, says that the river aṭ-Ṯarṯâr starts from the river al-Hermâs (which flows by the town of Nisîbîn), breaks through a mountain range into the desert, passes the town of al-Ḥaḍr, enters the desert of Sinǧâr, and joins the Tigris from the west two parasangs north of Tekrît. — It is strange indeed that Ibn Serapion, who knew even the outlying districts around Bagdad so well, did not know that the river aṭ-Ṯarṯâr flowed neither into the Tigris nor into the Euphrates.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 52, writes that the Euphrates receives the water of the river al-Hermâs, which rises in the Nisîbîn district. Afterwards the river aṭ-Ṯarṯâr branches off from al-Hermâs, flows by the town of al-Ḥaḍr through the desert of Sinǧâr, and empties into the Tigris not far from Tekrît; but the river al-Hermâs after aṭ-Ṯarṯâr has branched off from it makes a turn towards al-Ḫâbûr and joins the latter before it reaches Ḳarḳisija'. A little later Abu-l-Feda' (*ibid.*, p. 55) remarks that the river aṭ-Ṯarṯâr empties into the Tigris below Tekrît; or according to others, above the latter town, at a distance of two parasangs.

with countless small natural knolls and domes, all of which are hollow (Fig. 21) — the result of the solution and weathering of gypsum deposits. Many of these are dilapidated or have fallen to pieces altogether; but others are intact. It is pos-

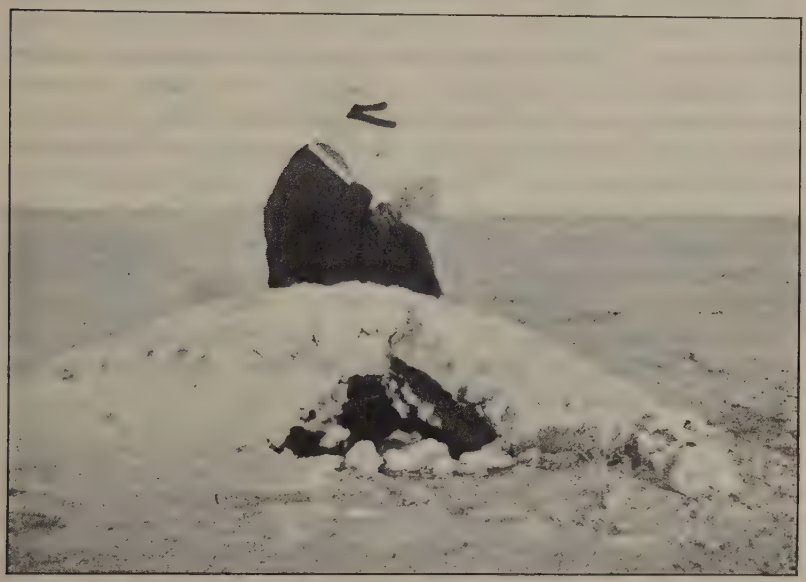

FIG. 21—Hollow dome due to solution and erosion of gypsum; aṯ-Ṯarṯâr.

sible to crawl into some. A layer of cemented earth and gravel about fifty centimeters thick forms a kind of a vault over a space covered with remnants of crystallized gypsum. During the rains the natives use these knolls for shelter; there is room for as many as twenty persons in some of them. Between such bubble-like knolls, on ground composed of rock salt and crystallized gypsum, gape many hollows of varying sizes, which the camels carefully avoid.

At 8.30 we reached the wells of Abu Ḳbara and at 9.23 the wells of Abu Semâč (Fig. 23), where we remained until 11.05. At that time the Dlejm were camping there. They were led by the son of the imprisoned chief Neğres eben Ḳâʿûd, with whom we began negotiations in order to assure ourselves of his protection. The clans under him sometimes encamp on the edge of the cultivated region between Hît and Sâmarra,

where they own some land. He had taken refuge in the inner desert, that he might be in a position to attack the government officials and their protégés on every possible occasion. I promised him that we would exert ourselves on behalf of his imprisoned father, if he would give us a guarantee that his followers would not molest us. He agreed in turn to send with us one of his servants as a sign that we were under his protection; but in return we had to give him our word to send the servant back as soon as the banks of the Euphrates were sighted. As he had an excellent knowledge of the country between the salina of Umm Raḥal and the Euphrates, he marked for me in the sand the location of the different places, thus enabling me to sketch a map which I could use when making further inquiries. Eben Ḳâʿûd had camped during the last six months at nearly all the wells between al-Ḫâbûr and Tekrît and hence knew the names of the wells situated by the principal roads. This gave me a clear idea of their exact location and of the distances between each.

The shallow *šeʿîb* of Abu Semâč ends in aṭ-Ṯarṯâr opposite the *šeʿîb* which descends from ʿAjn al-Faras. South of Abu Semâč aṭ-Ṯarṯâr is joined by aš-Šṭejḥijje (where there is the water of ad-Deḳûḳi) and farther south by Ammu-ṭ-Ṭbûl, Abu Šnêne, and al-Aʿwağ. These all rise on a broad upland across which leads the road from Abu Semâč to Hît and where are the wells of Abu Trejčijje, al-Ṛzejjel, aṭ-Ṭwîl, al-ʿEjdi, and al-Ḳmejžem. Southwest of Abu Semâč is the watering place of ar-Riğma, south of which lie the wells of Ummu Ṭbûḳ, al-Mwêžîbe, and al-Mṛejzel. Southwest of the last-named is Abu Ṣfêḥa. West of ar-Riğma there is good water in the well of al-ʿAḳâbi, to the west of which the undulating plain, intersected by numerous *šeʿibân* of all sizes, slopes down to the Euphrates.

The water in the well of Abu Semâč comes out of the ground with considerable force and forms bubbles. It is even said that sometimes it brings small fish to the surface, whence its name Abu Semâč (Father of Fishes). Its taste is slightly brackish, like all the waters in al-Burrejže — as the district between al-Ḫâbûr and the Tigris and from the Sinğâr ridge to the Euphrates is called. *Burrêž* means either rock salt or mica, which flash like lightning when exposed to the rays of the sun.

At 12.23 P. M. the cone of Marḳab al-Aḥejmer came into view to the west. From 12.35 we rested below the Bîr al-Aḥejmer until 1.30, when we set off again in a west-northwesterly direction. At 2.40 the well of ar-Rbêẓa was on our right; at

3.20 we could see a few hillocks to the southwest, among which were the waters of al-Kzejm. To the north lay the wells of Abu Ḳelâjed and spring of al-Melwâḥ. The latter comes out with such force that its roar can be heard for a considerable distance. Close by stand the ruins of a small building. North of al-Melwâḥ rose the low scarp of Ammu Rkêba, while to the northwest the setting sun shed its last rays on the similar scarp of al-Lôlaḥijje. Al-Lôlaḥijje stretches from the northwest, where it is called Ḳerâjen Fâṭme, to the southeast under the names Ammu-t-Tûs and Ḥumr aṭ-Ṭubejšijje. North of it a small group of low mesas, Ḳûr umm ad-Dli, face the south in a similar but shorter escarpment. Between the latter and al-Lôlaḥijje, beginning from the south, are these wells: al-Lôlaḥijje, al-Helhi, Ammu Ṭbûḳ, Abu Zbêr, as-Semadân, and Umm ad-Dli.

Turning now more northwest, at 5.10 we reached the well of al-Mustafež, on the west side of which we made camp.

AL-MUSTAFEŽ TO BÎR ABU DARAĞ

The country was of a uniform nature — a smooth, polished, rocky ground with pits and hollow knolls. In the low places grew half-dry annuals and very poor perennials, principally *rimt, rûṯe, zrejže, šîḥ,* and *ḳejṣûm.*

Our guide Aḥmed al-Ḥaṭṭâb of the Bêğât clan of the ʿAḳejdât was for eleven years the chief of a robber band. His brother was killed by a gendarme sergeant in the course of a dispute. In revenge Aḥmed killed the sergeant and two gendarmes and then fled with twenty riders and their families to the inner desert. Their usual camping ground was between aṯ-Ṯarṯâr and the Tigris, whence they made marauding trips to the highroads. At night he used to visit Tekrît, the home of his beloved, whose parents from fear of the Government would not let her marry him. Finally the girl's father began to negotiate with the officer in command of the gendarmes, offering to make amends for the blood which had been shed. The commander asked for ten mares and a mule, but all Aḥmed was willing to give was one mare. The commander just then received information that Aḥmed was camping in the neighborhood of Tekrît and was intending to visit his sweetheart; he summoned his gendarmes and went to arrest him, but Aḥmed proved himself to be the more astute of the two.

Learning through his countrymen on what night the gendarmes would leave their three tents pitched by the river near Tekrît, he attacked them with his riders, killed two of the gendarmes who remained there as a guard, took the tents

FIG. 22—At-Tartâr, left bank.

and six mules, sent these spoils by two of his men to the desert, and then ambushed the gendarme commander with the rest of his force. The commander fell, several gendarmes were wounded, and the rest escaped. In the following years he robbed more than twenty wagons on the highroad, captured about thirty-six government mules, and filled the gendarmes with such respect for his person that they made no more attempts to arrest him. In 1909 when the Sultan Abdul-Hamid was dethroned, Aḥmed, together with other rebels, was pardoned, married the woman of his love, and moved to Tekrît. In 1911 he was elected a member of the assizes and was able to rent the collection of taxes.

On May 14, 1912, leaving at 5.07 A. M., we journeyed northwestwards and at 5.51 reached the watershed between at-Tartâr and the Euphrates. To the south — that is, toward the Euphrates — extends a rocky, undulating region with broad, upland areas and shallow valleys. The plateaus are almost bare; in the alluvial soil of the lowlands, however, perennials of several kinds do well. There were no annuals. The southeastern part of this country is called Sakrân; the center, ʿAllâwi; and

the northwestern part, al-Watâḥa. Between the two latter divisions are the tabular hills Ḳârt al-Ṛubejn. Southwest of the Euphrates the country is shut in by a rather low but conspicuous line of bluffs. To the west of al-Watâḥa rise iso-

FIG. 23—Our caravan at Abu Semâč.

lated table-shaped hills divided by deep hollows called *sḥûl*. A *saḥl* (plural, *sḥûl*) is, properly, a narrow channel dammed-in by rocks, where rain water accumulates under the gravel. On the road from Tekrît to ʿÂna are the *sḥûl* of aṭ-Ṭawîl, Abu Ḫrejbe, aṭ-Ṭaḳâḳe, and aṣ-Ṣfaʾ; northwest of the latter, the Saḥl at-Tîn; below that of aṭ-Ṭaḳâḳe, the Saḥl al-Ḥadeṭîn; and above the Saḥl abu Ḫrejbe, the *sḥûl* of az-Zḳêṭ and ar-Rumaẓâni. At this last spot there is also an ordinary well.

An icy north wind was now blowing, against which we vainly tried to protect ourselves. It went through our thin clothing right to the skin. Unable to remain in our saddles any longer, where the wind kept lifting our cloaks and kerchiefs, we walked most of the time. At 7.55 we sighted to the northeast the hills of Ammu Rkêba and could even see Ḥumr aṭ-Ṭubejšijje. To the north lay the butte Marḳab al-Fâğ, in the neighborhood of which are the wells Mâlḥat al-Fâğ and Rbêẓat al-Fâğ.

The aspect of the country did not change. Nothing was seen in either direction but the hollow knolls (*ṭablât*), with pits of various sizes between them and only here and there

a dingle overgrown with perennials. As there had been no rain in the last winter, scarcely any annuals were to be seen. From 8.20 to 9.18 our camels grazed. At 10.55 we were at the well Bîr abu Darağ on the road from Tekrît to ʿÂna. Northeast of this well the scarp of Ammu Rkêba sinks so low that one can see beyond it to al-Lôlaḥijje and Ammu-t-Tûs. Northwest of us appeared the hill Ḳlejb al-Mṛejzel, behind it the spur Rûs as-Sḥûl, and still farther away the gray escarpment Ḳârt aṭ-Ṭammâše.

BÎR ABU DARAĞ TO THE MOSUL HIGHWAY

The wind did not cease, but veered suddenly and blew in our faces direct from the west. The sky was hidden by dense clouds, the sun gave no warmth at all, and our fingers became stiff with cold. From 12.10 to 1.11 P. M. we rested. Our Dlejmi guide did not wish to go any farther, and Aḥmed al-Ḥaṭṭâb likewise showed much desire to return. Aḥmed was undoubtedly afraid of meeting some *fellâḥîn* from Râwa or merchants from ʿÂna whom he had robbed several times and who might now take his mare as a sort of compensation. The Dlejmi had wounded a Râwa man and so far had failed to pay the indemnity agreed on. Therefore he was much concerned for his she-camel. Both he and Aḥmed felt cold. Aḥmed rode in his shirt only and the Dlejmi, wrapped in a torn cloak, longed for the shelter of a tent and the warmth of a fire. The gendarmes, too, shook with cold, but they wanted to go forward, not back, knowing that in ʿÂna they would be relieved by the gendarmes stationed there; therefore they urged us on, even threatening to shoot the Dlejmi and Aḥmed, should they leave us before we reached the road from ʿÂna to Mosul.

It was not a merry journey. The guides were dissatisfied, everybody was stiff with cold, and the region unchangingly monotonous. To the north were low escarpments, to the south an almost level plain, in front of us the hills of al-Mṛejzel, and all around hollow domes or "bubbles" (*ṭablât*) with circular holes, between which our camels stepped with evident fear. Some of the "bubbles" are as much as three meters high and from ten to fifteen meters in diameter. Many of them have caved in but others are still intact. They usually begin to crumble at their lowest part, which is most affected by wind-blown sand. The crust of each "bubble," which gradually

becomes thinner and thinner, is at last broken by wind or rain and the hole thus made widens out until the whole has fallen in. The pieces of such a "bubble" are sharp and glisten as if mixed with mirror glass.

From 2.50 to 3.12 our camels grazed. Green perennials became more scarce the farther we went. We were now approaching a region where there had been no good rain for several years past. At 5.52 the cold west wind brought a fine rain and therefore we camped between the heights of al-Ḥmâm to the south and Ḳârt aṭ-Ṭammâše to the north. Aḥmed pointed out to us the wells of at-Tnejnîr east of our camp, of aš-Šḳêḳ to the north, and of al-Ḥmâm to the south of aš-Šḳêḳ. In Ḳârt aṭ-Ṭammâše good water can be had at the well of Nûḳîd. In spite of the rain, we gathered a large heap of dry perennials, lighted a huge fire, warmed ourselves as best we could, drank hot tea, and soon forgot the cold, which had been tormenting us all day. Only the wind would not abate and was continually overthrowing our tents throughout the night, so that we could sleep but little.

On May 15, 1912, by 5.40 A. M. we were on the road. It was not raining, but a cold wind was still blowing and the sky was enveloped in gray clouds. Above the plain hovered a thick fog. Monotony again, nowhere any change in the scenery. The same smooth level ground, the same "bubbles," hollows, low hillocks, and table-shaped heights, but nothing worthy of attention.

At 6.40 we reached the highway, Darb as-Sulṭâni, leading from ʿÂna via an-Neğme to Mosul.

COUNTRY TO THE NORTH OF ʿÂNA

The Darb as-Sulṭâni is wide and trodden hard, a sign that it is still much used for travel. From the Euphrates it rises in quite a steep ascent over the slopes of ʿElw Čibrît, Mesbâḥ al-Krejjem, Ḳârt al-Ḥarrâr, and as-Sanâğre, and thence traverses the plain of al-Burrejže in a north-northeasterly direction. In this plain it passes the wells of Umm al-Maʿâṭîn, as-Sabra, Fâṭme, at-Twejsân, as-Sadʿân, aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi, Ḳlejb al-Mellâḥ, Umm Ṛejre, Umm aḍ-Ḍijâbe; west of al-Ḥaẓr it passes the wells of Šrêʿa, Fwêʿa, al-Ğemal, ad-Dibšijje, Saḥl ʿAṭṭâf, and al-Metjâha. Beyond the well of as-Sabra the road mounts the scarp Ḳârt aṭ-Ṭammâše; beyond Fâṭme it enters the valley of Hôr Mwʿejd; beyond at-Twejsân it traverses the lowland Nuḳrat al-ʿUwên, and beyond as-Sadʿân it goes around the salina or salt pan Melḥ aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi. The Ḳârt aṭ-Ṭammâše ends west of the highroad near the well of aš-Šallâle; south of this begins another scarp,

the Ḳârt abu-s-Sûn, and then Ḥazm eben Bwêne, which extends as far west as the salt pan Melḥ al-ʿEdejd. The scarp of Ḳerâjen Fâṭme is connected on the west with the Ḳârt al-Hôr, the Ḳaʿûd aš-Šâred, al-Ḳaʿîdên, and with the Ḳârt az-Zejjer near the salt pan Melḥ al-ʿEdejd. Near the Ḳârt az-Zejjer are the wells of Abu ʿArâǧi, Laʿame, al-Ǧrejbiʿât, ad-Duḫûl, al-Ṛarâj, aṣ-Ṣafawijjât, and al-Mâlḥa. The Nuḳrat al-ʿUwên is shut in on the northwest by the scarps of al-Ḳaṭṭâr and Ḳârt al-Mežâdeḥ, between which lies the salt pan Melḥ al-Ḳaṭṭâr with the well of aš-Šaḳma to the southwest. North of the salt pan of al-Ḳaṭṭâr and west of the salt pan of aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi are the wells of aṭ-Ṭmâḫijjât, ʿOḳêlt az-Ẓellân, Abu Šḥame, and aš-Šrejjer; north of these lie the wells of al-Ǧnejf, al-Ǧwejmel, and farther on aṭ-Ṭmâḫijjât in the lowland Nuḳrat Umm ad-Ḏijâbe. The salina Melḥ al-Aškar occupies the western half of this low plain, which lies about twenty kilometers north of the scarp Ḳârt al-Mežâdeḥ and is shut in on the west by the spur Ḥašmet al-Baṣṣâla and the Ḳârt ar-Rôše, while the Ḥazm al-Meleḥ enters it from the north. The salt pan of al-Aškar is widest on its south side; to the north it divides into two branches — the eastern being known as Melḥ Ḥesnân and the western as as-Snêsle — and encloses the Ḥazm al-Meleḥ as if it were a peninsula. In the as-Snêsle branch terminate the *šeʿibân* which wind from the wells of Ṯrej al-Karrâḥ, al-Wuseṭ, and al-Mellâḥ. Between the two branches of the salt pan are the waters of al-Bwejẓi and the Saḥl abu Ḳejṣûma. On the southern edge of al-Aškar are several wells, all containing rather brackish water. The best water is in the wells of Mâlḥat al-Maṭwijje, al-Fawwârât, Abu Čerd, and, on the west, Abu Židaḥ and Abu Ḥwejme. South of Abu Židaḥ stand, on the Ḥašmet al-Baṣṣâla, the cones of al-Menâjef and Kzejz Naʿâm.

From ʿÂna to Mosul there is also a road by way of Sinǧâr. On the slopes of the Euphrates valley it is called Darb al-Mellân, in the plateau Darb Sinǧâr. In a northwesterly direction it ascends the Maksar al-Ǧemal, Ḳârt aṣ-Ṣûfi, Abu Ṛarab, and al-Maḫrûḳ, reaching the plateau at the last-named, where it turns almost due north. Alongside this road lie the wells of Saḥl al-Emîr, az-Zerḳab, al-Hebǧa, al-Ḥaǧal, Nḫejlet abu Ṛarab, al-Mâleḥ, Šrêʿat al-Ṛarbijje, Šrêʿat ʿAbdelleh, Laʿame, ad-Duḫûl, Abu Râsên, ʿAḳlat al-Ḥeṣjân, aš-Šubejča, al-Menḫar, and Ṯrej al-Mellâḥ. Nearly due west of Ṯrej al-Mellâḥ rises the high hillock Ṯlejl as-Saḳḳâr, south of which are the wells of al-Ǧerdijje, al-Ṛzejjel, al-Mâleḥ, ar-Radle, and Abu Ḥejâja. West of these wells the higher plateau sends out to the south the low ridge of al-Ćabd, above which rise several knolls. Southwest of al-Čabd in the salt pan of ar-Rowẓa terminates the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿAžîž, which comes from the Ṯlejl as-Saḳḳâr to the northeast. At the head of this valley is the spring of al-ʿEṣêle. Al-ʿAžîž is joined on the left by the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥwejsijje and at-Taǧârijje, which lie west of Riǧm ʿAjjâr and in which there are springs of the same names. On its right al-ʿAžîž is joined by the *šeʿibân* of al-Bedîʿa, al-Muǧammaʿ, al-Mufallaka, ʿOḳêlt al-Ḥalîb, as-Sihel, Umm Ṛurejba, and Umm Ṛuruba, all of which contain watering places. East of the well of Umm Ṛurejba, at the foot of al-Ćabd, lies the watering place Ḳulbân aṣ-Ṣlubi.

From the Mellân road at the well of Šrêʿat ʿAbdelleh a road turns west towards al-Ḥâbûr, which it reaches below the village of ad-Dešîše. Along this road lie the wells of aṣ-Ṣafawijjât, Ṭrejfâwi al-Mellâḥ, Ḥesjân

al-Ṛlejsijje, and al-Ḫubejra. Northeast of aṣ-Ṣafawijjât there is good water in the well of al-Ṛarâj, lying nearly halfway between aṣ-Ṣafawijjât and ad-Duḫûl. North of al-Ṛarâj is the Bîr Ṭarṭân, above which rises a hill with two tops, the Abu Râsên. Between aṣ-Ṣafawijjât and Ṭrejfâwi al-Mellâḥ the road leads close by the salina of al-ʿEdejd and passes north of the salt pan of ar-Rowẓa.

ḲÂRT AS-SANÂĞRE TO RÂWA

Both the Dlejmi and Aḥmed now wanted to return, but as we needed them to tell us the names of the different places on our descent to the Euphrates, we did not let them go and continued our journey on the highroad in a south-south-westerly direction.

The plateau falls away here toward the river, but in a series of distinct step-like gradients, of which the Ḳârt as-Sanâğre forms the northernmost. This scarp on the southeast connects with the Ḳârt abu-l-Ḳerwa and Ḳârt al-Ṛubejn and on the west with the Ḳârt al-Maḫrûḳ, with Ḳûr Ṭwejsân al-Mellâḥ, and with Ḳûr aṭ-Ṭajjârât near the salt pan of al-ʿEdejd. On the southern slope of Ḳârt as-Sanâğre is the water of az-Zaʿejzîʿ; below al-Maḫrûḳ are the waters Umm ʿAẓa, al-Ḳṣêʿa, and Ḫwêḫa.

From 7.50 to 8.25 we rested on the Ḳârt as-Sanâğre. The Dlejmi begged to be allowed to go, before any *fellâḥîn* from Râwa saw him. We assured him of our protection, but he feared that his enemies might lie in ambush somewhere and take his she-camel from him after his discharge. So he was paid off and he left at once. Aḥmed, who wanted to go with him, remained only when told he would not get a *bâra* (about one mill) until the gardens of the Râwa settlement came in sight and that in any case on his mare he could escape his enemies more easily than the Dlejmi on his she-camel.

At 9.28 we were on the upper edge of the Ḳârt al-Ḫarrâr, whence we beheld for the first time the rugged vicinity of the Euphrates. To the southwest and southeast clustered innumerable mesas, hills, hillocks, and knolls separated by deep gullies and ravines. Here and there narrow white strips of level ground appeared, but it would have been very difficult to get from one to another. To the east yawned the ravine of the ʿÂna valley in which the water of az-Zaʿejzîʿ is situated. To the right of this valley rises the Ḳârt abu Baṭṭîḥa with the rain well Moḳr abu Baṭṭîḥa, and to the left Umm Ṛejra and the Ḳârt al-ʿEnâb. Almost due south projected the Tell al-Faras and to the southwest the yellow chain of the Ḳârt aṣ-Ṣûfi hills and the longish hillock Maksar al-Ğemal.

Many spots showed traces of the efforts of men to break through the rocks and make the descent easier. Crossing such places from the high terrace Mesbâḥ al-Krejjem, at 11.20 we reached the stony plain of at-Tîn and at twelve o'clock were

Fig. 24—Our camp near Râwa.

on the branch road to Tekrît. Thence we had to lead our camels by the reins in order to pass around the isolated cones and stunted buttes in the deep ravines, a feat often difficult even for pedestrians.

The valley of the Euphrates was enveloped in dense gray vapors. The wind abated; the sun, which gave out heat like a furnace, could not be seen through the air, laden as it was with fine dust and sand. We longed for fresh water and for the cool of shady gardens, knowing that both were within our reach, but the pace of the led camels could not be quickened—and all around us were white and yellowish weathered rocks, without a vestige of green and without offering cover as a protection from attack.

At 12.40 P. M. we sighted on our right on the slope of az-Zerḳab two *sidr* trees and down below us the ruined barracks of al-Ḳal'a above the settlement of Râwa. Here Aḥmed al-Ḥaṭṭâb stopped and after receiving his wages rode as fast as

he could toward the road to Tekrît. At one o'clock we turned west, descended from the steep bluff on which the shrine of aš-Šeiḫ Reğeb stands, and saw below us the gardens of al-Ḫrejbe. But as the camels could not descend as we did a detour was necessary. Finally, at 1.40 we halted in al-Ḫrejbe by three mulberry and two *sidr* trees (Fig. 24). There were no other trees, because the Dlejm had demolished the garden wall and cut down the trees and bushes. The main gardens extend to the east of al-Ḫrejbe and are called al-Muʿejmîre, ad-Darağijje, al-Mesčenijje, az-Zrejžijje, al-Helâlijje, ʿObejd-allâh, az-Zaʿfarâne, and al-Halîč; finally comes the settlement of Râwa.

After resting a while and drinking some hot tea, we dismissed the gendarmes, who had themselves ferried over to ʿÂna without delay. In the afternoon we received a visit from Šerîf eben ʿAli, my companion on my trip to the Ḥeğâz in 1910. He brought some men with him who were familiar with the whole of al-Burrejže. They helped me sketch a map of the various roads, work which kept me busy until late at night.

The settlement of Râwa is made up of the following districts:

as-Sâde or al-Aḫrâb — as-Swâhîğ
as-Sarâḫne — al-Bu ʿObejd.

The chief elder, Muḥsen eben Muḥammed, comes from as-Sâde. His brother Ibrâhîm had been three times to Constantinople for an audience with the Sultan.

Palm gardens are very expensive to plant. A square *drâʿ* (58 square decimeters) of such ground costs at least half a *meğîdijje* (45 cents) and a grown palm costs two to three Turkish pounds ($ 9 to $ 13.50).

The patron of the settlement is Sheikh Reğeb eben Aḥmed ar-Refâʿi. Once when Râwa was besieged by the ʿAḳejl and soldiers, Reğeb defended it for twenty-eight days, helping the besieged inhabitants by various means. On the twenty-ninth day he finally emerged from his grave in the shape of a gazelle buck and ran against the besiegers. Seeing this portent, the besieged followed him, threw themselves on the ʿAḳejl and the soldiers, killed them, and thus preserved their independence. When soldiers were sent to the large barracks built there in 1872 by Midḥat Pasha, Reğeb tormented the poor fellows for three nights so cruelly that they fled terror-stricken, and the barracks remained empty.

From Râwa many goods are transported on camels and donkeys to Mosul. Coffee, petroleum, clothes, and other European products are shipped by boats from Bîreğîk to Râwa, where they are reloaded on camels and carried farther on to Mosul, whence in turn tobacco for water pipes (*tumbak*) and raisins are brought for transshipment to Aleppo or Damascus. A camel with a moderate load needs eight nights to cover the distance between Râwa and Bagdad, or nine marches of thirty kilometers; the charge is one Turkish pound ($ 4.50) for each camel. From Bagdad the camels bring tallow, dates, grape honey (*dibes*), and *tummen* (a kind of rice). These caravans are exposed to frequent attacks by the Dlejm. The inhabitants of Râwa — or, as they are called, Râwijjîn — are much braver than the ʿÂnijjîn, or inhabitants of ʿÂna. They often raid the gardens of the latter, pluck their dates, and compel them to pay the *ḫâwa* (tribute for peace and protection).

May 16, 1912. I was at work as early as five in the morning gathering data for my map. As to many of the districts I inquired of each of five or six informants separately, so that none of them would know what the others had drawn or said. In this manner I made at least partly sure that their statements were correct. In the evening Šerîf brought me two Dlejm from the environs of Hît who completed the map I had sketched from information furnished by Chief Eben Neğres. I found that they did not contradict each other to any appreciable extent.

CHAPTER VI

RÂWA TO AR-RAḲḲA BY WAY OF AṢ-ṢWAR

RÂWA TO THE PLAIN OF AL-EḲREḲE; THE ʿAḲEJDÂT TRIBE

May 17, 1912. At 5.15 A.M. we set out westward along the left bank of the Euphrates. At 5.30 we had on our left the fields of al-ʿEmerijje. These are bounded on the north by the Baṛâḏîn hills, above which rise the cones of Daʿêble, Selmân, and Ṭwêrên. At 5.50 we saw on the left the huts of Abu Kawwa and in the Euphrates remains of broken-down flush wheels (Fig. 25); on the right the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥṣewân, to the right of which the spur Ḫašmet an-Nihel, on which lies the ruin Ḳîsat al-Ḳrâṭijje, reaches the river. Leaving the bank, we turned towards the plateau. At 6.40 we approached the fields of al-Ûrijje and at 7.08 crossed the *šeʿîb* of Ǧabâla, on the slope of which are the caves Čahf as-Swêlem. At 7.30 we had the fields of an-Nâṭrijje on our left and at eight o'clock took the road leading to the salina of al-ʿEdejd. On this road we met a migrating party of the aǧ-Ǧerâjfe clansmen, who cultivate the fields of an-Nâṭrijje and al-Ûrijje. The Ǧerâjfe are members of the ʿAḳejdât tribe.

The ʿAḳejdât tribe own the banks of the Euphrates from at-Tibni to al-Fḥejmi and those of the river al-Ḫâbûr as far as Tell aš-Šejḫ Ḥamed. They are divided as follows:

al-Bu Čâmel

al-Bu Čemâl

al-Bkejjer; this division camps on al-Ḫâbûr from al-Bsejra to Tell aš-Šêḫ Ḥamed.

The clans of al-Bu Čâmel:

aẓ-Ẓwâhre	(chief:	Tabbân eben Ḥefle)
ad-Daʿêčel	(„	Dawš eben ʿAddâd)
aš-Šhabât	(„	Ḥsên eben Ḥeẓel)
aṭ-Ṭallâʿ	(„	ʿAbdallâh eben ʿAli)
az-Zbejjeb	(„	Munâdi al-Ḫalîl)
al-Ḳurʿân	(„	ʿAbed eben ʿAbejji)
al-Bu Rḥama	(„	Eǧbârat eben Ḫalîl)
aš-Šaʿêṭât	(„	Ḥamed abu Sabʿ)
al-Mešâhde	(„	Ḥâǧǧ eben Ḫalaf)
aǧ-Ǧhejš	(„	Ḫalaf eben ʿAǧîl)

az-Zebâri	(chief:	Aḥmed eben ʿAli)
al-Bu Serâja	(„	Ḥammûd eben Šlâš)
aḏ-Ḏijâb	(„	ʿAbdallâh eben Ḥâǧǧ)
al-Bu ʿIzzeddîn	(„	Sâri eben ʿAbdaččerîm)

The clans of al-Bu Čemâl:

al-ʿAẓâr	(chief:	ʿAli eben Mḥemmed eben Neǧres)
ad-Demîm	(„	ʿAli eben Ḥsên)
al-Ḥassûn	(„	Mḥammad eben Dandal)
aǧ-Ǧerrâḥ	(„	Ṣajjâḥ eben ʿAbdallâh)
al-Bu Ḥardân	(„	Slêmân eben Sbejḥân)
al-Mrûḥ	(„	Hazzâʿ eben Mhalla)
aǧ-Ǧerâjfe		
al-Meǧâwde	(„	Ḥammed aš-Šammar)

The clans of al-Bkejjer:

al-Hnêdi	(chief:	Ḥaǧǧâǧ eben Ḥarbi)
al-Mišref	(„	Ǧedʿân eben Ḥsên)
al-Ḥalaf	(„	Čeben eben Ǧârallâh)
al-Kbêsa	(„	Srûr eben ʿAfîf)
aš-Šaʿbân	(„	Farḥân eben Kassâr)
al-Faraǧ	(„	Farḥân eben Melḥem)
al-Bu Lîl	(„	Mûsa eben Ṣâleḥ)
al-Bu Hlêhel	(„	Eḥzâm eben ʿAli)
al-Bu Meʿêṭ	(„	Damûk eben ʿAli)

North of the cones of Ṭwêrên rises the mesa of al-Ǧâne and northwest of it the mesa of Abu Maḫâmer. By the last-named there is a very shallow well of the same name, visited now and again by wild asses. These rare animals graze on the plain of al-Burrejže and have their hiding places in the ravines near Abu Maḫâmer, where hunters often lie in wait for them. Our guide, Ǧamîl, alleged that he had once seen there a herd of about sixty asses, both large and small. Near the well of Abu Ṭbul he shot one; the wounded animal tried to escape but was easily overtaken by a man on horseback. The flesh of the ass is eaten, while from the hide various articles are manufactured. At 8.22 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of ad-Dahârîǧ, which rises near Abu Maḫâmer and joins the Euphrates at the hamlet of Srejser. Our ascent led between crags with jagged walls and across narrow, deep gullies. The terraces by which the plateau falls away towards the Euphrates were still in sight. The beds of rock salt, called *ǧibǧâbe* by our guide, became thicker the higher we ascended. From 9.25 to 9.57 our camels grazed by the *šeʿîb* of ʿÛd as-Sadde. To the west appeared the low butte of al-Meṣâd with the remains of a fortress on it.

At 10.40 east of the ʿAjn as-Saḳra we crossed the deep *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥambeli, which looks as if it had been worn out of white crags; it is joined by the small *šeʿîb* of Abu D̲ikr, which we were just passing through. Al-Ḥambeli starts in the

Fig. 25—Remains of flush wheel in Euphrates near Abu Kawwa.

ravine of Saḥl Ḫwêḫa and reaches the Euphrates at the hamlet of as-Semsijje. In its channel are numerous hollows as much as thirty meters deep, in which, however, the water cannot accumulate, as it soon evaporates or filters through the gypsum soil. At 11.45 we reached the dam of al-Ḫarbaḳa, which consists of a stone wall eighty centimeters thick built across the narrowest part of the *šeʿîb*; northwest of the wall the *šeʿîb* opens out as a basin of considerable size, easily convertible into a pond. In the course of time this basin has been filled with alluvial soil, the dam has fallen down, and the water is now wearing out a deep new channel for itself. Much *nejtûl* — or *jetnân*, as our guide called it — grows all over the basin. The Dlejm boil this plant and rub the thick unguent thus obtained into the fleece of their mangy sheep.

The ravines above Râwa are the hiding place of many beasts of prey: the wolf, the *nimr* (leopard; plural, *anmâr*), and the *ṛorejri*. Above al-ʿEmerijje three *anmâr* were shot in the summer of 1911. The *ṛorejri* is an animal about the

length of a dog, but not so tall. It has a broad, white back, black sides, and a short, goat-like snout. Our guide related that he was once attacked by a *ṛorejri* near aṭ-Ṭaḳâḳe and managed to beat off the wild beast only with the greatest effort.

At 12.30 P. M. we saw to the northwest the well of al-Meḏkâr, with the escarpment of Ḳûr aṭ-Ṭajjârât behind it and to the west the mesa of al-Mesṭaḥ. From 12.35 to 1.40 our camels grazed. At 1.47 on the left by the road appeared the grave Ḳabr Ğâber and beyond it to the west the mesa Ḳârt al-Meṣâjed, with the waters Saḥl al-Flâḥijje to the north and Abu Barâbič to the south. At 2.10 on our right we saw the head of the *šeʿîb* of Abu D̲ikr. At 2.23 we ascended to the broad plateau of Fejẓat al-ʿAlâwi, on which are wide, shallow depressions or *sowḥ* (plural, *sijâḥ*), overgrown with *ṣerr*. Its northern boundaries are the flat-topped heights Ḳûr Ṭwejsân al-Mellâḥ and Ḳûr aṭ-Ṭajjârât. At 3.25 the summit of the Ḳârt as-Sičče came into view to the southwest, and at 4.38 we began to descend to the wide plain of al-Eḳreḳe. Much *ṣerr, ğezar, šnân,* and *ʿafw* grow there; the wood of the latter burns for a long time.

On the horizon to the south-southwest and west were seen the violet, level escarpments of the Ḳârt as-Sičče and Ḳârt umm Ṛadîr, and in front of them three rows of flat-topped hillocks; to the northwest rose the curved escarpment of aṭ-Ṭajjârât, which shuts in the low plain of al-Eḳreḳe. The soil in al-Eḳreḳe is loose and salt to the taste. At five o'clock we bivouacked by the well of al-ʿUwêğe (Fig. 26). There was perhaps not a vestige of an annual in the whole neighborhood and only a few sprouts on the perennials here and there, and yet the locusts had found their way even into this well, although luckily in not too great quantities. If some thousands of these insects fall into a deep well, they rot and poison the water. Woe to the pilgrims who supply themselves with only enough water to last them from one station to another and then find the next well filled with locusts!

Our guide, Ğamîl, once led a large caravan carrying wool and butter from Sinğâr to ʿÂna at a time when all the wells on the road were full of locusts (*maǧrûd*). Finally the water gave out, and, tormented by thirst, the travelers halted at the well of Abu Râsên, from which they wished to draw water, in spite of its being mixed with decaying locusts. Stopping

their noses with onions, they descended one after another into the well (about three meters deep), scooped up the foul juice with the copper kettle used for cooking their meals, and sent it up by two ropes to their companions, who poured out the

FIG. 26—Well of al-ʿUwêğe.

evil smelling stuff and let the kettle down again. To the man working in the well an extra rope was attached, so that he could be pulled up into the fresh air when he gave a signal. But two failed to do this, collapsed, and died before they could be pulled to safety. At last, by exerting themselves to the utmost, the others succeeded in cleansing the well and were rewarded by a drink of good water, when after some waiting the well filled up again.

A few years ago the Government built gendarmerie stations by the well of al-ʿUwêğe and in the neighborhood of the salina of al-ʿEdejd to prevent the salt being carried away too freely. Then the people from both banks of the Euphrates began to go for their salt to Umm Raḥal at the end of the valley of aṯ-Tarṯâr. When the Government noticed that nobody any longer bought salt at al-ʿEdejd, the guards were recalled. As soon as

this was done, the *fellâḥîn* returned there and the Râwa merchants even hired 250 donkeys and thirty camels to carry off an extra large supply of salt, because the price had risen considerably. On receiving a report of this expedition, the Govern-

FIG. 27—Salina of al-ʿEdejd.

ment sent 250 men mounted on mules, who overtook the caravan, killed two men, five camels, and twelve donkeys, and captured 106 donkeys and seventeen camels. The owners threw down the salt from the surviving animals and fled with them to the *šeʿibân*. After this incident the Government collected from each *ḳunṭâr* (about 200 kilograms) one *meǧîdijje* (90 cents); yet about two months later the salt guards were surrounded by the Fedʿân, who killed seven of them, the rest escaping. Since that time the salt pans had been left unguarded. Usually one and a half *ḳunṭâr* of salt costs at Râwa six *meǧîdijjât* ($ 5.40). The Government continually searched for salt in all the settlements and on finding any confiscated it and collected a fine. After this the price generally went up.

In the evening we ascertained the latitude.

PLAIN OF AL-EḲREḲE TO AL-ḤÂBÛR

May 18, 1912. Starting at 4.53 A. M., we proceeded very slowly due west through the plain of al-Eḳreḳe. At 6.45 we

left the road Darb al-Meleḥ, which turns nearly due north to the table-shaped hillocks Ḳûr al-Ḳanṭara. These hillocks are scattered among the salt surfaces, and as they are not surrounded by swamps the gathering of salt near them is not

Fig. 28—Ḳârt al-Ḥaṣân from the south.

difficult. North of al-Ḳanṭara are the wells of al-Mṛejrîṭât and al-Mâlḥa, and, still farther on, the salt spring of Ṭrejfâwi al-Mellâḥ, after which the northern part of the salina of al-ʿEdejd is sometimes called. In winter, especially after heavy rains when all the valleys send their water down to the salt flats, the salt dissolves, disappearing entirely. In summer the water evaporates and the salt forms a crust as much as fifty centimeters thick, with which the ground is covered. The salt of al-ʿEdejd is very white, fine, and of a pleasant taste. Salt from al-Ašḳar, as-Snêsle, or al-Ḳaṭṭâr tastes bitter and is so hard that it must be pounded and ground to pulverize it.

On the southeast the salina of al-ʿEdejd is bounded by the tabular hills Ḳârt aš-Šḳejḳ, to the south by Ẓahr Dêdeb, and to the southwest by Ḳârt umm Ṛadîr and al-Msejžre. To the northwest the salt pan is shut in by the slope of al-Ḥedâğe, which is connected on the west with the huge elevation Ḥazm al-ʿÔğa. At eight o'clock we rode between the flat-topped heights of aṭ-Ṭwêrân, where, according to the local belief, in some deep cavern spooks like to play their pranks. From 8.00 to 8.28 our

camels grazed. The pasture was but poor: only *šîḥ*, *ʿalanda*, *šnân*, *roṛol*, and *ǧezar*, and not much of these. Far to the south appeared the ridge Ẓahr Dêdeb with the dark mesa Ḳârt aš-Šḳejḳ to the north-northeast of it.

At nine o'clock the salt surface of Melḥ al-ʿEdejd, stretching from south to north, came into view on our right. Reaching it at 9.14, we began to cross it in a northwesterly direction (Figs. 27, 29). The salt crust broke and cracked under our weight. Wherever it was thick enough the crossing was easy for both us and the animals, but where the salt crumbled it was not possible for the camels to follow each other; they sank into the mud and slipped continually. The level of the salt surface is not the same everywhere; often large areas are entirely smooth and level, whereas other tracts consist of countless sharp ribs about ten centimeters high.

At 10.25 we reached *terra firma* again, passed over the spurs of Ḳârt umm Ṛadîr and the hillocks of al-Msejžre, and rested from 11.23 to 12.30 P. M. To the north appeared the low scarp of the Ḳûr aṭ-Ṭwâl and beyond it the long, moderately steep slope Ḥazm al-Ḥedâğe. At 1.48 we came to the well Bîr as-Sabaʿ, where we drew its bitter-tasting water until 2.25. From 3.07 to 3.30 we rode through the salt morass Sbaḫt as-Sabaʿ, which is bounded on the northeast by the table-shaped hills Ḳûr aṭ-Ṭwâl, on the north by the spurs of al-ʿÔğa, on the west by the Ṭâr ad-Demîm, and on the south by the spurs of ʿAčʿač. North of it is the Ṛadîr al-Ḳaʿêd and northwest the wells al-Mwêleḥ, al-Barṛûṯ, and ad-Demîm.

From 3.40 to 4.20 our camels grazed north of the Bîr Šeʿṭât. To the north the mesa Ḳârt al-Ḥaṣân (Fig. 28) loomed above the horizon. At 5.24 we sighted to the west-southwest beyond the Euphrates the aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins and to the northeast the low hillocks Bṭânt ad-Demîm. At 5.55 we made camp.

May 19, 1912. By 4.58 A. M. we were in our saddles. The night was warm — not a breeze stirring. We were now passing through country where there had been no good rain for four years. No annuals, green or dry, were to be seen anywhere. The perennials were quite dried up; they had even been torn up by the wind and heaped in piles as high as fifteen centimeters behind every large stone. To the south-southeast the white hillocks of Bêẓat ʿAjn ʿAli, with the spring of the same name, came into view. At seven o'clock we turned northwest not far from the stone heap Riğm al-Ḥwejṭi. The northern

horizon was shut in by the Ṭâr ad-Demîm and the huge bulk of the Ḥazm al-ʿÔğa behind it.

From 8.18 to 8.45 the camels grazed on the dry, dark brown *nejtûl* southwest of the well of ad-Dmejjem, where

Fig. 29—Salina of al-ʿEdejd.

numerous trails from all sides converge. To the south and west the undulating plain Erdeft az-Zôr fell away to the escarpments Ḳârt abu Zelle and Ḳârt al-Ṛanamijje. Toward the north spread the plains of Sejlt al-Warde, al-Feḳâra, and Fejẓat al-Ğizer, in which lie the wells of al-Ḥaddâğ and al-Flêta. From 10.00 to 10.20 we halted at a group of bushes called Šağarat al-ʿAlejji (from a species of belladonna), the twigs of which (still fairly green) our hungry camels seemed to find very appetizing. From 12.10 P. M. to 12.52 we had our rest. We were passed by a caravan of the ʿAḳejdât tribe on its way for salt. From the almost red-hot ground rose fine salt dust, painfully irritating to the mucous membrane. There was nothing in the scenery to attract us. The "bubbles" (*ṭbûl*) we had left behind, and, except for the glitter of rock salt in some spots, there was nothing to remind us of them. Neither annuals nor perennials appeared anywhere. The *nejtûl* was already black,

the *šîḥ* and *šnân* blown away by the winds. The left bank of the Euphrates was disappearing, but the bluffs on the right bank were in plain sight. There, at 2.30, the ruined stronghold of ar-Rḥaba came into view impressively above the western horizon. From 3.35 to 4.12 and then again from 4.45 to 5.38 our camels grazed. We encamped at 7.05 in a flat, bare plain where we could find nothing with which to make a fire.

On May 20, 1912, we started at 4.58 A. M. in a northwesterly direction and sighted at 5.20 through a rift the river al-Ḫâbûr near the hamlet of as-Sičer.[45] At the Tell Ḥeğna ruins and aš-Šejḫ Sâlem we turned north.

THE AL-ḪÂBÛR VALLEY; THE ĞBÛR TRIBE

The al-Ḫâbûr valley has been eroded below the surface of a plateau in the same manner as the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. On the western side the plateau falls off steeply, on the eastern only gradually, to the flood plain through which the deep channel meanders. Scattered along the banks are ruin mounds of all sizes. Close to the river grow solitary poplars with green strips of fertile land and small yellow huts between them and the valley walls. On the left bank of al-Ḫâbûr, north of its outlet into the Euphrates, lie the ruins and hamlets of az-Zirr, Ṯa'ô, al-'Wêne, al-Mâšeḫ, and as-Sičer. Near the last-named place the Dawrîn canal branches off. On the right bank of al-Ḫâbûr are the hamlets and ruins al-Bsejra, aṣ-Ṣâlḥa, Tell al-Ğeben, Beršem, Tell al-Bnejjât, and aṭ-Ṭâle'e, opposite Tell Ḥeğna. At 6.15 we descended to the left bank at the hamlet of Ṭajjebt al-Fâl. The left slope of the valley is not very steep, and the gullies eroded out of it are short and shallow. From 7.05 to 7.45 our camels grazed south of the hamlet of Telfîs, which is situated on a small spit of land running out from the right bank almost due north from the al-Hnejdi ruins. North of us overlooking the right bank we saw the ruin mound Tell Fdên (or al-Fdejn),[46] stretching from south to north.

[45] Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 4, p. 257, relates that in the reign of the Caliph 'Abdalmalek (685—705) the Taṛleb and Ḳejs tribes met in battle at as-Sukejr, or — as it is sometimes called — Sukejr al-'Abbâs, on the river al-Ḫâbûr. The Taṛleb and their allies, the Nimr, were defeated.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 109, states that Sukejr al-'Abbâs is a rather small town on al-Ḫâbûr, with a *minbar* (pulpit in the mosque) and market place.

[46] Al-Fdejn is the Aphphadana or Apphadana of Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 18 : 6, 13, and perhaps the Apadna of the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 36, No. 8.

In the Caliph 'Abdalmalek's time, 'Umejr ibn al-Ḥubâb attacked the settlement of al-

At 8.30 we had on our left the hamlet of al-Mžejbre next to the Tell Fdên; at nine o'clock on the left bank the hamlet of al-Ḫarîğa; and at 9.45 the farm of an-Nimlijje. The river here approaches the eastern bluffs of the valley. From 10.15 we rode among jagged crags, which we did not leave until 11.25. Beyond an-Nimlijje the fertile flood plain on the right bank steadily widens, finally reaching the rocky spur on which stand the aṣ-Ṣwar ruins above the river. On the left bank, beginning at the white crags of an-Nimle, another stretch of fertile flood plain extends to the north to where the ruin mound of aš-Šejḫ Ḥamed overlooks it.

Above this point on al-Ḫâbûr, as well as on the right bank of the Tigris between al-Maḳḥûl and Tekrît, are the camping grounds of the Ğbûr tribe. The western division of this tribe is called al-Ḥağğâğ, the eastern al-Ḥejâčen (or al-Ḥejâčel). The clans of the Ğbûr are as follows:

al-Ḥejâčel	(chief:	Maslad eben Mḥammad Emîn)
aš-Šwêḫ	(„	Ḥaẓr al-ʿEmarr)
ağ-Ğâmûs	(„	ʿAbdarraḥmân eben Daṛer)
al-Bu Ḫaṭṭâb	(„	ʿObejjed eben Hallûš)
al-ʿEğel	(„	Waḳâʿ eben Zarzûr)
al-Bu Nğâd	(„	ʿAbdalʿazîz al-Mhejri)
an-Nâṣer	(„	Ḥmûd eben ʿAbdrabbo)
al-Baḳḳâra	(„	Bešîr eben Ğâber)
al-ʿObejdât	(„	ʿAğîl eben ʿAlâwi)
al-ʿÂbed	(„	Bešîr)
Harrâšed	(„	Maḥmûd eben Ḳaḥîṭ)
al-Bu Ḥasan	(„	Dabbûs eben Ẓwêḫ)
al-Bu Ḥamdân	(„	Wâwi eben Šawwâš)
al-Bu Ṛḥama	(„	ʿAbdallâh as-Semîn)
al-ʿAbdaččerîm	(„	Mḥêmed eben Ḳaḥîṭ)
al-Mašhûr	(„	ʿAli ar-Ramaẓân)
al-Ḫanğar	(„	Saṭṭâm al-Mḥammad).

We followed the cultivated flood plain on the east bank almost due north until 12.10 P.M. when, at a bay of the river, we turned west and at 1.20 camped by the ford opposite the

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Fudejn on al-Ḫâbûr and killed all the members of the Tarleb tribe there. The poet Nufejʿ mentions this settlement together with aṣ-Ṣuwwar (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 256).

Ibn Ḫordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 74, names these towns in the administrative district of al-Ḫâbûr: aṣ-Ṣuwwar, al-Fudejn, Mâkesîn, aš-Šamsânijje, and as-Sukejr.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 858, says that the settlement of al-Fudejn lies by al-Ḫâbûr between Mâkesîn and Ḳarḳîsija'.

Al-Fudejn was undoubtedly a halting place on the road from Ḳarḳîsija' to Mosul, as there was an important connecting road along al-Ḫâbûr between Mesopotamia and Syria at that time. This fact is attested by many records that have been preserved to us. These records, however, have been so much altered by the copyists that to locate the separate stations is no longer possible.

Ibn Ḫordâdbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 96, describes the road from Mosul west through the desert as far as the station of Sukejr al-ʿAbbâs, which lay on al-Ḫâbûr. The distance thence to al-Fudejn was 5 parasangs, thence to Mâkesîn 6 parasangs, and thence to Ḳarḳîsija' at the junction of al-Ḫâbûr with the Euphrates 7 parasangs. — The name al-Fudejn has persisted

gendarmerie station and khan of aṣ-Ṣwar (Fig. 30) on the highroad from Dejr az-Zôr to Mosul.

There is a small islet north of the ford and to the southeast a grove of poplars. Above the islet a large flush wheel

FIG. 30—Khan of aṣ-Ṣwar from the east.

(*nâʿûra*) draws water from the river to irrigate the fields along the banks, which were dotted with the tents of the ʿAḳejdât and Ǧbûr tribes. Presently from these tents several men came to visit us, among whom I tried to find a guide. Leading them one by one a little way off, I sat down with each and asked him to draw for me on the ground al-Ḫâbûr and Euphrates; also to lay pebbles on the places he named. Some had no idea of direction and could tell neither north nor south; on such I did not waste much time. Again, the applicant who marked correctly the places I knew had to show me the lines

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in that of the present al-Fdejn, about 27 kilometers from the old Ḳarḳîsija'. But according to Ibn Ḫordâdbeh the distance from Ḳarḳîsija' to al-Fudejn is 13 parasangs, or 65 kilometers. It may therefore be assumed that not only was the order of the stations changed, but the distances between them as well.

From Ḳarḳîsija' it is 17 kilometers (four parasangs) to as-Sičer, the old as-Sukejr (otherwise Sukejr al-ʿAbbâs).

From as-Sičer to al-Fdejn is 10 kilometers.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 216, gives these names in the same erroneous order and gives the same distances as Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 150, records one march from Ḳarḳîsija' to Fudejn (without the article), and from this place to as-Sukejr (without al-ʿAbbâs) also one march.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, pp. 154 f., gives the distance from Ḳarḳisija' to Mâkesîn as 21 miles, thence to Fudejn as 18 miles, thence to Sukejr al-ʿAbbâs as 15 miles. The order, as well as the distances, corresponds with the data of both Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh and Ḳodâma: 54 miles, 18 parasangs, or 90 kilometers.

of the roads either from aṣ-Ṣwar to Dejr az-Zôr, or from aṣ-Ṣwar direct to ar-Raḳḳa, or from aṣ-Ṣwar to the salina Melḥ al-Ašḳar or al-ʿEdejd, etc. Having gone over one district in which I was interested with the first man, I returned to it with the second, third, and fourth, until I had established a firm basis for inquiries about other roads and the region around them. In this manner I completed my map and prepared the itinerary of the route it was my intention to follow.

The whole of May 21, 1912, was spent in sketching maps not only of the territory we had passed through so far but also of the country which we were about to visit between al-Ḫâbûr and ar-Raḳḳa. The flood plain on the left bank of al-Ḫâbûr merges into the plateau of Ḫašm al-Muʿeğel, where to the north-northeast of aṣ-Ṣwar stands a stunted butte. The productive part of the flood plain is over two kilometers wide and can be irrigated or completely inundated. In some places it is cultivated throughout, but in others the fields stretch only along the very banks of the river, where al-Ḫâbûr has here eroded a deep channel for itself; here and there groups of poplars variegate the scenery. On the west bank as one goes upstream the flood plain nearly disappears, not to widen again until beyond the Tell al-Ḥṣejn ruins.[47] After passing the Tell Marḳada it is wider than the plain on the left bank.

Near the Tell Marḳada ends the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥemma, which, descending from the west, shuts in on the south the volcanic district of al-Maʿeze with its three extinct volcanoes. Southwest of these and of al-Ḥemma are the wells of al-Maʿâmre, al-Ǧwejjef, al-Mrabba, and al-ʿUmejjer. West of the extinct volcanoes and northwest of these wells are the watering places of Fejjâẓ, Sehlân, Ab-an-Nûḳ, aṭ-Ṭârân, Roṛajjân, Rmejlân, Mlêḥân, and al-Baḳḳa. Among these heads the *šeʿîb* of Ǧahîd, which meanders by the volcanic district Ḥemmat al-Maʿeze on the north and ends opposite the settlement of ad-Dlejǧmijje, north of the Tell Fadṛami. From here a road leads east to Mosul by way of the wells of Abu Ḥamẓa and al-Bedîʿa. On the right bank of al-Ḫâbûr south of the Tell Fadṛami are the Tell Šmejsâni and the hamlet of ad-Dešîše; on the left bank south of the Tell Marḳada are the hamlet of Šâjtaḥ and the Tell aš-Šejḫ Ḥamed.

In the evening we determined the latitude.

On May 22, 1912, we loaded our baggage into a large boat and crossed to the right bank. Our camels forded the river about half a kilometer farther south. For being ferried over we had to pay five *meǧîdijjât* ($ 4.50). The aṣ-Ṣwar ruins lie

[47] Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 281, writes that al-Ḥuṣejn is a small town on the river al-Ḫâbûr. Annual pilgrimages were formerly made to the grave of Sheikh Abu Bekr, who was buried near the town.

on the right bank on and at the southern foot of a rocky spur. Though otherwise not remarkable they are quite extensive and apparently have been dug over several times; the better kind of building material has been carried away. Far more attractive are the ruin mounds Tell aš-Šejḫ Ḥamed on the left bank, Tell al-Ḥṣejn on the right bank north of aṣ-Ṣwar,[48] and Tell Fdên to the south.

AL-ḪÂBÛR RIVER TO THE BÎR AZ-ZHAMAK

At 7.45 we left aṣ-Ṣwar and started northwest towards the bare, undulating plateau of aẓ-Ẓahara, which is merely the continuation of the plateaus which overlook the left banks of al-Ḫâbûr and the Euphrates. The highroad to Dejr az-Zôr runs west-southwest across the plain, Fejẓat aš-Šnâne, and the southern spurs of the Ḥammt abu Ṣâleḥ. In the southern part of the Fejẓat aš-Šnâne is the well of al-Kassâr, in the northern are those of al-Bu Rḫama and Kaleš.

At 8.45 we sighted to the north-northwest one of the al-Maʿeze, groups of black volcanic hillocks which terminate to the west in the sharp "nose" Ḫašm al-Maʿeze. At 9.48 there came into view the reddish, rather low height of Žetab aẓ-Ẓerw, which stretches from southwest to northeast; and to

[48] Aṣ-Ṣwar is the Sûri of the Assyrian records, the center of the land of Laḳê.

When Tukulti Ninip (Tukulti Enurta) II came to Ṣupri (perhaps now the aṣ-Ṣafa' ruins), Ḫamatai, the prefect of Laḳê, sent him the tribute due: two hundred sheep, fifty head of cattle, bread, drink, grain, and straw. When the Great King approached his residence, the town of Sûri in Ḫadippê on al-Ḫâbûr, the prefect delivered over to him twenty minae of gold, twenty minae of silver, thirty-two talents of lead, one hundred and thirty talents of copper, one talent of dark blue cotton, five minae of the *zadidu* plant, one talent of iron, fine oil, twelve hundred sheep, one hundred head of cattle, large birds, and two of his own wives with a rich dowry (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 4], reverse, ll. 4f., 15—20; Scheil, *op. cit.* pp. 20, 22).

Asurnazirpal III (884—859 B. C.), shortly after ascending the throne, appeared suddenly before the town of Sûri in the region of Bît-Ḫadippê, to punish its inhabitants for murdering the prefect Ḫamatai, who had been set over them by the Assyrian king to govern as his representative, and for replacing Ḫamatai with one Aḫiababa from the land of Bît-Adini. The prominent officials and elders surrendered unconditionally. The Great King ordered the palace and temples to be looted, which brought him as spoil gods, women, maidens, silver, gold, bronze, iron, lead, divers bronze utensils, alabaster, precious stone from the mountains, chariots, harnesses, teams, horses, fabrics of many colors, cedar wood, inlaid panels, purple, wool, fragrant spices, cattle, goats, etc. Outside the town gate a scaffold was erected, where the skins stripped from several prominent rebels were exhibited. Others were hanged on the scaffold and some impaled around it (*Annals* [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pl. 17—26], col. 1, ll. 79—92; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], pp. 281—284).

Asurnazirpal III in 878 received from the inhabitants of the town in Bît-Ḫadippê (our aṣ-Ṣwar) silver, gold, lead, bronze utensils, variegated fabrics, cattle and flocks (*Annals* [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pll. 17—26], col. 3, ll. 6—7; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 348).

Al-Aḫṭal, *Dîwân* (Salhani), pp. 106f., mentions al-Jaḥmûm with aṣ-Ṣuwar and also al-Ḫâbûr with as-Surar.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 434, writes that the settlement of Ṣuwwar lies on the bank of the river al-Ḫâbûr four parasangs from al-Fudejn. A battle with the Kharijites was fought there.

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 133, enumerates among the subdivisions of the administrative district of al-Ḫâbûr the following: aṣ-Ṣuwwar, al-Ḳudajr, Mâkesîn, aš-Šamsânijje, and as-Sukejr. — Al-Ḳudejr must be a wrong transcription of al-Fudejn, while as-Sukejr is the modern as-Sičer.

the west appeared one small and two large black volcanoes known as al-Ḥžâf (or al-Ḥžêfât). From 9.50 to 10.25 the camels pastured on *rûṭe*, *ṣerr*, and *ḳejṣûm*. At eleven o'clock we saw west of us the wells of Swêlem, al-Haba, and ʿAbdaččerîm. From 12.10 P. M. to 1.08 we rested at the well of al-Mrejžeb, which was partly filled with the remnants of dry plants.

Our guide pointed out to us to the west the wells of ar-Rwêšed and Ḥamar aṭ-Ṭawîl, south of the latter that of Ḳamaraddîn, north of it al-ʿErbîdi, and east of al-ʿErbîdi that of al-Bajjûẓ. Towards the north, at the western foot of a fairly long elevation, little heaps of stone marked the well of al-ʿUmejjer; northwest of it below a black spur lay the Bîr al-Mrabba; beyond that, al-Ǧwejjef; and west-northwest of the last, the Bîr al-Maʿâmre.

The air, now extremely hot, was clearly seen to be divided into four or five layers of unequal depth and transparency, vibrating incessantly and obstructing our view. It was the *sarâb* (mirage). At 2.15 on our left we caught a glimpse of the well of al-Bajjûẓ. To the northwest the horizon was shut in by the elevation of Žetab aẓ-Ẓerw, which in some places is penetrated by gaps. The two higher volcanoes of al-Ḥžêfât (or al-Ḥžâf) appeared to the south of us and, as veiled by the mirage, seemed not unlike two black monsters. From time to time the black Riǧm aṭ-Ṭârân emerged from the mirage; a well of the same name is situated directly below it, and to the south of it are the wells of Fejjâẓ and Ab-an-Nûḳ. After three o'clock pieces of basalt and lava could be seen here and there. Reaching the spur of al-Ḥemma at 3.48, we gained its ridge at 4.05 and remained there until 4.45. It is composed of basalt and lava, *ḥemma*, or *ḥamme* as it was called by our guide. The volcanic area stretches from the Tell Marḳada on al-Ḥâbûr as far as the well of Mlêḥân. To the north our guide showed us piles of stones which mark the wells of Sehlân, Ab-an-Nûḳ, Roṛajjân, and Rmejlân, and to the south that of al-Ḥadab. At 5.10 the range of ʿAbdalʿazîz appeared to the north. We encamped at 6.20 at the head of the *šeʿîb* of Ǧahîd and determined the latitude.

On May 23, 1912, at 5.02 A. M. we set out toward the northwest in a cold west wind. At 6.30 we observed in a large basin north of us the ruin mound of al-Mâlḥa and far beyond it the jagged range of ʿAbdalʿazîz. East of us the isolated hill of Zanatri was in sight. From 8.00 to 9.48 we stopped at

al-Mâlḥa (Fig. 31), a well about twenty-five meters deep with water nearly fresh to the taste. Northeast of the ruins of al-Mâlḥa is the well of Mlêḥân. On the west-northwest the ʿAbdal-ʿazîz range merges with the lower ridge of al-Bêẓa, the highest summits of which are in its center.

Fig. 31—Well of al-Mâlḥa.

We wished to examine the al-Mâlḥa ruins because of their similarity to a fortified camp built of basalt blocks, but our guide warned us against the robbers who roam about the foot of the ʿAbdalʿazîz range and were most likely observing our movements all the time that we were watering our mares and camels and filling our water bags. The guide seated himself on a knoll near by and kept a sharp lookout over the neighborhood. Our gendarmes were likewise unwilling to expose themselves to danger and pleaded with us to turn back and thus keep clear of the Kurds. To humor them we headed west over an undulating plain which rose toward the southwest. At 10.27 we came to a caved-in well. At 11.25 we crossed the road leading north-northwest from Dejr az-Zôr. Starting from Dejr az-Zôr this road crosses the *šeʿîb* of al-Baḳar, ascends the Ḥammt abu Ṣâleḥ east of the volcanoes of al-Ḥžêfât, and runs by the wells of al-ʿErbîdi and Abu Ḳbara. We arrived at the last-named at 11.35. From 12.10 P. M. to 1.20 we rested.

At two o'clock we were at the Bîr ʿAbbâs. South of us at the well of Abu Rdâni we saw a pile of stones and south of that again the cone of az-Zarrâb situated on the Žetab aẓ-Ẓerw. To the north a pile of stones marking the Bîr Fnejğîr showed black, while to the west the horizon was shut in by the hillocks of al-Mânʿijje. At 2.40 we noticed south of us six men mounted on camels and four on foot, heading north; on catching sight of us they fled to the east. Evidently the three men on horseback in our company made them suspect us of

being robbers returning with loot from a marauding expedition. To all appearance they were robbers themselves who might have attacked us, but lacking horses would not risk it, as in an attack a horse is quicker and more nimble than a camel. From 2.55 to 3.42 our camels grazed, while the elevation on which we were standing enabled us to observe the movements of the enemy. The ridge of al-Bêẓa stretches from east to west. For about half its length to the east it remains at the same height, only sinking off farther to the west. West of us we saw the well of az-Zhamak and south of it the black hill Ḳlejb al-Ḥamme. East of this are the wells of al-Ǧerdijje and T̲mâd. We bivouacked at 5.20 but were on our guard all night lest the strangers attack us.

THE BÎR AZ-ZHAMAK TO AR-RAḲḲA

On May 24, 1912, we were on our way by 4.55 A. M. A light but chilly wind blew from the west-southwest. At 5.55 we had on our right near the road the Bîr az-Zhamak, a well twenty meters deep, where we watered our horses until 6.10. Northeast were seen the dark hillocks of al-Mânʿijje and to the south beyond the Euphrates the ridge of al-Bišri. Especially striking was the deep rift between the main part of the ridge and its eastern spur, al-Faṣṣâjât. From 8.00 to 8.21 our camels grazed southwest of the well of aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi and north of the wells of Durra wa Ṣabbâṛa in the *šeʿîb* of al-Msawwaḳ. We were now traversing the watershed between the Euphrates and the *šeʿibân* running towards the ridge of al-Bêẓa. To the south the slope was very steep, to the north, however, it was gradual. On the western horizon at 8.40 appeared the two volcanoes of al-Menâḫer at the end of the monotonous plain through which we were passing. To the south we looked down on the vast rolling region stretching from the foot of al-Bišri and sloping towards the Euphrates where it ends in the lofty bluffs which border the right bank of the river. On the left bank west of the wells of Durra wa Ṣabbâṛa the bluffs disappear. At 9.50 we saw to the south the huge Tell al-Ḥmêẓa on the Euphrates. Then we proceeded across a southward-winding *šeʿîb*. At 10.40 we were in the broad *šeʿîb* of ʿAḳlat Mešḥem. This is overgrown with *ṭarfa* and ends between the Tell Maṭabb and al-ʿAnz on the Euphrates. The gap of al-Ḫânûḳa, through which the Euphrates passes,

now became plainly visible. The ridge of al-Bišri, or al-Ḥamme as its eastern basaltic continuation is called, stretches as far as the volcanoes of al-Ḥžêfât and once undoubtedly formed a natural dam of the Euphrates. But the soft layers of rock

Fig. 32—From al-Ḫfejjân looking west; Euphrates valley in distance.

salt and gypsum could not resist the rapid current, which eroded out a deep and narrow channel called al-Ḫânûḳa, thus dividing the larger part of the ridge, al-Ḥamme, on the east from the remainder on the west. On the right bank of the ʿAḳlat Mešḥem from north to south run the hillocks of Ḏâble, west of which rise broad uplands separated by shallow vales sloping towards the Euphrates. At 11.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥass and rested from 12.20 P. M. to 1.20. The camels were in pasture from 2.50 to 3.10 in the valley al-Ḫfejjân (Fig. 32) south of Ǧibb aš-Šaʿîr. At four o'clock we set foot on a stratum of pure lava and at 5.55 reached the eastern al-Menḫer volcano and rode around its northern base to the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šaṛaʾ. This volcano is an elongated cone with axis running from southeast to northwest and, as it seems, has four craters, the one at the southwest being the largest. From it a deep lava flow extends to the northwest. In the upper part of the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šaṛaʾ is the well of Abu Ǧedâjeʿ; in the lower the well of Abu Marmar, and west of the latter the wells of al-Ṛejlân, al-Ḫafijje, and Demîm. Below a knoll north

of the western al-Menḫer volcano lies the well of Luḳṭa, southwest of the volcano that of Abu Tûṯe, and northwest of the latter the wells of al-Haba' and al-Ḥwâr.

At 6.50 we encamped on the lava about midway between the two volcanoes, where not a twig or anything resembling fuel could be found far and wide. The night was mild and the wind blew from the west.

On May 25, 1912, we took to the road at 4.35 A. M. The wind was now blowing from the north. At 5.32 we rode around the southern base of the second volcano, which stands on a layer of basalt and lava about twenty-five meters in height and is steeper on the north. At 6.20 we had the wells of Abu Tûṯe on our right and at 7.25 reached the bank of the Euphrates west of the al-Ǧehhâl ruins, where our camels grazed their fill on *'awseǧ* bushes until eight o'clock.

Southwest of al-Ǧehhâl the channel of the Euphrates cannot as yet be called established. Numerous branches of the great river meander between islets, which appear and vanish again, as there is no rocky foundation to support them. Many of the islets show a luxuriant growth of grass, and herds of buffaloes and cows pasture there. We tried to go through the as-Smêri fields direct to the settlement of ar-Raḳḳa, but the meadows in which the river al-Balîḫ disappears were so marshy that at 8.40 we were obliged to turn aside to the north in order to ride around them on dry, stony ground. Not without some difficulty at the Zejdân ruins[49] we at length succeeded in crossing the swampy al-Balîḫ and turned west again.

From 11.20 to 12.40 P. M. we rested southeast of ar-Raḳḳa in the gardens by the al-Ḥamra ruin and west of the ruins of ar-Raḳḳa as-Samra.

The present settlement of ar-Raḳḳa[50] is inhabited by about three hundred families. 'Abdalhâdi al-'Ažêli is the most influential man there. The water of the neighborhood is of a brackish taste.

At 1.05 we reached the Euphrates ferry. Only with the greatest efforts could we drive our poor camels into the high boat. The ferrymen were a cruel lot. Beating, pushing, kick-

[49] The Tell Zejdân is the ancient Zenodotium.

Arrian, *Fragmenta* (Müller), p. 587, refers to Zenodotium, a town of Osroëne near Nicephorium.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 867, records, quoting Naṣr, Tell Zâdan, a place near ar-Raḳḳa in Mesopotamia. —

These passages would seem to show that Nicephorium lay at the mouth of al-Balîḫ and that it was identical with ar-Raḳḳa or with a part of it.

[50] See below, Appendix XI.

ing, and shaking the scared animals, they made us afraid for the safety of their limbs. Nâṣer, Muḥammad, and Tûmân went with the camels, the rest of us stood guard over the baggage. The camels were landed far to the southeast, Muḥammad and Tûmân remaining there while Nâṣer returned with the boat. After loading the remaining three camels and the baggage, we ourselves went aboard. The boat was carried by the stream easily. Halfway across the river the ferrymen stuck their long heavy poles into the bottom, trying to work the boat a little to the right into the eddy which washes a spur of the flood plain of al-Kassâra, on the right bank. The effort succeeded: we were carried by the eddy right to the bank, where at six o'clock we encamped for the night.

CHAPTER VII

AR-RAḲḲA TO ABU HRÊRA

May 26, 1912. At 4.57 A. M. we rode across al-Kassâra, a part of the flood plain of the Euphrates subject to frequent inundations. At this time it was overgrown with licorice, the dark green leaves of which our camels did not find much to their taste. At 7.15 we entered the flood plain Ḥâwi abu Ḳbêʿ where at 7.32 we saw the ruin mound of as-Siḥel. Along the left bank of the river near here are the hamlets and fields of al-Ḥassânijje, ad-Derʿijje, and al-Ǧazra, the Heraḳla, Sarât ʿAbedʿali, al-Ḳdêrât ruins, and the somewhat large village of Ṣeleḥebijje. We now were riding to the fields of Bulîl along a narrow footpath on the edge of the river, a passage in some places quite difficult. At 8.40 we crossed the narrow *šeʿîb* of Abu Habâṭa and rested from 9.00 to 9.28. At ten o'clock we began to ascend through the cultivated tract of Umm Telûs toward the Sûrija ruins, which at 10.37 were above us on the left, and came to the hollow between Sûrija and al-Ḥammâm, which affords an easy descent to the river. At 10.58 we had to ascend again and at 11.20 we halted in front of the gendarmerie station of al-Ḥammâm, where there were two khans, a postal and telegraph station, and a few huts. From 11.50 to 12.50 P. M. we rested. The two cones of Ṯadejjên[51] were clearly visible to the west.

At 1.05 we passed our camping ground of the first and third of the preceding April.[52]

At that time the slopes had been covered with fresh green and the bushes were sprouting, but now everything was scorched and bare, the grass dry or scattered by the wind, and the bushes eaten up. Only near the water surface a few spots remained green. At 2.32 the al-Hnejda ruins were on our left and opposite, on the left bank, the bush-covered peninsula of al-Ḳdêrân. Northwest of it are the fields of an-Nešâbe, to the west those of al-Msêṭîḥa, al-Ḳbejbe, ar-Ruḳuba, and the Ḳalʿat

[51] Al-Mutanabbi, *Dîwân* (Dieterici), p. 434, refers to the place aṭ-Ṭadjân, where he was caught in a heavy rain, as lying on the road from Aleppo along the right bank of the Euphrates to ar-Raḳḳa.

[52] See the author's forthcoming work, *Palmyrena*.

Ğa'bar ruin. At 3.27 we had reached the flood plain of Ṣufṣâfa, the southern part of which is overgrown with *ṭarfa* and *ḥammejẓ* (or *ḥumbejẓ*) and the northern with licorice (*sûs*). In summer the semi-*fellâḥîn* cut and dry the licorice leaves for hay, of which their cows are very fond. In winter and spring they dig out the roots, pile them into large, tent-like heaps, and sell them when thoroughly dry to a firm in Aleppo, which has agents at ar-Raḳḳa and Bîreğîk. These men buy only through the chief, who delivers the dry roots to them and receives the money. For each Turkish *ḳunṭâr* (56 kilograms) of roots the workmen get ten piasters (45 cents). At 3.50 we saw a cemetery on our left on the left bank of the *še'îb* of al-Ḳbûr. From some of the graves there projected poles with pieces of kerchiefs and even whole chemises on them. At four o'clock we were in the defile of aš-Ša'ba. The footpath here is about two meters wide. The bluffs south of it are nearly thirty meters high, while on the right the ground falls off ten meters perpendicularly to the river. In some places sharp corners projecting from the bluffs compelled us to ride in single file. Suddenly our white she-camel caught one such edge with the left half of her load and tumbled headfirst down into the river. She probably would have drowned but for the load tied to her back with ropes drawn under the belly, which kept her afloat. The poor beast, lying legs upward, struggled with all her might to keep her head above the water. Stopping the other camels, we laboriously climbed down to her, pulled and tied the kicking animal to the bank, took off her load carefully, carried it piecemeal up to the road, helped the camel turn over, and then hauled her about one hundred meters east to a small gully, from where she could be led back to the road again. Luckily she was not at all wounded nor did she show signs of internal injuries. The delay caused by this accident lasted only thirty-seven minutes, from 4.38 to 5.15. Putting the thoroughly soaked load on her back again, we emerged through a small gap upon the southern plateau, traversing it until 5.40, when we descended through the *še'îb* of aš-Ša'ba back to the Euphrates and at 6.12 encamped on the cultivated fields of al-Hôra. There we had to dry our wet clothes. Our sugar was soaked through, our cigarettes were black, and our flour turned to dough.

On May 27, 1912, we broke camp at six o'clock in the morning. To the east on a stunted butte appeared the fort

Ḳal'at Ğa'bar. From its center rises a slender minaret, to the north of which a second one could be seen.[53]

The fertile plain of aṭ-Ṭabḳa, which we were now traversing, perceptibly widens, owing to a bend which the Euphrates makes towards the north. At 7.22 we saw on the left the ruins of a small town. The strip of land close to the river, called Ḥâwi 'Âjed (or 'Ajjid) is covered with the licorice plants; heaps of roots which had been dug up were seen everywhere. At 7.38, on our left in the rocky bluffs about ten meters below the top, we noticed some artificial caves, which a man could not enter except by letting himself down with a rope, unless there is a passage hewn down to them through the rock. At eight o'clock we reached the end of the bluffs, which here change into a stony slope, strewn with heaps of old brickwork. On this slope are some demolished shrines and old tombstones, with the round tower of Banât abu Hrêra to the north of them. North of the tower the slope becomes lower and turns from

[53] Ḳal'at Ğa'bar marks the site of the old town of Dawsar.

Fronto, *Epistulæ ad Verum*, II, 1, writes that Verus conquered the towns of Dausara and Nicephorium.

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 222, says that the town of Dausara is situated near Edessa.

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 6 : 14, records that the Emperor Justinian I had the fort of Dausaron restored.

According to Ibn Ḫordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 74 and 98, Dawsar lies on the road from ar-Raḳḳa to Menbiğ, as well as on the road from ar-Raḳḳa via Bâlis to Aleppo.

Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *Ḏajl* (Amedroz), p. 100, says that at the end of 1068 A.D. the Emir Ğa'bar, lord of Ḳal'at Dawsar, died; the place was called Ḳal'at Ğa'bar after him.

Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rîḫ* (Barbier de Meynard), pp. 605, 610, 615 f., 644 f., writes that in 1115 the name of the lord of the fort Ḳal'at Ğa'bar was Mâlek ibn Sâlem and that this fort was also called Ḳal'at Dawsar.

Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *op. cit.*, p. 207, records that in the spring of 1122 there was a cloud-burst at Ḳal'at Ğa'bar, eight hundred houses in its suburbs being demolished on that occasion. He also states (*ibid.*, pp. 284 f.) that on August 15, 1146, 'Imâdaddîn Atabeg Zenki was killed below the fort Ḳal'at Dawsar, then already called Ğa'bar. The murderer, 'Imâdaddîn's own servant, was originally a Crusader.

William of Tyre, *Historia*, XVI, 7, mentions a fortified town on the Euphrates named Calogenbar (Ḳal'at Ğa'bar).

Ibn Munḳid, *I'tibâr* (Derenbourg), pp. 95 f., relates that his father sent a young captive daughter of some Crusader to his friend, the lord of Ḳal'at Ğa'bar, who begot a son by her. This son, whom he called Badrân, he appointed as his successor. After the death of his father, Badrân, directed by the advice of his mother, administered both Ḳal'at Ğa'bar and the vicinity for some distance around. But, wishing to make her escape, his mother gained over trustworthy friends, who first let her down from the walls by a rope and then accompanied her to the town of Sarûğ, which was held by the Crusaders at that time. There she married a Crusader, by trade a shoemaker, while her son Badrân was the lord of Ḳal'at Ğa'bar.

Hammer-Purgstall, *Osmanisches Reich* (1827—1835), Vol. 1, p. 42, writes that in 1226 Soliman Shah returned with his tribe from northern Syria to Armenia by the road from Aleppo through Ğa'bar. While crossing the Euphrates he sank with his horse, was drowned, and was buried in the fort of Ğa'bar.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 277, says that the fort Ḳal'at Ğa'bar was originally called Dawsarijje, for it was built by Dawsar, the servant of an-No'mân ibn al-Mundir. Later one Sâheḳaddîn Ga'bar al-Ḳušejri came to be its lord, whence its name Ḳal'at Ğa'bar. Then Malekšâh, the Seljuk, got possession of it. In Abu-l-Feda''s time the fort was in ruins. There were no houses there. It had been built in the Mesopotamian desert on a high crag on the northern bank of the Euphrates between the towns of ar-Raḳḳa and Bâlis.

According to Ibn al-Wardi, *Ta'rîḫ* (Bûlâḳ, 1285 A.H.), Vol. 2, p. 311, Ḳal'at Ğa'bar was demolished in the time of the conqueror Hûlâku and rebuilt in 735 A.H. (1334—1335 A.D.) by Emir Sejfaddîn abu Bekr al-Bâšeri, lord of Aleppo.

Ḫalîl aḍ-Ḍâheri, *Zubda* (Ravaisse), p. 50, describes Ğa'bar as a fine town with a strong fort and many settlements in the neighborhood. It belonged to the political district of Aleppo.

an east and west to a north-northeast and south-southwest direction, forming the boundary of the basin of al-Minṣef, in the northwestern part of which the shrine of aš-Šejḫ abu Hrêra showed white, while on a rocky spur of the northeastern edge of Ṭaraḳ al-ʿAṭfa, which separates the *šeʿîb* of al-Minṣef from the broad *šeʿîb* of Selmâs, almost directly above the river, the black walls of a khan and the gendarmerie station at Abu Hrêra came into view. There are two khans and a few huts in this place, near which we stopped at 9.06 in the fields of al-Ḳrên.[54]

[54] On Abu Hrêra, see also below, Appendix IX. For an account of the completion of this journey from Abu Hrêra to Damascus, see the author's forthcoming volume, *Palmyrena* (to be No. 4 of the present series).

PART II

1915

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE ENVIRONS OF AL-ḤÎRA

Between December, 1914, and April, 1915, I journeyed through Arabia Deserta and northern Neǧd.[55] The supervision of my scientific instruments, the plane-table survey, and the determination of latitudes were entrusted to Karl Waldmann, an official of the Military Geographical Institute in Vienna. Our eleven she-camels, which we used partly for riding and partly for carrying our baggage, were under the charge of Nâṣer eben ʿObejd al-Maṛlûḳ. Our steady companion and protector while in Neǧd was Nâzel eben Ṯnejjân, a cousin of the head chief of the Sinǧâra tribe, who guided us to an-Neǧef (or Mešhed ʿAli), which we reached on April 5, 1915.

MISSION TO DṚEJJEM EBEN BARRÂḲ

On April 6, 1915, I camped at the northeastern corner of the fortified town of an-Neǧef. A little after ten o'clock in the morning I was visited by the *ḳâjmakâm* of an-Neǧef, whose servant also brought for me a mare, all ready to mount. The *ḳâjmaḳâm* begged me to bring about a reconciliation between him and Chief Dṛejjem eben Barrâḳ, as the chief's people were now firing at every gendarme who ventured to show himself outside the city limits. As I had been acquainted with Dṛejjem's family since 1912, I promised to go and see him. My sole escort was to be Nâzel eben Ṯnejjân, my faithful companion from Neǧd, and a gendarme, the latter to prevent our being arrested by any Turkish troops which might be prowling around there. At eleven o'clock we started. The gendarme kept all the time between me and Nâzel, evidently for fear of a bullet. First I looked for Dṛejjem by the Euphrates, where his family had encamped at the end of April, 1912, but he was not there. Next we rode to his storehouse, knocked on the door there as hard as we could, and shouted; but nobody answered. Both men and women went into hiding the moment

[55] The part of this journey from Damascus to al-Ǧowf has been narrated in the author's *Arabia Deserta* (No. 2 of the present series), New York, 1927, pp. 377—474; that from al-Ǧowf through northern Neǧd to an-Neǧef will be narrated in his forthcoming work, *Northern Neǧd* (to be No. 5 of the present series).

they sighted us from afar; for seeing a gendarme between two Bedouins, they thought it likely that we were sent by the Government to do them harm.

At last I dismounted, walked alone to the gardens on the Euphrates, and inquired about Dṛejjem. Nobody here fled before me. Learning that Dṛejjem was camping in the ruins southwest of al-Kûfa and south of the horse tramway, I returned to my companions, mounted my horse again, and before long Dṛejjem's tent was found. The owner welcomed us from afar, led me inside, and bade the women prepare dinner for me and Nâzel. The gendarme was told to return to an-Neǧef by the Royal Road. Only when I entreated Dṛejjem to allow the gendarme to remain with us, as he was our guide for whom we were responsible, did the chief nod to him to sit down in a corner of the tent. Then he poured out a torrent of complaints against the Government:

"They almost flay us alive," he said, "and ruin us in fact. Under the name of a war tax they take our grain, flocks, horses, press us into military service, and exact ever-increasing payments without giving us anything in return. The fields between al-Kûfa and Ǧaʿâra have been cultivated by us from time immemorial. They have always belonged to us, were the property of our forefathers and our inheritance. And now the government wants to take this property away from us. Ten years ago some citizens of an-Neǧef, especially ʿAbdulḥsên Šišterli, as-Sajjed Mehdi, and Ḥsên Heǧǧerâdi, bribed the government officials in order to get the title to our land and have it recorded in their names. Of this we were left in ignorance for full nine years. But now, when there are more gendarmes at an-Neǧef and the vicinity is a kind of thoroughfare for the military, those men ask us to recognize them as the real owners and ourselves as their tenants. And in all this they are so far assisted by the Government that gendarmes have already been sent against us. Now, Mûsa, I ask thee, is this the kind of Government to fight for?"

I tried to cheer him up by promising that I would intercede for him with the authorities both at an-Neǧef and Bagdad, so that justice should be done to his people. Then I came to terms with him about putting myself under his protection and arranged that either he himself or his brother would accompany me to al-Ḳâjem, a settlement lying about one day's journey south of an-Neǧef.

After my return to town I laid Dṛejjem's complaint before the *ḳâjmaḳâm*. He said unreservedly that Dṛejjem was in the right, but that the people of an-Neǧef had powerful friends both in Kerbela and Bagdad and that, anyway, the

Fig. 33—A cemetery north of an-Neǧef.

Government itself favored the townspeople to the detriment of the peasants. Especially now, in war time when the English were trying to ingratiate themselves with the Shiite town populations, the Government was doing its best to retain the good will of the inhabitants of the sacred towns of Mešhed ʿAli (an-Neǧef) and Kerbela. In conclusion he advised me to consult either the *mutaṣarref* at Kerbela or the *wâli* at Bagdad in regard to the matter, as he himself could do nothing at all.

I also had to ask the *ḳâjmaḳâm* for permission to leave the most important part of my property in his house, because, after all, I could not very well leave everything in Dṛejjem's care. At that time the environs of an-Neǧef were full of wandering military deserters who might easily have attacked Dṛejjem's tiny camp some night and robbed me of my property. The *ḳâjmaḳâm* assented readily to this and, moreover, hired two men to carry my baggage to his house. In the evening we determined the latitude.

On April 7, 1915, Chief Dṛejjem with his brother and two servants came to take us through a Shiite graveyard (Fig. 33) to his camp, which he had moved closer to the Euphrates. The whole camp consisted of only five tents, for the other members of his clan lived in huts erected about the gardens.

East of our camp, which lay northeast of al-Knêdre and southeast of al-Kûfa, an old canal which formerly brought water from the Euphrates to al-Ḥawarnaḳ was still visible. A few small heaps of ruins stand on its left bank.[56]

Every day after sunset we were visited by ten armed men, who guarded the tents against the deserters. In his hate for the Government Dṛejjem frequently prayed that it might perish. Being a Shiite he disliked the English intensely, but could not help complaining that he wished the Shiite Persians were as orderly as they.

In the evening a dealer in donkeys and horses brought us five donkeys and a horse for our journey to al-Ḳâjem and, if possible, to Abu Ṛâr as well. Camels could not be used for this trip, for our route led through irrigated fields and deep ditches, full of water and with slippery banks, well-nigh impassable for camels. Besides, the *fellâḥîn* would have taken us for Bedouins and attacked us. Therefore we decided to ride in the same fashion as the *fellâḥîn* themselves.

[56] I regard these ruins as the old settlement of Ḥarawra', which, according to Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 246, and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 297, lies two miles from al-Kûfa, where, in the time of ʿAli ibn Abî Ṭâleb, the Kharijites had their camping ground, whence their name al-Ḥarawrijje.

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), pp. 381f., makes it evident that Ḥarûra' was situated between two canals opposite al-Ḥawarnaḳ.

[57] (*see p. 103*) Al-Ḥîra consisted of various quarters called *ḳṣûr*, which were separated by gardens and covered a large space. The center of the town was at the site of the ruin mound of al-Knêdre, or, rather, somewhat to the south of it, as this place lies five kilometers from both al-Kûfa and al-Ḥawarnaḳ and ten kilometers from an-Neǧef, distances which correspond exactly with those given in the Arabic records.

Glaucus, *Fragmenta* (Müller), p. 409, and Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 276, report that Ertha was a Parthian town on the Euphrates.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, pp. 748f., writes that al-Ḥîra was built for the Arab traders. There, as well as in al-Anbâr and the river-bank settlements near by, lived the Tanûḫ in huts made of branches of trees and in woolen tents, not in houses built of earth.

Ḥamzat al-Iṣfahâni, *Taʾrîḫ* (Gottwaldt), p. 113, says that no king died at al-Ḥîra with the exception of Ḳâbûs ibn al-Mundir. All the others perished either in raids, when hunting, or while visiting the settled regions, and this was because the air in the town is very healthful. A common saying of the Arabs was that one night of sleep in al-Ḥîra was of more benefit to him who had it than any medicine he could take.

The decision of the Nestorian synod of 410 A.D. was signed among others by Hôšaʿ, bishop of Ḥîrta' (Chabot, *Synodicon* [1902], p. 36).

In 424 a certain Šimʿôn was bishop of Ḥîrta', which belonged to the Ṭajjaje' nomads (*ibid.*, p. 43).

In 486 another Šimʿôn was bishop of Ḥîrta' (*ibid.*, p. 53).

In 497 a certain Elias was bishop of Ḥîrta' (*ibid.*, p. 62).

In 585 the name of the bishop was Joseph (*ibid.*, p. 164) and that of his successor, Šimʿôn (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719—1728], Vol. 3, Part 1, p. 110; Hoffmann *Auszüge* [1880], pp. 97, 103).

Some time after 594—595, the *katholikos* Îšôʿjabh came in his flight to the settlement of Bejt Ḳûš and died there. His body was carried by Noʿmân's daughter, Hind, accompanied by the priests and faithful, to the town of al-Ḥîra, where it was buried (*Chronica minora* [Guidi], p. 17; *Chronicle of Saïrt* [Scher], p. 313).

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2056, records, quoting Seǰf, that Ḫâled remained a whole year at al-Ḥîra, making many raids from there before he set out for Syria.

In 790 one Jôêl is mentioned as the bishop of al-Ḥîra (Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 603).

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 181, adds the settlement of al-Ḥîra al-Bêdaʾ to the town of al-Kûfa, stating also that it was formerly used by the kings as their residence, on account of its fine situation and wholesome air.

Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 309, puts the distance from al-Kûfa to al-Ḥîra at three

At night our watchmen danced their war dances, stamping their feet, applauding, singing and telling stories till dawn. The uproar was intended to warn off robbers, but it also deprived us of sleep.

VISIT TO AL-ḤAWARNAḲ AND ABU ṢḤÊR

April 8, 1915. Seated on donkeys, we set out at 8.05 A. M. for al-Ḥawarnaḳ, first following a west-southwesterly course. At 8.13 we crossed an old, half-filled canal stretching to the southeast. At 8.32 we came to large ruins extending towards the east.

At 8.50 we passed a continuous line of large piles of old building material. The highest of these is at the western end of the line and is called Ummu Fšêže. They form the outskirts of the old town of al-Ḥîra proper. The old settlement of an-Neǧef, from which arose the present town, lay close to al-Ḥîra, forming a suburb on the road to Dûma.[57]

(*Footnote 57 continued*)

miles. According to him al-Ḥîra was built on the plateau an-Neǧef, supposedly the coast of a salt sea which formerly reached to al-Ḥîra. Three miles east of al-Ḥîra lay the manor of al-Ḥawarnaḳ, while another manor, as-Sadîr, was built still closer to it in the desert.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 82, says that al-Ḥîra was built before the Prophet Mohammed's time and was renowned for its salubrious location and fine buildings. But it was deserted by its inhabitants when al-Kûfa was built, one parasang away. Near al-Kûfa ʿAli was buried, but the authorities could not agree as to the exact location of his grave, for some looked for it near the gate of the great mosque, others again at a distance of two parasangs by a stone arch and the remains of an old cemetery. — Two parasangs from an-Neǧef (or Mešhed ʿAli) takes us to the vicinity of al-Knêdre, the site of al-Ḥîra.

To this Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 163, adds that ʿAbdallâh ibn Ḥamdân (killed in 929) had a stout fort built by the tomb (of ʿAli) and above it a large dome resting on four walls with a gate through each, and richly decorated both within and without. The most prominent of Ḥusejn and ʿAli's descendants were buried in this building, while the graves of the other members of his family were ranged around the sanctuary.

Aš-Šâbušti, *Dijârât* (Codex berolinensis), fols. 103 r. f., states that the Dijârât al-Asâḳef were built on an elevation near the town of al-Kûfa, on the outskirts of the former town of al-Ḥîra. They consisted of small shrines with domes and of walled courts, which were called Dijârât al-Asâḳef, or Monasteries of the Bishops. Beneath them flowed a canal named al-Ḳadîr, on the right bank of which the Ḳaṣr Abi-l-Ḥaṣîb was built, and on the left that of as-Sadîr with the Monasteries of the Bishops between them. The Ḳaṣr Abi-l-Ḥaṣîb was a place for excursions on bluffs above the flood plain. Fifty steps led up to its roof, which offered a splendid view over the plateau an-Neǧef and the town of al-Ḥîra. By ascending fifty steps more to a still higher roof the view obtained was enchanting. As-Sadîr was a huge manor or walled court built by the Laḫm kings in olden times, of which nothing remained except a few monasteries and a Christian church, as well as a building called al-Musaḳḳaṭ. This was a court with long, half-ruined arcades. On the Pilgrim Road east of al-Ḥîra lay al-Ḳaṣr, farther Kûh al-Baḳâl, Ḳaṣr al-ʿAdasin (al-ʿAdasiǧǧîn), al-Aḳṣa' al-Abjaḍ, Ḳaṣr Beni Buḳeǧla, and Dâr ʿAwn, still on the height an-Neǧef. All these walled *ḳuṣûr* are the remains of the former town of al-Ḥîra (*ibid.*, fol. 105 v.). Of the old buildings of al-Ḥîra only the Ḳubbet aš-Šatîḳ on the Pilgrim Road was left. On the other side of it stood several shrines called aš-Šakûra, all of which belonged to the Christians. On one of their holidays they held a procession from aš-Šakûra to Ḳubbat aš-Šatîḳ, carrying crosses and censers and accompanied by their priests as well as by a throng of curious onlookers and amused Moslems.

The monastery of Ibn Mazʿûḳ stood in the center of the town of al-Ḥîra. It was large and the abode of many monks. As an excursion place it was very popular (*ibid.*, fol. 101 r.).

The monastery of Hind — called thus after Hind, the daughter of an-Noʿmân ibn al-Mundir, who had it built in al-Ḥîra and afterwards lived there until she became blind — was one of the largest monasteries in al-Ḥîra, had the most occupants, and stood between al-Ḥandaḳ and Ḥaṣrât Bikr (*ibid.*, fol. 106 v.). —

The canal of al-Ḳadîr, mentioned by aš-Šâbušti, still exists. It branches off the Eu-

The plain of al-Ğarʿa, which we were now traversing and the south end of which we reached at 9.05, is capable of cultivation if sufficiently irrigated.[58]

Below this plain at the foot of a rocky slope which falls off to the flood plain to the south, stretches a canal from east to west. We rode on the edge of the bluffs in a southeasterly direction. At 9.32 a short but deep gully was on our right and on a crag above its left bank a pile of old brickwork. The gully descends from the ruin mound of al-Knêdre. At ten o'clock there appeared on the right at the foot of the bluffs a rather small ruin called Ḫejṭ as-Salâm. At 10.15 we saw on the right at the very edge of the bluffs a small ruin and at 10.20 another ruin on the right bank of the gully. At 10.25 we rode down to a wide canal which originates to the northeast. On the right, east of the canal, the remnants of some buildings stretched as far as the al-Ḫawarnaḳ[59] ruin, where we halted at 10.35.

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phrates in the Ğaʿâra gardens, runs along the foot of the rocky bluff of an-Neğef northwestwards, and ends in a depression, which is also filled by the Wâdi al-Ḫerr, though of course only after abundant rains. The Ḳaṣr Abi-l-Ḥaṣîb is located in the ruins above the canal on the edge of the bluffs about ten kilometers southeast of an-Neğef. South of there, on the left side of the canal in a garden, is a small ruin, most likely a remnant of the as-Sadîr manor. The old Pilgrim Road led from al-Kûfa direct to al-Ḫawarnaḳ and therefore to the east of al-Ḥîra, as aš-Šâbušti remarks. The monastery of Hind or, as written by Ibn al-Aṯîr (*Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 1, pp. 315 and 375), Dejr Beni Hind, was situated north of al-Ḥîra, for the location of the Dijâr Beni Marîna' is given as between Dejr Beni Hind and al-Kûfa.

On November 19, 1013, John, bishop of al-Ḥîra, was elected *katholikos* (Delaporte, *Dignitaries* [1909], p. 383).

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 299, writes that the town of al-Ḥîra was built before the time of the Prophet Mohammed at a distance of nearly one parasang from al-Kûfa in the midst of numerous canals; according to others it was said to be three miles distant. In the town resided the descendants of an-Noʿmân ibn al-Mundir, from among whom al-Mundir ibn Imrulḳajs became a Christian. He built two large churches in al-Ḥîra. This town lies by a place called an-Neğef. The ancients were of the opinion that there was a time when the Persian Gulf reached thus far.

[58] Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 62, gives the name *al-ğaraʿa* to the sandy plain near al-Kûfa, which extends (as stated by Abu Ḥudejfa in his *Kitâb futûḥ aš-šâm*) between an-Neğefe and al-Ḥîra and where Ḫâled encamped on his expedition to Irak. In the same plain the inhabitants of al-Kûfa quarreled with the governor sent to them against their will by the Caliph Othman (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2934 and 3409). —

Neither in Jâḳût nor in aṭ-Ṭabari is *al-ğaraʿa* considered to be a proper name but merely a designation of a stony plain bare of vegetation. A scorched plain of that kind extends on the upland between the sites of al-Ḥîra and an-Neğef.

[59] As late as 687—688 A. D. Christians were still living at al-Ḫawarnaḳ (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 760).

In 690—691 the Caliph ʿAbdalmalek paid a visit to al-Kûfa and gave a feast to the inhabitants at al-Ḫawarnaḳ (*ibid.*, Ser. 2, pp. 819 f.; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *ʿIbar* [Bûlâḳ, 1284 A. H.], Vol. 3, pp. 34 f.).

Al-Belâdori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), pp. 287 f., relates that once al-Ḫawarnaḳ belonged to the Persians. During the reign of the Caliph Abu-l-ʿAbbâs (750—754) its governor, Ibrâhîm ibn Salama, built there a Moslem sanctuary the like of which had never been there before.

The country around al-Ḫawarnaḳ was especially beautiful in the spring and was covered with all kinds of flowers (Abu-l-Farağ, *Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 12, p. 113).

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 309, writes that al-Ḫawarnaḳ lies not far from al-Ḥîra, no more than three miles, while as-Sadîr is in the desert still closer to al-Ḥîra.

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), pp. 381 f., records that early in December, 927, the Carmathian leader, Abu Ṭâher, encamped at al-Ḫawarnaḳ, while the commander of the Moslems with his army was stationed not far from him in a place called the Bejn an-Nahrejn. A battle ensued at the settlement of Ḫarûra', the victory being won by the Carmathians, who then began a march by way of al-Kûfa to al-Anbâr. — The Bejn an-Nahrejn (the Country between Two Rivers) is undoubtedly the narrow flood plain between the old canal of al-Ḫawarnaḳ and the Frât (Euphrates) of today, which runs east of al-Kûfa and Abu Ṣḫêr. The old Ḫarûra'

This ruin (Fig. 34) is sixty paces long from northwest to southeast and is rounded on the southwest. All the better building material either has already been or is now being carried and hauled away. The scenery hereabouts is beautiful. To the west, at the right of the town of an-Neǧef, the yellow heights of the bare desert appear, to the north and east numerous small and large groups of huts shaded by tall palms and spreading willows. Here and there the gleaming surface of the Euphrates may be seen, sails flash into view, to vanish the next moment between the trees. To the south spreads a fertile plain resembling a vast garden bordered on the east by the Euphrates, on the north by the rose-tinged rocky bluffs of an-Neǧef, and on the west and southwest by white crags and sand dunes, which break the rays of the sun with an effect painful to the eyes if focused on them for any time. The air at al-Ḥawarnaḳ has always been highly salubri-

may be the ruins at the warehouse of Eben Barrâḳ, about five kilometers south of the modern al-Kûfa and ten kilometers north of al-Ḥawarnaḳ. (See above, p. 102, note 56.)

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 82, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 163, say that al-Ḳâdesijje, al-Ḥîra, and al-Ḥawarnaḳ lie on the border of the desert, which stretches to the west, while to the east extend palm groves and fertile fields irrigated by canals.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 491 f., describes al-Ḥawarnaḳ as a manor, the building of which for an-Noʿmân ibn Imrulḳajs took the Byzantine architect Sinimmâr sixty years. An-Noʿmân once went up to his roof, looked at the lake before him and then at the desert behind, and saw the reall kinds of animals, both those that live in the water and those that live on dry land, and also date palms. Another time he was sitting in al-Ḥawarnaḳ enjoying the view: westward he saw the plateau an-Neǧef and the expanse of gardens and palm groves with the canals flowing through them; eastward, the river Euphrates which enclosed his manor like a moat; and he marveled at all the beauty displayed.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 218, and Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid*, (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 80, record that al-Ḥawarnaḳ lies on the road leading from al-Ḳâdesijje by way of as-Sajlaḥûn to al-Kûfa. — As-Sajlaḥûn I locate at the eastern border of the grove of Desem near the gardens of Ġaʿâra. Along a low ridge stretching from this point to the southwest the Pilgrim Road formerly led from al-Ḳâdesijje, avoiding the morass. At the settlement of as-Sajlaḥûn a bridge of boats was built across the canal of al-Ḥuḍûḍ.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 375, states that al-Ḥawarnaḳ lies about one mile east of al-Ḥîra, while as-Sadîr is situated in the midst of the desert land between al-Ḥîra and Syria. — This statement is not correct, as it brings the manor of as-Sadîr into connection with the plain of as-Sudejr. The manor of as-Sadîr stood in the flood plain south of Ḳaṣr Abi-l-Ḥaṣîb, whereas the plain of as-Sudejr spread south of the town of Kaskar on the road from al-Kûfa to al-Baṣra (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 61). Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 187, calls as-Sadîr the whole area between the Nahr al-Ḥîra, an-Neǧef, and Kaskar.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 642, 692; Vol. 4, p. 107, and Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 418, say that the manor belonging to Abu-l-Ḥaṣîb, a courtier of the Caliph al-Manṣûr, was erected in the environs of al-Kûfa on the edge of the plateau an-Neǧef, not far from as-Sadîr by the Dijârât al-Asâḳef (Monasteries of the Bishops). These consisted of sanctuaries and walled groups of houses (*ḳuṣûr*). The canal of al-Ḳadîr flowed below them, with Ḳaṣr Abi-l-Ḥaṣîb on its right and as-Sadîr on its left bank. Between Abu-l-Ḥaṣîb's manor, al-Ḥawarnaḳ, and as-Sadîr the monastery of Mârat Marjam was built by the al-Mundir family, probably either on the edge of the plateau or at its foot. — The present Ḥejṭ as-Salâm ruins may be what remains of Mârat Marjam.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 2, pp. 1 f.) journeyed from Meshed ʿAli to al-Baṣra by way of al-Ḥawarnaḳ under the protection of the chief of the Ḥafâǧe tribe, who owned the whole environs. In al-Ḥawarnaḳ Ibn Baṭṭûṭa saw various remains of sanctuaries in a large plain by a canal which issued from the Euphrates. From there he went to Ḳâjem al-Wâṭeḳ.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), pp. 291 f., writes that according to some al-Ḥawarnaḳ is a canal in the district of al-Kûfa, according to others it is a manor.

Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 373, denying that al-Ḥawarnaḳ is a canal, maintains that it was a manor still existing in the environs of al-Ḥîra. — In close proximity to the manor of al-Ḥawarnaḳ an old canal flowing from the northwest is yet visible, which might, therefore, also have once been called al-Ḥawarnaḳ.

ous because the winds have free access from all directions.

Leaving al-Ḫawarnaḳ at 11.32, we set out over the slope of D̲îb aš-Šejâḫa to the southeast. At twelve o'clock we saw earthen huts and an earthen mosque of the settlement of Abu

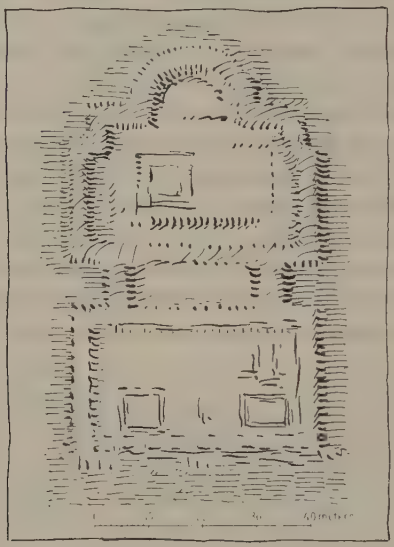

Fig. 34—Al-Ḫawarnaḳ.

Ṣḫêr, the residence of the *ḳâjmaḳâm*. The gardens there are called Ğaʿâra, as is also the dam in them southeast of the settlement of al-Mazrêž. At 12.09 P.M. we had an old ruin on our right. At 12.32 we stopped before the one-story, mud-brick government building of the settlement. A gate on the west side leads into a courtyard surrounded by arcades resting on pillars, and on the north side is the jail. We left Abu Ṣḫêr at 1.00 P.M. by the old Pilgrim Road along the right bank of the Euphrates and headed for our home camp near al-Kûfa. At 1.50 we sighted on our right the hamlet of Abu Ğazra. At 3.18 we reached our tents and at once began to prepare for our trip to al-Ḳâjem.

A visit to Abu Ṛâr was not to be thought of for the moment, as war had broken out just then between the inhabitants of the settlement of as-Samâwa and the Government, as well as between the Ḫazâʿel and Zejâd tribes. The Eben Barrâḳ, aš-Šibl, and al-Ṛazâlât clans, who cultivated the

land north of as-Samâwa, are akin to the Ḫazâʿel and there was much reason to doubt whether we should find any one nort hof as-Samâwa to protect us from the Zejâd and the clans allied with them.

The following are the clans of the Beni Selâme division of the Ḫazâʿel tribe, or, as they are sometimes called, the Maʿdân:

Âl Masʿûd, whose camping grounds are near Kerbela (chief: Saʿûd eben Htejmi)
al-Moṛara, camping grounds east of al-Barrît
al-Ṛazâlât
aš-Šibl
Beni Ḥasan
Fatla.

The last four clans listed camp southeast of Wâdi al-Ḫerr and the village of al-Ḳâjem.

South of the Beni Selâme camp al-ʿAǧîb, az-Zejâd, and al-Bdûr. The principal chief of al-Bdûr is Širšâb eben Zwejd.

The Zejâd are descended from the Kwâčbe and these again from the Ḳḥaṭân. Their head chief is ʿAzâra eben Ǧindîl and their camping grounds stretch as far as ʿAjn Ṣajd. In years where there is plenty (*rabîʿ*) they wander with their flocks to the desert, where they pasture under the protection of the chiefs of the Ẓefîr, Mṭejr, Šammar, or ʿAneze tribes. The protecting chief gets a sheep with its young from each tent as his reward. In May they return with their flocks, butter, and wool to the Euphrates.

FROM OUR CAMP NEAR AL-KÛFA TO AL-ḲÂDESIJJE

On April 9, 1915, at 7.05 A.M., we set out on our journey to al-Ḳâjem, accompanied by Dṛejjem's brother and a servant. My servant Nâṣer remained with the tents to guard the camels and part of our belongings. At 7.15 we crossed an old, wide canal. At 7.40 we had the Abu Fšêže ruin on our left. At 8.20 we rode over the Darb al-Ḳaṭʿa, at 8.35 over the road Darb abu Ṣḫêr, and at 8.45 reached the outskirts of an-Neǧef, which remained on our right. Above its brown walls and roofs the golden dome of the tomb of ʿAli shone far and wide.

By the al-Baḥra road we descended at nine o'clock from the bluffs of an-Neǧef to a canal which brings water from the Euphrates in a northwesterly direction right to the town. At 9.12 we halted to water our animals and to fill two of our smaller bags.

At ten o'clock we rode away southwest through the fertile, cultivated fields of al-Baḥra, which in the early eighteen-nineties were a lake, inundated every time the Euphrates was in flood. At the time of our visit the dam of as-Sâdde had finally been built, the water had dried up, and the lake was changed into fertile plain, flooded but rarely by the run-off from the al-Ḫerr valley and then for a few days only. Its lowest point is southwest of an-Neğef, west of the last palm grove. The whole plain was converted into fields and palm groves; here and there were also seen rectangular *ḳṣûr*, or courtyards, the dwelling places of farmers. On the outside each *ḳaṣr* is enclosed by high mud-brick walls closely resembling fortification walls, with a single gate into the yard, where huts and stables with flat roofs are built alongside the walls. Whenever a marauding troop comes near such a farm, the people inside bar the gate, climb to the roofs, and observe through the loopholes the movements of the unbidden guests.

The al-Baḥra road leads over many irrigation ditches, which at this time of ripening grain were full of water. There were no bridges and our donkeys could not jump over, as they were all laden with various articles. Therefore at the Ḳaṣr ad-Daʿam we turned a little to the south to get out of the fields. After resting at the hamlet of ač-Člâbât from 10.55 to 11.30, we rode almost due south. At twelve o'clock we went through some ruins covered with a thick layer of sand.

At 12.55 P.M. we saw to the southwest al-Ḳaṣâjem (plural of *ḳaṣîme*, sand drift), a line of high, flat-topped dunes, stretching from south-southeast to north-northwest. Behind it to the west of us rose the Ḳaṣr aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi and the Ḳaṣr Ḥesw ʿObejd, north of these the Ḳaṣr al-Mzerâwi, and east of the last the Ḳaṣr aš-Šḳêž and the Ḳaṣr al-Maẓlûm. At 12.45 we crossed the al-Medleḳ canal which issues from the pond Hôr al-Mišḫâb. The name *hôr* is applied in the Euphrates basin to low-lying tracts which the river fills with water from time to time. At one o'clock we set foot on the dune belt Ḳaṣîmt umm Ṛuzlân, which branches off from the sand drifts Ḳaṣîmt umm Naṣje towards the east. At 1.05, leaving the fruitful alluvium and proceeding over rocky ground in which the *šeʿîb* of al-Amêleḥ terminates, we entered the new Pilgrim Road which runs from al-Kûfa to Mecca by way of al-Ḳâdesijje. After 1.42 we crossed a swampy projection of the alluvial ground which penetrates among the rocky hil-

locks to the west. At 2.20 we came to the water hole Ṛadîr al-Maḳṣûra in a branch of the channel of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥeseb. The surrounding fields were all cultivated. To the southeast were seen fifteen tall palm trees, with some remnants of long

Fig. 35—Al-Ḳâdesijje from the north.

walls close to them. Northeast of the palms rose a few piles of old brickwork and the remains of some walls. This is all there is to be seen on the surface of the pilgrim station of al-Ḳâdesijje (Fig. 35), at which we arrived at 3.28 P. M.[60]

[60] The poet al-Mutalammis (*Diwân* [Vollers], pp. 200 f.) asserts that the kings of al-Ḥîra owned as-Sadîr, Bâreḳ, Mubâjeḍ, al-Ḥawarnaḳ, the manor of Sindâd, al-Ṛamr by the wells of al-Aḥsaʾ, and the whole of aṭ-Ṭaʿlabijje. Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 230, gives al-Ḳâdesijje instead of aṭ-Taʿlabijje. The reading al-Ḳâdesijje is correct. Aṭ-Ṭaʿlabijje was a simple station with wells and without any gardens; it is therefore hard to understand why the poet should have added that the "whole" of it belonged to the king, or that the latter should have had personal property so far out on the borders of territories belonging to tribes never thoroughly subject to him. As al-Ḳâdesijje, on the other hand, was surrounded by extensive palm groves, in reference to this settlement it was obviously necessary to state that the king of al-Ḥîra was lord of the whole settlement and the groves around it.

In 762—763 A.D. al-Ḳâdesijje was occupied by Ibn Maʿḳel to prevent the inhabitants of al-Kûfa from joining the rebels in al-Baṣra. (The people of al-Kûfa used to go by way of al-Ḳâdesijje, al-ʿOḍejb, Wâdi as-Sibâʿ, and through the desert to al-Baṣra.) Soon afterwards Ibn Maʿḳel received word from some inhabitant of the place of Šerâf, situated two miles north of the station of Wâḳiṣa, that twelve men of al-Kûfa were camping at Wâdi as-Sibâʿ. Ibn Maʿḳel went in pursuit of them, overtook them at Ḥaffân, four parasangs from al-Ḳâdesijje, and slew them there (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, p. 295).

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 163 f., writes that the little town of al-Ḳâdesijje lies on the border of the desert. There is an abundance of palms and water there; in the fields fabaceous plants are raised extensively and the inhabitants supply alfalfa to the pilgrims, who stop there to feed their animals.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 117, also reports that al-Ḳâdesijje lies on the border of the desert. During the pilgrimage period it is thickly populated, and all kinds of goods are brought there. It has two gates and is protected by a fort built of mud bricks. A canal brings water from the Euphrates into a large pond at the Bagdad gate. But at the desert gate water also flows from other fresh sources. The whole town is in fact a market place; there is a *ǧâmeʿ* (cathedral mosque) there, too.

AL-ḴÂDESIJJE TO AR-RUḤBE.

To the southeast appeared the fortress of ar-Ruḥbe, also called Ḳaṣr as-Sejjed. We reached it at four o'clock through fertile, cultivated fields, and encamped on the north side of it.

The fortress of ar-Ruḥbe[61] is inhabited only by peasants. Outside the northern gate a few huts and a small farm were standing. The owner of the latter ran to us begging us to lodge with him, as there were many deserters from the army prowling around, who might attack and rob us at night. Accordingly, my companions moved our things into the ar-Ruḥbe farm, while Ḫalaf and I went to the shrine of Eben Ḥasan on an elevation near by, from where we sketched a map of the neighborhood. North-northwest, about three kilometers from

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Aš-Šâbušti, *Dijârât* (Codex berolinensis), fol. 102 v., remarks that the monastery of Serǧîs was at Ṭarnâbâd between al-Kûfa and al-Ḳâdesijje, on the road, one mile from the latter. It was encircled by vineyards, trees, and selling booths. At the end of the tenth century of the Christian era nothing was left of it but a few half-ruined tombs and piles of stones by the road. Its popular name was Maʿṣara abi Nawâs.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 667, writes Ṭîzanâbâd instead of Ṭarnâbâd, and Ḳebâb abi Nawâs instead of Maʿṣara abi Nawâs.

Ibn Ǧubejr, *Riḥla* (De Goeje), p. 210, says that al-Ḳâdesijje is a large settlement with palm groves and watering places filled with water from the Euphrates.

Al-Madâ'ini mentions that al-Ḳâdesijje was originally called Ḳudejs, and Ibn Hišâm derives its name from the farm of Ḳudejs near al-ʿOḏejb. From al-Ḳâdesijje to al-Kûfa is fifteen parasangs; to al-ʿOḏejb four miles (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 7, 9; Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* [Juynboll], Vol. 2, p. 376).—

Jâḳût and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il both erroneously give the distance between al-Ḳâdesijje and al-Kûfa in parasangs instead of miles. Ḳudejs may be the modern ar-Ruḥbe.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 299, refers to al-Ḳâdesijje as a little town with palm groves and plenty of water, situated like al-Ḥîra and al-Ḫawarnaḳ between the desert and the cultivated region.

Al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâʿiẓ* (Codex vindobonensis), fol. 38 v. f., records that the settlement of al-Ḳâdesijje lies on the border of the desert west of the Bagdad territory, that its water is not very good, and that much fodder is raised there.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Gihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 465, describes the little town of al-Ḳâdesijje as well-known for its palm groves and abundant water. It is situated on the western border of the cultivated parts of Irak.

[61] Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 2, p. 967, relates that in 696—697 A.D. Šabîb with his army came to ar-Ruḥbe.

In the second half of the eighth century the hereditary Prince ʿÎsa ibn Mûsa lived on his estate in ar-Ruḥbe, visiting al-Kûfa only during the holidays of *ramaḍân* and *du al-ḥiǧǧe* (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 467).

Ibn Ǧubejr, *Riḥla* (De Goeje), p. 212, who was there early in May, 1184, relates that ar-Ruḥbe lies near al-ʿOḏejb, that there are several inhabited houses there, and that the inhabitants get water from a spring bubbling out above the settlement.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 762, records that the settlement of ar-Ruḥbe lies east of the Pilgrim Road opposite al-Ḳâdesijje, one day's march from al-Kûfa. It was already deserted in his time, having suffered much from the raids of the nomads, as there was no other settlement beyond it. Jâḳût quotes as-Sakûni as saying that whoever wishes to go to the cultivated territory (*al-ʿarb*) has to set out from the station of al-Muṛîṭa to the springs on the borders of the Ḥeǧâz — the first of which, ʿAjn ar-Ruḥbe, is three miles from al-Ḳâdesijje — and thence to the ʿAjn Ḥafijje. Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 464, adds that in his time the settlement of ar-Ruḥbe was in ruins.

[62] (*see p. 111*). The spring of as-Sejjed is the old al-ʿOḏejb.

The Taṛleb used to camp alternately by al-ʿOḏejb and Ḳaṣr Muḳâtel (al-Ḳuṭâmi, *Dîwân* [Barth], pp. 51, 89). — Ḳaṣr Muḳâtel is the present Šeṭâṭa.

In 635 A.D. the Moslems, under the command of Saʿd, encamped between ʿOḏejb al-Heǧânât and ʿOḏejb al-Ḳawâdes, whence they made raids into the desert as well as into the cultivated territory. The settlement of al-Ḳâdesijje was built between al-Ḥandaḳ and al-ʿAtîḳ. On its left a green morass extended almost as far as al-Ḥîra between two roads, one of which led along a scorched upland, the other along the bank of the al-Ḥuḍûḍ canal until it

the shrine, the farm Ḳaṣr Neǧǧârijje stands in a bay of the flood plain. West of it gushes forth a vigorous spring of the same name. Of still greater force is the spring of as-Sejjed, about four kilometers southwest of ar-Ruḥbe, from which a considerable stream flows through a deep ditch to ar-Ruḥbe where it irrigates the fields of the settlement (Fig. 36).[62]

AR-RUḤBE TO AL-ḲÂJEM

The basin, at the southern edge of which ar-Ruḥbe is situated, might be cultivated for at least three kilometers to the west, and it is now cultivated around Neǧǧârijje. The fortress I did not enter. In the evening we determined the latitude, but afterwards it was impossible to sleep, as our

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(*Footnote 62 continued*)
ascended to the bluffs between al-Ḥawarnaḳ and al-Ḥîra. To the right of al-Ḳâdesijje a well-irrigated flood plain extended as far as al-Waleǧa. The Moslem advance guard later encamped at al-Ḳâdesijje, between al-ʿAtîḳ and al-Ḥandaḳ, opposite a stone bridge, about one mile below which the settlement of Ḳudejs was situated at that time. Saʿd left all his women under the protection of his cavalry at al-ʿOḏejb and marched with the rest of the troops on al-Ḳâdesijje (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2228 ff.).

After the victorious battle at al-Ḳâdesijje Saʿd had the Moslems who had fallen carried to al-ʿOḏejb, where they were buried all along the slopes of the Mušerriḳ valley between al-ʿOḏejb and ʿAjn aš-Šams (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2304).—

ʿOḏejb al-Heǧânât is the present ʿAjn as-Sejjed, and ʿOḏejb al-Ḳawâdes the ʿAjn Neǧǧârijje. Al-Ḥandaḳ might have been a Persian rampart the remnants of which are visible west of the gardens of al-Ḳâdesijje. Al-ʿAtîḳ is perhaps the ancient half-filled-in canal, which at the southeast end of the gardens joined the rampart. The western road led along the scorched upland, the eastern followed the narrow but long elevation stretching from al-Ḳâdesijje to the northeast. The remains of the al-Ḥuḍûḍ canal may still be seen at the northern foot of this elevation. Near aš-Šbejne the ancient canal turns slightly west towards the gardens of al-Ḳâdesijje. Al-Waleǧa is to be sought at the modern ʿAjn Ẓâḥeč, because in time of flood the flood plain is inundated to this point. For about two kilometers northeast of ar-Ruḥbe the remnants of both the ancient canal and rampart are still visible; I think therefore that ar-Ruḥbe is, properly, the ancient Ḳudejs. The graves of the fallen Moslems are to be sought on the elevation of Eben Ḥasan. Finally, the valley of al-Mušerriḳ is the low ground between the ʿAjn as-Sejjed and the ʿAjn Neǧǧârijje.

In 680—681 a warrior of the Ṭajj tribe rode by the Beni Tuʿal road to join Ḥusejn, the son of ʿAli. Learning when near ʿOḏejb al-Heǧânât that Ḥusejn was unable to reach al-Kûfa, he went back again (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 305).

Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 175, states that the Persians kept a garrison at al-ʿOḏejb for the protection of the desert road.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 185, records that al-ʿOḏejb was a fortress between the Arabs and Persians on the borders of the desert. The entire road from al-Ḳâdesijje to al-ʿOḏejb was lined by walls enclosing groves of date palms.

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 423, cites verses of the poet al-Ḳuṭâmi, who mentions the summer camping grounds between al-ʿOḏejb and Râseb.

Ibn Ǧubejr, *Riḥla* (De Goeje), p. 212, writes that al-ʿOḏejb is a valley with rich pastures and springs; a building stood close to these.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 626, mentions that the valley of al-ʿOḏejb belongs to the Beni Tamîm. It is a halting place on the Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa to the borders of the cultivated country. He cites as-Sakûni as stating that the distance from al-Ḳâdesijje to al-ʿOḏejb is six miles.

To this Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 243, adds that al-ʿOḏejb is a watering place four miles to the right of al-Ḳâdesijje on the road from the pilgrim station Manârat al-Ḳurûn and that it belongs to the Beni Tamîm.

In times gone by a farm called Ḳudejs was situated in al-ʿOḏejb, from which the settlement of al-Ḳâdesijje, distant four miles from the valley, received its name (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 7 and 9).

Jâḳût asserts that near the station of al-ʿOḏejb the valley of al-Buḥt is cut by the Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa to al-Baṣra, but that al-Ḥâzemi denies this (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 498).

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 1, p. 413, who visited al-ʿOḏejb at the end of 1328, describes it as a fertile valley, with a building and good pasture in the neighborhood.

guards amused themselves all night with dancing, singing, and shooting.

April 10, 1915. At 5.35 A. M. we rode to the southeast through a fertile, level plain, cultivated in some places. We

Fig. 36—Nahr as-Sejjed from the east.

left the Pilgrim Road at ar-Ruḥbe and at 5.50 crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Wdêčân, on the right bank of which lies the farm Ḳaṣr ʿAḳḳâr. At 6.10 we were in the *šeʿîb* of Wuʿêr east of the water of the same name. At 6.25 the farm of Abu Rwejjes came into view to the southeast in the center of the glittering surface of the large lake Baḥrat ummu-s-Sbâʿ. This is not a permanent lake, for whenever the Euphrates sinks its water evaporates, leaving only small ponds and swamps here and there. All over the lake could be seen settlements of the peasants, who raise in the swampy ground a plant called *šilm*, the seed of which (*tummen*) resembles rice. At 6.38 we had on our left the farm Ḳaṣr Saʿad. At 6.48 we ascended from the swamps to the rocky upland bordering the lowland on the west and south. At seven o'clock, near the Ḳaṣr abu Leben, we passed the dry bed of the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ṭalḥ, which comes from the direction of the reservoir of as-Sitt Zobejde on the Pilgrim Road. The travelers we met, even the peasants work-

ing in the fields, were all armed and always kept in groups, the better to defend themselves against the deserters.

At 8.08 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Umm Dowde, where a few palms grow. Its head is close to the station of Ummu Ḳrûn on the Pilgrim Road; in its upper part, where Barčet Ḥamed is situated, it bears the name of Ummu-s-Sbâʿ.[63] From 8.14 to 8.46 we rested.

Our guide, a *fellâḥ* from Umm Bezzûne whom we had hired at ar-Ruḥbe, uttered bitter complaints against the Government. There was, he said, no end to the taxes. No sooner had the peasant, who generally could not read or write, paid one tax, than up came the collector again, accompanied by gendarmes or soldiers, and asked for further payments. Whoever was unable or refused to pay was beaten until his relatives paid for him to the last farthing. If the collector did not find the man at home, his wife or daughter was beaten. For this reason the *fellâḥîn* fled from their settlements to the desert, where they joined the tribes engaged in raising goats and sheep and whence, in order to provide themselves with corn and clothing, they raided localities which remained faithful to the Government. They bought their arms from the deserters and gendarmes, the latter afterwards pretending to have been attacked and robbed. The negroes of Eben Rašîd, too, were willing to sell their own arms or those of anybody else. With reference to this, Nâzel told us that Râšed and the other slaves who had come with us to an-Neğef sold in five days thirty-eight Mauser rifles which had been sent to Eben Rašîd by the Turkish Government.

At 9.40 we had on our left the hamlet of Umm ʿAṣâfîr. The hamlets in this vicinity were completely surrounded with water, and hence the only communication was by means of boats, the sails of which were to be seen over the whole tract to the east and southeast. At ten o'clock we had traversed the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿÂṣi, which rises at al-Mṛîṭe. We also met a funeral procession with six dead bodies carried in open boxes. The beard of the *ḫaṭîb* (conductor of prayers) who accompanied the dead was dyed yellow with *ḥenna*, but his moustache was left gray. At 10.25 we came to the at-Ṯartûr

[63] Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 29, writes that as-Sibâʿ is a locality and that the valley of as-Sibâʿ lies beyond Birket umm Ğaʿfar on the Pilgrim Road three miles from az-Zobejdijje. There were said to have been there a fort, a rain pond, and a well over forty fathoms deep and with good water.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 7, erroneously adds that as-Sibâʿ lies on the road from al-Baṣra to al-Medîna. — Birket umm Ğaʿfar is identical with the reservoir Barčet as-Sitt Zobejde.

ruins, where we remained until 10.37. The ancient settlement was situated on an isolated cone at the west end of the once fertile lowland now covered with water. The foundations there are of stone, but the walls are of large bricks such as are seen

Fig. 37—Al-Ḳâjem from the east.

in buildings remaining from the Babylonian era. The *fellâḥîn* excavate aṯ-Ṯarṯûr unceasingly, selling both the stone and bricks in aš-Šennâfijje.

At 10.45 we ascended to the rocky upland plain, from which we saw before us the fortress of al-Ḳâjem[64] and east-northeast of it the palms and huts of the little town of aš-Šennâfijje. At 11.06 we dismounted in the settlement of al-Ḳâjem, which consists of barely twenty-five poor huts north of the fortress. The latter stands on the right bank of a con-

[64] See below, Appendix XIX.

siderable stream which runs from a spring in the rocks about two hundred meters to the west (Figs. 37, 38, and 39). The fortress is not inhabited; its walls are cracked and in some places in ruins. Between it and the spring is a fine pond full

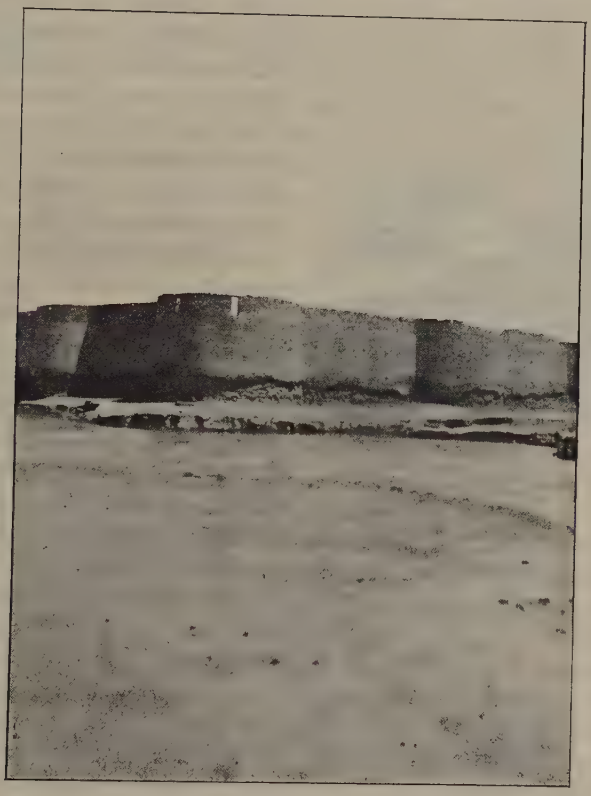

FIG. 38—Al-Ḳâjem, the fortress.

of fish. Northeast of the fortress rises a hillock, with the remains of ancient walls, called ač-Čôčeb; to the east are the Dôrak ruins, and west of them stands the sepulchral mound of ʿAbdallâh eben al-Ḥasan.

RETURN TO AL-ḤÎRA

The large settlement of aš-Šennâfijje is surrounded by a palm grove. West of it glistened the surface of the Hôr Ṣlejb and to the south the Hôr Rubejš where the *šeʿîb* of al-

Mhâri terminates. The head of the latter lies to the south, near the Ṛadîr abu Murîs east of as-Smêʿa. Southeast of the Hôr Rubejš are the hamlets of ʿAjn Ẓâḥeč, al-Ḫafs in fields of the same name, ad-Dehemijje, al-Ṛaḍâri, ʿAjn al-Bḥêre, and Ǧaw ʿAmûde. In the swamps of al-Ṛaḍâri end the *šeʿibân* of Umm al-ʿAwâžîl and Šennân, which come from the well of Firž, and northwest of these swamps end the *šeʿibân* of al-ʿWêne and at-Ṯemâd. All these *šeʿibân* intersect the undulating plain of Umm Ḫejlân, which merges gradually into the alluvial levels of the Euphrates. From an-Neǧef southeastward along the whole edge of the stony upland plain of which Umm Ḫejlân is a part were to be seen the low sand dunes known by the name al-Ḳaṣâjem.

Fig. 39—Al-Ḳâjem, the spring.

My companion, Eben Barrâḳ, could not go any farther with us as his tribe was at war with the Zejâd, who at the time were camping south of al-Ḳâjem. The Mašihdi, the dealer from whom we hired our donkeys, was afraid of being robbed of them by the Zejâd and entreated me therefore to procure elsewhere the animals I needed, if I should decide to continue to the southeast. This was the last straw. Seeing that I could not work effectively in a country where there was war not only against the established Government, but also, what was still worse, civil war between the tribes, at 1.43 I turned back northwestward. From 3.10 to 3.40 we rested. To the east, north of aš-Šennâfijje, appeared the village of aš-Šâṭi. At 3.54 we had to the north-northeast the settlement of Ummu Ḳbara and west of it the high ruin and the new hamlet of Ṭelek.

Our guide related that the fortress of ar-Ruḥbe was built by one al-Aḫejẓer, who also owned the castle of that same name situated southwest of Kerbela. The *fellâḥîn* from the vicinity of ar-Ruḥbe, therefore, consider al-Aḫejẓer to be a man; the article *al* with them has the meaning of the Bedouin *âl* or *eben*, so that al-Aḫejẓer signifies "descendant of Aḫejẓer."

An old man from the hamlet of al-Ḳâjem said that the fortress of al-Ḳâjem was formerly in the possession of the Ḫafâğe clan, who guarded the commercial roads to al-Baṣra and neglected agriculture, because al-Ḳâjem lies on the edge of sterile rocky hillocks.

Not caring to return by the road on which we had come, we turned into the level flood plain. At 5.10 we saw to the north-northeast the conical ruins Nîšân aṭ-Ṭowḳ, southeast of them the settlement of Umm Bezzûne, and farther in the same direction the palms of the settlements of Umm al-Baṭṭ and aš-Šâṭi. East-northeast from Umm Bezzûne stands the Uḥejmer ruin and on the river beyond it the settlements of ad-Daʿrijje, al-Ḥanaf, al-Ḥammâm, Umm ʿAwde, and al-Hârmijje. At al-Ḥammâm, too, some ruins are yet standing. At 5.20 we had on our left a hill on which stood the al-Fardijje ruins and at 5.48 the Ḳaṣr Masʿûd, near which we camped. The swampy, salt-covered ground was so moist that we sank in to our ankles. Our companions amused themselves with some *fellâḥîn*, who were working in a neighboring field sown with *šilm* (a kind of rice); while the guards sang, we were left to the tender mercy of millions of mosquitoes swarming around us.

April 11, 1915. It was with pleasure that I looked forward to our departure, as I had not been able to close my eyes all night. I was not used to the mosquitoes as yet and did not know how to protect myself against them. At 5.25 A. M. we rode away and at 5.38 crossed the channel of the *šeʿîb* of al-Wdêčân, which once served as an irrigation canal. At six o'clock we reached a sandy ridge stretching from southwest to northeast along which a former Pilgrim Road led from al-Ḳâdesijje to al-Ḫawarnaḳ. At 6.16 we crossed a canal running northwest, on the north side of which extend the ruins of the ancient aš-Šbejne, now merely a few large heaps. Northeast of them winds a canal filled with water, beyond which rise brick walls of a medieval fortress of considerable dimensions. To examine this structure was impossible, much as we should have liked to do so, as there was no means of crossing the canal encircling the mound on top of which stood the fortress.

At 6.57 we were at the ar-Rumâdi ruin, west of Umm ʿAwde and southwest of the palm grove of Desem. At 7.25 we rode across the old canal stretching from the aṣ-Ṣinnîn ruins[65] southwest to al-Ḳâdesijje.

[65] Ḥamzat al-Iṣfahâni, *Taʾrîḫ* (Gottwaldt), pp. 104 f., records that Imruḳajs ibn an-Noʿmân had the fort of aṣ-Ṣinnîn built by the Byzantine architect Sinimmâr.

From 8.53 to 9.15 we stopped for rest by the reddish rise of ar-Râkûb, southeast of Ḳaṣîmt umm Ṛuzlân; at 9.53 we reached the Pilgrim Road and followed our way through the fields of al-Mashab. At 10.30 we crossed a canal which brings water from the Euphrates. At 10.46 we saw to the west the Ḳaṣr al-Mazlûm and southwest from it aš-Šižîž (or aš-Šḳêž), and entered at 12.06 P. M. the gardens of an-Neğef, where date palms and pomegranate and mulberry trees are cultivated in preference to all other trees. At 12.29 we were at an-Neğef.

After calling on both the *ḳâjmaḳâm* and the mayor of the settlement, I copied, in the presence of Nâzel and two other natives who knew the region, all the geographical names between al-ʿEla' and an-Neğef from my notebooks and then prepared to make another journey northward. I was now so exhausted physically and mentally that I yearned for a longer, undisturbed rest at Bagdad. Nâzel, it is true, promised over and over again to accompany me as far as al-Bišri, but I knew he would find it difficult to keep his word and that the moment he got homesick he would surely leave me and return with his kinsmen into the desert. Just then he asked my permission to spend the night with his fellow countrymen. To this I would not, of course, agree, as I wished to show him at once that I was loath to lose him; but my refusal evidently increased his bad humor, for he did not come to our tent either that evening or night.

In 635 A.D. a troop of Moslems was sent by Saʿd on a dark night to attack al-Ḥîra. Setting out from the station of al-ʿOdejb, they crossed the boat bridge at as-Sajlaḥûn in order to reach their destination. Suddenly hearing the uproar of a large wedding party, they stopped and concealed themselves until the crowd passed them in the direction of aṣ-Ṣinnîn. The lord of this settlement had married the daughter of the Persian administrator of al-Ḥîra (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 2232 f.). —

The Moslems arrived at the southern edge of the present Ğaʿâra gardens by way of the ridge on the left side of the canal. There they crossed the canal by a bridge and sighted the wedding party. Hiding as best they could, they waited for the crowd to go by the bridge; but when it turned on the right of the canal towards aṣ-Ṣinnîn, they threw themselves upon the unsuspecting people and captured the bride.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 430, writes that aṣ-Ṣinnîn was formerly a settlement in the neighborhood of al-Kûfa, where al-Mundir occasionally resided. There were a canal and fields there.

CHAPTER IX

AL-ḤÎRA TO BAGDAD BY WAY OF AL-FELLÛĞE

AL-ḤÎRA TO AL-MSAJJEB

On April 12, 1915, we loaded our tents and baggage (Fig. 40), took leave of Dṛejjem eben Barrâḳ, and returned to an-Neğef for our things left in the *ḳâjmaḳâm*'s care. Having loaded these also, at 9.10 A. M. we started, accompanied by two gendarmes, by the highroad to Kerbela.[66] From 10.50 to 11.19 we rested on the northern border of the plateau of al-Mamṛûṭa. At 12.25 P. M. we reached the Ḫân al-Mṣalla, east of which lies the Ḳal'at Derwîš. From 1.10 to 1.50 our camels grazed in the Buṭnân al-Ḥumr not far from the Ḫân Ğed'ân and Tlejl aḍ-Ḍîb. At 5.08 we made camp by a demolished building near the Ḫân Sabbâr.

April 13, 1915. We set out at 4.45 A. M., but at 5.50 I discovered the loss of my notebook; I quickly turned around and trotted back to the Ḫân Sabbâr. There the book was returned to me by the local gendarme, who had received it from a small boy who had found it in our camping ground. He had ransacked the place that morning in the hope of finding something we had forgotten there which might come in handy for him. Having noted down before dawn the time of our departure, I had put the book in my pocket, but as I had not pressed it down far enough it had fallen out when I mounted my camel. Both the gendarme and the boy were duly rewarded, for the notebook contained topographical notes dating from March 16, and its loss would have been irreparable.

At 8.55 we set out again for the north and at twelve o'clock reached the Ḫân eben Nḫejle. At one o'clock we saw to the north the az-Zibîlijje ruins and at 2.10 P. M., to the east, the village of as-Slejmânijje. At 2.50 we were at the bridge in the gardens of Kerbela.

Telling my companions to go with the camels northwards through the town, I went with the gendarme to the gov-

[66] Fuller details relating to the road between an-Neğef and al-Msajjeb will be found above, pp. 35—43.

ernment building to call on the *mutaṣarref*. As this dignitary was engaged in an important conference, our conversation was necessarily short. The streets in Kerbela were empty. The life we had seen there in 1912 was a thing of the past. Soldiers alone were plentiful everywhere. I found my companions at the northern end of the gardens, near the old brickkilns. In the evening the *mutaṣarref* and the gendarme commander paid us a visit, but did not stay long, as the mosquitoes proved too much for them. They warned us to look out for robbers, who of late had made the brickkilns their favorite abode. The brickkilns seemed to be deserted, and in general there was little or no work going on anywhere.

On April 14, 1915, at five o'clock in the morning, we took the highroad to al-Msajjeb. The fields both to the right and left for the most part were lying fallow, since the peasants were abstaining from cultivation and sowing, as they either had been forced to serve in the army or the Government had requisitioned their teams and seed corn. From 6.00 to 6.16 our camels grazed. The highroad was muddy to such an extent that all vehicles had to make a wide detour. At 7.20 we crossed the old ʿAlḳumi canal, which extends from the north-northeast, and at 8.10 another similar canal by the al-Ḥûṭe ruins. From 9.38 to 10.12 we rested again. At eleven o'clock the chief of the gendarme post at al-Msajjeb bade us welcome, giving us at the same time two new gendarmes for our escort to Bagdad.

AL-MSAJJEB TO AL-FELLÛĞE

Turning from our road west to the fields of al-Bowbehâni, we stayed there until 12.48 P. M., when we found a guide familiar with the right bank of the Euphrates from al-Msajjeb north. He was a member of the Masʿûd clan, which, together with the az-Zeḳârîṭ clan, camps between Kerbela and al-Msajjeb. Both clans hail from the Šammar and breed sheep as well as camels.

At al-Bowbehâni stand the Uḥejmer ruins, west of these those of aš-Šrâži, to the north those of Abu Baṭje, and still farther north on the Euphrates the large al-Ols ruin with the ruins and farms of aṣ-Ṣnejdîž and ad-Dawwâs to the northwest of it. Near the last-named the ancient al-ʿEžîda canal branches off from the Euphrates in a southwesterly direction.

On the left bank southeast of ad-Dawwâs lie the fields of Ṛazâr and Abu Lôḳe. It was our intention to proceed directly northwest, but at one o'clock at the Uḥejmer ruins we had to retrace our steps, as our camels could not be made to pass

FIG. 40—Gardens of al-Kûfa from the west.

over the irrigation ditches. Making use of the half-filled-in canal of al-Ḥsênijjet al-ʿAtîže, at 1.25 we reached the high-road, which we followed southwest and at 1.50 turned through the fields of al-Bowbehâni north-northwest again. At 2.50 we saw to the southwest the Nîšân Ǧâzje ruin and north of it the slope of the upland of Marḳada. At three o'clock we rode through the al-Ǧbûr ruin and at 3.16 through another ruin, called Eḥwêš. There are broken-down walls of a rectangular fort there with a tower at each corner, and south of them

piles of ancient brickwork. But all had apparently been excavated several times, and the better bricks had been carried away. Close by here runs the huge ancient canal of al-ʿEžîda, which leaves the Euphrates to the northeast at the palm grove of ad-Dawwâs. At 4.20 we prepared our night quarters on the fields of the hamlet of ar-Rurêʿijje, the home of our guide ʿAwwâd. The neighboring fields are owned by the Masʿûd clan under the chief of the Eben Htejmi family. They assert that they have immigrated there from the vicinity of Ḥâjel and that the Šammar are their blood relatives.

On April 15, 1915, we were in our saddles by 5.08 A. M. By 5.20 we had ridden through the old ʿAlḳumi canal, which is said to issue from the Euphrates opposite the little shrine Sajjedna al-Ḫaẓr Eljâs. The latter came into view at 5.25 to the northeast. To the southwest the al-Ḥğêra ruins appeared again and beyond them the ruin Išân aḏ-Ḏahab. After traversing the fertile alluvial plain of Ğirf as-Saḥr, which is nearly ten kilometers wide, we came at 5.50 to the old shrine of Abu Ḳubbe. At 6.24 we saw, about four kilometers to the northeast, the al-Maḏbaḥa ruins, with, to the east of them, the knoll of al-Ğuṣṣ in Irak. Remains of old farms were seen everywhere. At 6.50 we noticed to the west-northwest the upland where the well of al-Ḳlejb is located, with that of Fahhâd to the west of it and north of this again that of Umm Ḳwêr. At 7.50 we saw to the east-northeast the modern tomb Ḳabr ar-Rṣêf in an ancient ruin east of the ʿAlḳumi canal and the al-Bâğ ruins in the fields north of the tomb of al-Eḥğêr. We then rode along the rocky upland of aẓ-Ẓahra. At 8.20 we had on our right the palm grove of al-Laṭîfijje and east of it, on the left bank of the Euphrates, the undulating upland of al-Meğaṣṣa. The fields north of al-Laṭîfijje belong to the Ğennâbijjîn, a clan of the Zobejd under Chief Bu Sḥarijje. From 9.55 to 10.54 the camels grazed near Abu-l-Fejjâẓ on the Euphrates.

From 11.10 on we rode along the rocky upland of al-Fâẓlijje, which almost reaches the Euphrates, and at 11.22 crossed an ancient canal of gigantic dimensions which leaves the Euphrates near by; our guide called this Žeri Saʿde. At 11.40 ruins were visible on our right; at 12.40 P. M. other ruins on our left; and at 12.45 on the right large ruins on the very bank of the Euphrates, out of which flows an old canal. To the east-northeast, on the left bank at the inlet of the al-Maḥmûdijje canal, stood the small sanctuary of Ibrâhîm

al-Ḫalîl. At one o'clock we rode through the extensive Bitra ruins which lie close to the Euphrates. The former settlement here was divided into three parts by two canals. In the rolling plain to the west beyond the steep slope Ṭâr al-Hejbân are the wells of al-Ǧrajbe, southwest of them those of aš-Šîḥijjât, and northwest of the latter those of as-Sihel with the well of az-Zeʿeb to the north. East of the az-Zeʿeb well is the well of al-Birče, and northwest of al-Birče the wells of al-Ḥeṯerbi, aš-Šerwʿijje, aṣ-Ṣlubijje, Umm Šiṭen. Southwest of the last-named is the well of al-Misma.

At 1.08 to the north-northeast on the left bank of the river appeared the shrine of Ḥamze eben Ḳâdem. Beyond Abu-l-Fejjâẓ the land was not cultivated, because the gravel (*ḥaṣw*) contained in it completely obstructs plowing. Nor is the soil alluvial, like that southeast of Abu-l-Fejjâẓ, but rocky ground throughout, mixed to a large extent with rock salt and gypsum. At 1.20 we again passed through ruins, where we halted for a short rest from 1.23 to 1.52. To the north-northeast in al-Ǧezîre — as the region on the left bank of the Euphrates in these parts is called by the natives — rose the high, isolated ruin knoll of ʿAḳar al-Eǧdaʿ. We were now passing along the western border of the narrow cultivated strip of al-Bzêbez. At 2.15 we crossed an ancient canal and had on our right a steep line of bluffs which descends nearly to the Euphrates and is intersected by numerous short gullies. At 2.30 we reached a deep basin running from north to south and bordered by precipitous bluffs; of these only the rocky northern ones are cleft in such a way that water can enter when the Euphrates is in flood. Then a pond forms in the basin, and, as the water dissolves the layers of soft gypsum and rock salt there, it becomes saturated with salt, which remains on the bottom of the pond after the water has evaporated away. Hence its name al-Amêlḥa (brackish pond). From 2.40 to 3.30 we rode past al-Amêlḥa, at the northeastern edge of which lie the Abu Ḳṣajbe ruins.

All along the Euphrates appear groups of huts in which the *fellâḥîn* dwell in the rainy season, while during the dry season they live in their tents. Although owners of large flocks of sheep and goats and living under tents for many months, they differ in many respects from the nomads, who pay more attention to the raising of goats and sheep than to agriculture. I often heard them say:

"With us it is so and so, but with the goat and sheep breeders it is again so and so (*ʿendana hêč wa ʿenda-hl al-ṛanam hêč*)."

All the way from an-Neğef I listened to grumbling against the Almân (Germans). It was quite usual for the officials, high and low alike, to put the blame for the war in general and for the Turkish participation in it in particular on the Almân. The gendarme Muḥammad, who accompanied us from al-Msajjeb, complained bitterly that the Almân were of no help to the Government and moreover that they unblushingly consumed all the best foodstuffs themselves. Pitying Sultan Abdul-Hamid, he cursed the liberty brought by the Party of Unity and Progress which had caused Turkey nothing but war and distress.

After passing the Ṛaṭṭâs ruins in the district of al-ʿÂmrijje, we bivouacked at 5.30 by a small camp of the Ğennâbijjîn clan, below a high dam which protects the fertile plain of al-Ḫâbûri from inundation, as the channel of the Euphrates is here nearly four meters higher than the flood plain. Before the evening set in we were enveloped in clouds of bloodthirsty mosquitoes, which tortured both man and beast all night. The ground was so damp that in the morning even our blankets were wet.

On April 16, 1915, I rose more tired than when I had lain down. At 5.06 we left the valley for the rocky western bluffs. When past the al-Ḫâbûri ruins we crossed the short *šeʿîb* of Abu-š-Šowḳ and started northwest again. To the north-northeast in al-Ğezîre was seen the ruin mound ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli; west-northwest, on the Euphrates, the Tell as-Sulṭân; southeast of it the Tell al-Ḳḥêṣân and Tell al-Ḳnejṣe; and west of the Tell as-Sulṭân, in the fields of al-Ḥsej, the al-Ağârbijje ruins.

At 7.30 there came into view the Nîšân Uḥejmer to the north-northeast on the left bank, and before us on the right bank the white rocky escarpment Ğâl at-Turba with the hills of Sened Ḏubbân to the north above it. From 7.53 to 8.28 our camels pastured.

When west of the Tell al-Uḥejmer we left the road on the base of the rocky upland which shuts in the alluvial plain, and at nine o'clock headed through the flood plain east-northeast towards the mosque of al-Fellûğe. Our road led through the fields of al-Ḥsej and was in some places very difficult, as

our camels sank deep in the mud. At 9.28 the ruin mound of al-Ḫrâb appeared on the left bank. At ten o'clock we reached the pontoon bridge al-Ḳanṭara, where we relieved the camels of their loads. These we had carried over to al-Fellûğe[67] and afterwards we led our camels across — something of a feat, as they constantly shied and all that connected the high bridge with the considerably lower left bank of the stream was a plank hardly more than thirty centimeters wide.

AL-FELLÛĞE TO BAGDAD

At one o'clock in the afternoon we left the wretched settlement of al-Fellûğe and stopped at 1.32 at a ruin by the road, where we ate our dinner and rested until 2.40.

At 2.55 we entered the rocky ground of Abu Tlûl, in which there is much of the gypsum so characteristic of al-Ğezîre, a region of which the natives consider the district we were now traversing to be a part. Its broad, undulating elevations are covered with pebbles and sand. Northwest of al-Fellûğe the low-lying fields are irrigated from the al-Azraḳijje canal. From the left bank of the Euphrates south of al-Fellûğe branch off the Abu Ṛrêb, Daffâr, ar-Raẓwânijje, al-Maḥmûdijje, al-Laṭîfijje, and as-Sikandarijje canals and many shorter ones, all of which still contain water. At four o'clock we rode over a bare rock and at 4.20 turned to the

[67] After his defeat suffered at the end of 701 A. D. near Dejr al-Ğemâğem, Ibn al-Aš'aṯ fled towards the settlement of Beni Ğa'de ibn Hubejra in al-Fallûğa, where he crossed the Euphrates (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 1095). — Dejr al-Ğemâğem I locate in the vicinity of Kerbela, and the village of Beni Ğa'da east of the present al-Msajjeb.

Al-Fallûğa was an administrative district, in which the settlement of az-Zâbûḳa was situated (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 2256; 'Arîb, *Ṣila* [De Goeje], p. 10).

In 749—750 Ibn Hubejra, sent by the Caliph Merwân II, encamped by a branch of the Euphrates in the district of al-Fallûğat al-'Ulja', twenty-three parasangs from al-Kûfa. Then, since the Kharijites had crossed the Euphrates at al-Anbâr and were marching with all speed along its right bank to al-Kûfa, Ibn Hubejra advanced in the same direction between the Euphrates and the Sûra' canal (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 13). — Twenty-three parasangs from al-Kûfa takes us northwest as far as the present settlement of al-Fellûğe.

Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 9, p. 413, states that in 1054 the Bagdad troops besieged al-Anbâr, which had shortly before been taken by the lord of Mosul, and that they burned Dimimma and al-Fallûğa.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld) Vol. 3, pp. 915 f., records that Falâlîğ as-Sawâd are understood to include the settlements of al-Fallûğat al-Kubra' and al-Fallûğat aṣ-Ṣuṛra', between Bagdad, al-Kûfa, and 'Ajn at-Tamr. Likewise they are called al-Fallûğat al-'Ulja' and al-Fellûğat as-Sufla'. — Properly *fellûğe* means "soil prepared for the raising of corn."

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 464, knew of the present settlement of al-Fellûğe. He says it is a place on the left bank of the Euphrates one march from al-Ḥilla, where the goods brought in boats from Bîreğik were unloaded. When the Euphrates was flooded, vessels called *kelek* could sail on the canal which branched off the Euphrates and emptied into the Tigris at the settlement of Manṭaḳa between Imâm Mûsa and the fort of Ḳûšlar. The Bagdad governor, Ḥasâki Mehemmed Pasha, had the inlet of this canal at Manṭaḳa walled in, because in time of flood such volumes of water poured through from the Euphrates that the fort was in danger of being undermined. — The distance from al-Fellûğe to al-Ḥilla is 120 kilometers, i. e. two day's marches. Below al-Fellûğe the 'Îsa canal branched off.

right towards the inundated lowland Hôr abu Ṛrêb, beyond which to the east was seen the new Ḫân as-Senijje and west of it the hamlet of aš-Šaʿebe, the residence of a *mudîr*. We encamped near the water, as the best pasture for our camels was to be found there. Once more we were tormented by the mosquitoes.

On April 17, 1915, we were in our saddles as early as 4.38 A. M. Returning to the highroad which runs from al-Fellûğe to Bagdad, we next went across the fields of al-ʿAbbâdi. East of our camp our guide ʿAbed ebel (*sic*) ʿAbbâs from the Be (*sic*) Sôde clan, pointed out to me Tell aṭ-Ṭwêbe and north of it the Tell al-Ḥamel ruins; about four kilometers northeast of these stands the abandoned gendarme post Nuḳṭat al-ʿAṣîd. At 5.40 the as-Snedijje ruins, the old as-Sindijje,[68] appeared to the south-southeast.

From 6.20 to 6.39 our camels grazed. At 6.48 we came to the gendarme station Nuḳṭat abu Mnêsîr at the Ḫân al-ʿAbbâs (also called Ḫân Ẓâri). At 7.08 the ad-Darrâʿi ruins appeared north-northeast of us; at 7.13 we rode across the old and great canal of al-ʿElêmi and at 7.18 across the new canal of Abu Ṛrêb, through which the water flows to at-Tarâğef; east-northeast of us the Tell Hwêrîğ Pasha came into view.

The only points of the compass whose names were known to our guide were west and east, which corresponded with the course of the Euphrates. Consequently he constantly took north for west and south for east. He said, for instance: "A little to the east from the west," when he meant northeast. Frequently he was heard to say: "It lies neither south nor north (*lâ hu žibli wa lâ hu šemâl*)," meaning southwest. He pronounced *eben* like *ebel, tell ar-raml* like *tarr raml; jaskotûn* (they will become silent) spoken by him sounded like *jisiktûn*.

At 7.55 we crossed the old canal of al-ʿEjsâwi; to the north were visible the at-Tarâğef ruins and to the northeast the Nîšân al-Asmar. At 8.46 the latter again appeared to the north of us and then the village of aš-Šnêfi, the ruins of Abu Salâbîḥ, and, to the southeast, the hamlet of al-Žerje. At 9.15 the Nîšân abu Ṭanṭûr lay on our right. To the north appeared the cone of ʿAḳarḳûf and east of it the banks of the al-Ambâri canal. From 9.25 to 10.00 o'clock the camels pastured.

[68] Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Slane), p. 13, writes that in 1085 Šarafaddowle established a dominion which stretched from as-Sindijje on the ʿÎsa canal to Menbiğ and included the towns of Hît, al-Anbâr, and Mosul, as well as the districts of Rabîʿa and al-Ğezîre.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 168, says that the settlement of as-Sindijje lay on the ʿÎsa canal between Bagdad and al-Anbâr.

At 10.30 we saw at about five kilometers to the south-southwest the settlement of al-Žerje, to the east-southeast the deserted gendarme station of ad-Dâûdi, and to the northeast the embankments of the al-Ambâri canal and the Tell al-Adram. At 10.40 Tell Bẓâṛ appeared to the northeast.

Our guide explained to us in what manner the Government recruited volunteers. The *wâli* summoned all the chiefs to Bagdad and, when they were there, he asked them to accept military service voluntarily. Every recruit was to get ten to twelve gold Turkish pounds ($ 45 to $ 54). Each chief then named offhand the number of volunteers in his clan and received at once the amount due to him. Thus, for instance, Ẓâri, the chief of the Zôbaʿ, announced 170 men and was paid, accordingly, two thousand gold pounds. But no one in his whole clan would hear of going to war. Finally he made ten poor fellows who were indebted to him join the colors as a means of paying him, but only after threatening to take all they had if they persisted in their refusal. And in this way he sent to war ten men instead of 170, keeping, of course, the two thousand pounds all for himself. The Government was also served in this way by other inhabitants of Irak and al-Ğezîre.

The Zôbaʿ are descendants of the Ṭajj tribe. Their main camping ground lies between al-Maḥmûdijje, Abu Ḥunṭa (Ḥabba), and the highroad from al-Fellûğe to Bagdad.

Their families are as follows:

aš-Šîṭi	as-Sbêḫât
as-Saʿdân	aš-Šaʿʿâr
al-Fejjâẓ	ʿAzze
al-Ḥejṭâwijjîn	al-Hlejjel
al-Krûšijjîn	al-Meḳâdme
Čedâde	Beni Zejd of Ḳhaṭân.

The chief's name is Ẓâri eben Fedâṛa eben Ẓâher âl Mḥamûd.

At 11.20 we crossed an old canal at the sepulchral mound Ḳabr Ḥmûd. Ḥmûd eben Ṯâmer was the head chief of the Muntefiž tribe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At 12.30 P. M. we reached the embankment al-Ḫerr, extending across the fields of ad-Dôra[69] north of the al-Ḳbejbe and ar-

[69] This is the ancient Bâ (or Bejt) Dûraja'.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 460 f., and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 116, write that Bâdûraja' was a part of the district of al-Ostân and later of that of Nahr ʿÎsa ibn ʿAli. A few of the suburbs of Bagdad were built on the border of Bâdûraja'. According to some authorities cited by Jâḳût all that lies east of aṣ-Ṣara' is Bâdûraja'; all to the west, Ḳaṭrabbul. — However, instead of east and west of aṣ-Ṣara' we should understand north and south, because Ḳaṭrabbul is situated north of Bagdad.

Raml ruins, where we remained until 12.54. At 1.25 we saw on our right the light railway to al-Meždem, which was being used for the transportation of guns from boats on the Euphrates to those on the Tigris. At 1.30 we had the highroad from al-Msajjeb to al-Kâẓimên on our right.

At 1.48 we reached the branch road to al-Ḥilla and al-Msajjeb. After paying the toll, we crossed the new al-Ḥerr bridge and came at 2.25 to railroad yards full of passenger and freight cars. At 2.43 we turned through the northwestern suburb and at three o'clock reached the garden where we had camped in 1912 in the al-Metwâlijje suburb on the horse tramway from Bagdad to al-Kâẓimên. Its owner, Aḥmed Ṭa'ama, welcomed us as old friends — and within an hour our tents were pitched under tall palms by a field planted with pepper. Unfortunately the water of the Tigris flowing close by was very high just then, making the garden so wet that it was impossible to sit down on the bare ground. Also, everything in our tents became moist, and swarms of mosquitoes, which in 1912 we had not noticed at all, came to torment us here as well as later at Bagdad, where we hoped to recuperate. It began to rain in the evening and continued raining all night.

BAGDAD IN WAR TIME

On April 18, 1915, in the forenoon I went to the gendarme post on the right bank of the Tigris to report my arrival and also to ask for a guard in order to save myself, my companions, and our camels from molestation. Next I crossed the pontoon bridge to the left bank into Bagdad proper, there to visit the Austro-Hungarian consul, De Tahy, who lived south of the town on the very bank of the Tigris.

On the way I had a good opportunity of observing the damage caused by war and flood. The streets of the inner town, through which it was hard to move in 1912, gaped emptily. The shops were mostly closed, the coffeehouses only half filled, and the country women who sold food in normal times were absent. Groups of soldiers appeared occasionally here and there. On the northeast the town was bordered by a lake which one could not see across. In the palm groves whole rows of huts were either demolished or half carried away by the floods. Both men and women were fishing for various wooden articles floating in the lake and with long hooks pulling out blankets

and pillows from the huts into their boats. In the Christian cemetery east of the highroad leading to Persia coffins and half mouldering skeletons were floating. On account of the cholera which was ravaging the town (three hundred people were dying of it every day) the Christian dead were now being buried on the new embankment of the highroad, so that people walking and riding had not only to pass by but even to make their way among and over the graves. These were shallow and, as the dead bodies were only thinly covered with earth, pestilent odors soon spread in all directions. There was no longer any life in the town, formerly one of the busiest in the Orient.

Consul De Tahy, a noble and whole-hearted Magyar, greeted me in a friendly manner, yet with a certain reserve, thawing only when he learned in the course of conversation that I was a Czech. Then he offered me his hospitality with such heartiness that I gladly accepted. Before noon we drove to call on the governor. Here I asked for permission to visit the vicinity of as-Sumejče immediately and then to return along the left bank of the Euphrates to Syria. The governor replied that what I wanted lay in the competency of the military commander of the district, whom I therefore must see. But the son of Mars would not even listen to me. Throwing my references aside with the remark that in such matters he would take no advice from Constantinople, he ordered me at the same time to go back to Syria by the ordinary road on the right bank of the Euphrates. When I declared that I ought to have the right of traveling in a hinterland not as yet included in the war zone and that all I asked for was a gendarme to protect me against the everlasting inquiries after my passport and my affidavit stating that no military deserter was with me, he curtly denied that I had any such right and dismissed me, remarking that I could complain in Constantinople if I was so inclined, but that I should have to wait for the answer in Syria, not at Bagdad. His sole apology to the consul for not accommodating the latter's protégé was to shield himself under the military law, which he said forbade him to do as I asked.

I left in a very embittered mood, for although the commander maintained all the outward forms of courtesy while refusing my request, I could not help feeling his fierce hatred of me. I came to Bagdad for the sole purpose of examining

the lower valley of the river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr and the left bank of the Euphrates; could I have foreseen such a venomous refusal, I should certainly have kept clear of Bagdad and made al-Fellûğe my starting point. The consul, too, was surprised at the commander's decision and expressed the opinion that perhaps Eben Rašîd's minister Saʿûd, who was a great protégé of Enver Pasha and against whom I had worked in central Arabia, had laid charges against me in Constantinople, and that in consequence Enver Pasha had sent a telegraphic order to Bagdad to order me back to Syria. This surmise was reasonable and highly probable, because it had been my intention while in central Arabia to cause the downfall of the minister Saʿûd and naturally with it that of the weak prince Eben Rašîd, who had received from Enver Pasha a gift of several thousand Mauser rifles with the necessary ammunition and a great sum of gold. Saʿûd might have forwarded the accusation by a fast rider to the al-Muʿaẓẓam station on the Ḥeğâz Railway and Enver Pasha, who knew I did not approve of his policy in inner Arabia, might have taken steps against me on discovering from the accusation that my activities against his protégés had been effective.

It now occurred to me to ask the consul, who claimed to be on the best of terms with the commander, if possible to ascertain the reasons of his behavior, and this he did two hours after. I waited for him in front of the government building, whence he emerged after scarcely half an hour and invited me to come in, saying that everything had been explained and that he thought the explanation would be to my satisfaction. In fact, the commander came out as far as the anteroom to greet me and did so very politely, excusing himself for the way he had treated me before. Taking me for an Austrian German, whom he hated just as fiercely as the other, or Prussian, Germans — as he called them —, he wanted to show me his power and thus to revenge himself — if indirectly — for all he had had to suffer from the multitude of Germans around him, against whom he was helpless. He uttered bitter complaints against the ways of the Prussian officers who, even when not soldiers by profession, claimed to know everything better than the best officer in the Turkish army. As an example he cited a major, representing the Prussian staff in Bagdad, who had dared to put to shame before the public not only the Turkish but also the Austrian officers. For instance, this major not

long before had arranged a kind of festivity to which he invited the more prominent citizens of Bagdad and the officers. The music was supplied by a large phonograph. Suddenly a spring operating a wheel in the machine got loose, causing the phonograph to play with increased speed. At that moment the major rose to his feet exclaiming: "That's the speed of the Austro-Hungarian army when running before the Russians." Consul De Tahy leaped at him shouting angrily: "Take that back or I'll slap your face!"

Now, if the Prussian military representative at Bagdad behaved like that to his European ally, it can be imagined how he acted towards the Asiatic, who had become his ally by compulsion. Consequently the Bagdad commander was never more pleased than when he could score on his Prussian colleague. Furthermore, he related, evidently with great glee, how he had annoyed the members of the German expedition to Afghanistan, taking from them more than half their gold and arms; how he purposely delayed in Bagdad the Prussian and Austrian ministers who were going to Teheran, and so on. Consul De Tahy, in whose quarters the Austro-Hungarian minister to Persia during his involuntary stay at Bagdad was a frequent guest, also told me how he pitied the latter, because on every occasion he was thrust into the background and slighted by his Prussian colleague. The commander greatly deplored the war, fearing that in any case it meant the end of Turkey. He was afraid that if the victory went to the Entente, Turkey would be dismembered; but that if the Germans won, Turkey would be subjected by them. And when he learned that I hailed from one of the subjected peoples of Austria, he became still more friendly, declaring finally that I could travel whenever and wherever it suited me. After taking leave of the completely mollified commander, I returned to our tents, placed all our things in the care of Ḫalaf and Nâṣer, and then went to the consul's house in order to have my indisposition cured.

From the eighteenth to the twenty-seventh of April I had to remain in bed almost uninterruptedly and was visited daily by a German physician, who had moved to Bagdad from Bombay after the declaration of war. The doctor was a man well advanced in his profession and a man of intelligence. During his long stay in foreign countries he had learned to know the English and to esteem them more than his Prussian com-

patriots, whom he praised for some of their qualities; but he could not help adding that it was just these qualities which made the Prussian so unpopular abroad. Consul De Tahy likewise hated the Germans and the Prussians in particular. Of all the Austro-Hungarian representatives whom I met in foreign countries none denounced the alliance with Germany more strongly than he. At the same time he pitied his mother country, Hungary, which he felt sure was threatened with the same fate as Turkey. For, as he said, there was no doubt that the victorious Entente would liberate the subjected nationalities of Austria-Hungary; whereas, if fortune favored the Germans, Hungary would be swamped by them.

Occasionally the proprietor of the house where the consul lived also came to sit with me a while. He was a man of about sixty, the owner of a few small factories and of the largest importing and exporting concern at Bagdad. Being an Arab, he showed much interest in the ancient history of his people and also wished to learn the character of the region from which, as he thought, his forefathers had come to Bagdad. For this reason he was glad to meet a man who knew both Arabian history and the inner desert and he demonstrated his good will towards me in every way possible. He brought to my bed all his sons, grandsons, and even great-grandsons, and he begged me to be sure to visit him as soon as I was on my feet again, in order that he might entertain me and introduce me to his wives. He too was bitter against the Government, which, in his opinion, could hardly maintain itself in Irak any longer. He preferred the Germans to the Turks, because they would promote agriculture and with it industries and commerce, but best of all he liked the English because of their firm hold on the Indian trade.

"The Irak of today is, believe me, Mûsa, already a part of India. Freight rates from Bombay or Calcutta to Bagdad have been and are going to be cheaper than those from Constantinople; thus, since India now belongs to the English it were better for us if they held Irak as well. Then there would be neither duties nor frontier inspections, and we could trade without any hindrance whatever."

Similar views were expressed by nearly all the merchants of Bagdad whom I met either at the consulate or outside. They all thought a political change highly desirable for the welfare

of their whole country and were not at all backward in expressing this opinion.

On April 28, 1915, I went to see my companions, who had visited me repeatedly during my sickness, keeping me informed of all that had happened in my absence. During this time they had all been inoculated against cholera and smallpox. My appearance in the tent was a cause of great rejoicing. I was served at once with fresh mulberries and a cup of the best tea. Yet all were united in the wish to leave and begged me hard to take them away as soon as possible. In the desert, they said, where there was neither meat, fruit, nor vegetables, everything was better than here in the shade of the Bagdad palms. As I was practically of the same opinion, I told them to examine and repair the pack saddles, to buy what was necessary, and make ready to depart on the first of May. I spent the evening with the family of the consul's landlord.

On April 29 and 30 I visited some of my friends, procured several letters of recommendation, determined the latitude, sketched a map of the territory which I intended to visit, inspected the saddles, water bags, arms, and provisions, and in general saw that nothing was lacking. But parting with the consul was indeed hard for me. He had received me hospitably when I was physically exhausted, cared for me tenderly day and night in the first critical stages of my sickness, fed me, assisted in the preparations for my next trip — and throughout behaved like a brother to me. May Allâh increase his prosperity!

CHAPTER X

BAGDAD TO AṮ-ṮARṬÂR BY WAY OF MESČÎN

BAGDAD TO THE ḤÂN AL-MEŠÂHDE

May 1, 1915. We left the garden of al-Metwâlijje at 4.57 A. M. and proceeded along the horse tramway to al-Kâẓimên. At 5.05 we had on our left the gendarme station Nuḳṭat al-Metwâlijje and at 5.15 reached the gardens of al-Kâẓimên.[70]

At 5.48 we passed the al-Kâẓimên gendarme post and at 6.08 the railway station. At 6.40 we were in the fields of al-Ḥebne. West of the railway an old canal is still visible. At 7.20 in the fields of as-Sarrâḥa we passed three heaps of earthenware fragments, perhaps the remains of potters' kilns. From 8.25 to 9.00 o'clock our camels grazed east of the Tell abu ʿAẓâm. Then we turned west through the fields of al-Ḥamamijjât towards a few huts by the Tigris called al-Bêẓa. At ten o'clock we reached the Tigris and followed northward a high levee on its right bank which protects the fertile fields from being flooded. In the fields onions were thriving especially well. The palm groves hereabouts were all on the left

[70] I hold that al-Kâẓimên is identical with al-Ḥanâfes of the Arabic authorities.

Sejf, ibn ʿOmar records, quoting Muḥaffez (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2204), that al-Ḥanâfes could be reached from al-Anbâr in one night. Setting out from Ullejs, the Moslem leader al-Muṭanna came first to al-Ḥanâfes; after that he marched on al-Anbâr, where he asked for a guide, and then retraced his steps to al-Ḥanâfes. When about half way he inquired how far it might yet be to this town and was told that it was four or five parasangs. He then despatched a scouting party in advance of the main troop, crossed the ford after it, and in the morning attacked the market place of al-Ḥanâfes. Next he encamped at the creek of as-Sajlaḥûn and at last reached al-Anbâr. To al-Ḥanâfes there went to market (*ibid.*, pp. 2202 f.) people from the whole neighborhood as well as Arabs from the Rabîʿa and Ḳuḍâʿa tribes.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (De Goeje), Vol. 2, p. 473, and Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 367, say that al-Ḥanâfes is the name of an Arab country in Irak near al-Anbâr in the district of al-Baradân. Abu-l-Faḍâʾil adds only that al-Ḥanâfes lay east of the Euphrates. —

Sejf's record makes it possible for us to define at least in some measure the location of the market of al-Ḥanâfes. From al-Anbâr (now pronounced al-Ambâr) a road leads thither. Half the distance from al-Anbâr to al-Ḥanâfes amounts to four or five parasangs. The road follows the as-Sajlaḥûn canal, and before al-Ḥanâfes is reached another canal must be crossed. The fact that markets were held there makes it likely that al-Ḥanâfes was a stopping place of commercial caravans and that it was situated in the vicinity of the later town of Bagdad. According to the statements of Sejf and Jâḳût we may locate al-Ḥanâfes in the district of al-Baradân and identify it with the western part of the present settlement of al-Kâẓimên, which is fifty-five kilometers (about ten parasangs) from al-Anbâr. The canal which had to be crossed was that of ad-Duǧejl. As-Sajlaḥûn is the modern Sâlḥijjîn, twenty kilometers west of the al-Kâẓimên gardens on the direct road to al-Anbâr.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 2, p. 108, states that Mûsa al-Kâẓim, whose father was Ǧa far aṣ-Ṣâdeḳ, was buried on the right bank of the Tigris. Next to him lies the ninth *imâm*, Muḥammad al-Ǧawâd. A chamber was built above both graves, lined with wooden planks which were ornamented with silver.

bank; on the right bank a single mulberry tree was to be seen. At 11.08 we sighted on our right the hamlet of al-Mezorfa[71] and after a while on our left the ruin mound Tell Ḳôš.

In the fields of as-Stêḥ, situated on higher ground, the *fellâḥîn* were just cutting the wheat, which was almost entirely blackened by incessant rains. At 11.48 we sighted to the north-northwest the Tell Ḳerr[72] and to the west-northwest the Tell az-Zwârîr.

Leaving the bank we set out northward along the old channel of the Tigris, called aš-Štejṭa, and from 12.25 P. M. to 1.10 had our dinner on the western border of the fields of aš-Šejḫ Ḥabîb. At 1.45 we had on our right the grave of aš-Šejḫ Ḥabîb; at two o'clock our way led through the Tell al-Mufhade ruins; and at 2.40 we dismounted in front of the gendarme station by the Ḫân al-Mešâhde. The khan was deserted and in ruins. I planned to leave our supplies and tents in a room on the first floor of the gendarme station with Nâṣer to guard them and our five she-camels in a camp of the Mešâhde near by, and then to set out for the river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr. When we had completed the examination of the regions along the lower course of that river, we were to return to the Ḫân al-Mešâhde for our property and then all of us were to proceed to Syria along the left bank of the Euphrates. On our trip to aṭ-Ṭarṭâr

[71] The present al-Mezorfa is the old settlement of al-Mazrafa, which marked the northern boundary of the district of Ḳuṭrabbul. I locate the settlement of Ḳuṭrabbul in the ruins on the as-Sarrâḥa fields, about twelve kilometers from the Bagdad bridge. It was called originally Bêth Nikator by the Syrians and as early as the first half of the third century was the residence of a Christian bishop (*Chronicle of Arbela* [Sachaus's transl.], p. 61).

The settlement of Ḳuṭrabbul suffered much from Turkish mercenaries in the reign of the Caliph Aḥmad al-Musta'în (862—866 A.D.) and finally succumbed (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, pp. 1562 f.).

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 429 f., writes that Ḳuṭrabbul or Ḳaṭrabbul was a settlement between Bagdad and al-Mazrafa west of the Tigris. From it the district of Ḳaṭrabbul, stretching above aṣ-Ṣara' and irrigated from the Duǧejl canal, received its name. Al-Mazrafa he states (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 90) to be a large settlement on the road north of Bagdad not far from the Tigris.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 460, copying old records, says that the settlement of Ḳuṭrabbul between Bagdad and 'Okbara' is known for its Christian inhabitants and many churches.

[72] The Tell Ḳerr and the ruins in the vicinity are probably the remains of the old settlement of al-Baradân.

Aš-Šâbušti, *Dijârât* (Codex berolinensis), fol. 24r., says that there was a monastery at al-Baradân on the bank of the Tigris. All the way from Bagdad to al-Baradân extended gardens, with many pleasure grounds among them, such as Tell Šikr, al-Muḥammadijje, aṭ-Ṭûlûni aṣ-Ṣaṛîr, aṭ-Ṭûlûni al-Kebîr, and al-Baradân.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 552, reports that the distance from Bagdad to al-Baradân is seven parasangs. Not far off lay Ṣarîfûn. — In Jâḳût's time the locations of Ṣarîfûn and al-Baradân were no longer known. The distance of seven parasangs must be wrong.

Ibn Serapion, *'Aǧâ'ib* (Le Strange), p. 9, records that the Tigris flows by the towns of Tekrît and Sâmarra, then by the settlements of al-Ḳâdesijje, al-Aǧma, al-'Alaṭ, al-Ḥaẓîra, aṣ-Ṣawâme', 'Okbara', Awâna', Buṣra', Bazûra', al-Baradân, al-Mazrafa, Ḳuṭrabbul, and aš-Šamsânijje, and divides the town of Bagdad.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 54, states that the Tigris flows by the town of Tekrît, in long. 68° 25′, lat. 34° ; after which it turns east to Sâmarra', in long. 69°, lat. 34° ; then south to 'Okbara' in long. 69°, lat. 33° ; next east to al-Baradân, in long. 69° 50′, lat. 33° 30′; and finally southeast to Bagdad.

we were to be accompanied by two gendarmes. As both were mounted, it would be necessary to buy barley for their horses; but there was none in the whole neighborhood. The reason, we heard, was that no barley was raised there now, because wherever a field was sown with it the Government confiscated the crop. Everybody there told us to go to as-Sumejče for it, as the soil in that neighborhood is drier and hence better suited to barley, which can always be bought there.

The vicinity of the Ḫân al-Mešâhde was formerly irrigated from the Duǧejl canal and belonged to the administrative district of Duǧejl.[73]

THE ḪÂN AL-MEŠÂHDE TO AS-SUMEJČE

On May 2, 1915, at 5.08 A. M. we left the Ḫân al-Mešâhde on the road[74] leading from Bagdad to Tekrît by way of as-Sumejče.

The region of Masʿûd, through which we were now passing, was largely cultivated. At 5.30 we had to the west-northwest

[73] According to tradition preserved to us by Abu Zejd, Muṣʿab was killed in 690—691 A.D. near the Duǧejl canal close to the monastery of al-Ǧâṭulîḳ (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 811).

Ibn Ḫordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 7, states that the Euphrates and Duǧejl irrigate the districts of Fîrûz Sâbûr, Maskan, Ḳaṭrabbul, and Bâdûraja'. — That Ibn Ḫordâdbeh evidently confuses the canal of ad-Duḳejl, which issues from the Euphrates, with the Duǧejl canal, which branches off the Tigris, is shown by the fact that the district of Maskan could not be irrigated from the Euphrates, whereas the other districts could not be irrigated from the Tigris.

In 866 Saʿîd ibn Ṣâleḥ, the chamberlain of the Caliph Muʿtazz, put the dethroned Caliph Aḥmad al-Mustaʿîn into a boat and sailed with him on the Tigris from Sâmarra' to the outlet of the Duǧejl canal, where he tied a stone to his foot and threw him into the water (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, pp. 1670 f.).

Ibn Ḫawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 156, records that the Duǧejl canal branches off from the Tigris near the town of Tekrît, irrigates some farms and estates of this town, and then flows into the fields belonging to the town of Sâmarra', making them suitable for cultivation as far as Bagdad. Ibn Ḫawḳal confuses the Isḥâḳi canal with the Duǧejl canal.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 555, says that Duǧejl is a canal between Bagdad and Tekrît, below Sâmarra' opposite al-Ḳâdesijje. It irrigates wide districts and numerous settlements, such as Awâna', ʿOkbara', al-Ḫaẓîra, Ṣarîfûn, etc., and empties into the Tigris. The settlement of Maskan, where Muṣʿab was defeated and slain, is situated on this canal.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, pp. 393 f., adds to this that the Duǧejl canal flows into the Tigris at the settlement of aṭ-Ṭâherijje. Above Muṣʿab's grave a shrine was built to which pilgrimages are made. In the district of Duǧejl, near the town of Awâna', was the Nâb canal (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 252). Not far from ʿOkbara' ran the Zâwar canal (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 247) past the settlement of Zâwar. The Baǧṭar canal flowed between the settlement of Ḫarba' and the town of Awâna' (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 245).

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 460, says that the settlement of Duǧejl lay by the Ḫarḳ (canal) Duǧejl, one or two hours from its inlet. Formerly it was a famous center of an administrative district, full of settlements inhabited by peasants. This district became desolate when the Duǧejl canal was choked up. The political administrator of Bagdad, Murtaḍi Pasha, in 1651 had the old canal cleaned to some extent and several villages resettled, but the water flowed in the canal in insufficient quantities. Consequently the inhabitants soon left again, and the cultivation of the land there ceased, since a thorough repairing of the canal would have cost too much.

[74] From the Bagdad of earlier times two roads led north, one on the right and one on the left bank of the Tigris. We are interested only in the one on the right bank.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 214, records the following distances: from Bagdad to the station of al-Baradân, 4 parasangs; thence to ʿOkbara', 5 parasangs; thence to Bâḥamša', 3 parasangs; thence to al-Ḳâdesijje, 7 parasangs. — Al-Baradân may be identical with the

the railroad station Maḳaṣṣ Masʿûd and to the east the fields of al-Mellûḥ with the Tell Subbûḥ ruins; at 6.15 about three kilometers to the east lay the Ṭâse ruins, northeast of them the Tell al-Mdawwed, and east-northeast of the latter the Sâddet al-Mellûḥ dam. Next we traversed the Maṛâbîr al-Murr plain. At 6.40, after crossing an old canal, we saw to the north of it many mounds formed by the an-Nâdrijjât ruins. At 6.48 we reached several caved-in wells and the brick-lined artificial pond of al-Bîr. At 7.10 we crossed the canal of an-Nâẓrijje, which comes from as-Sumejče. About four kilometers from us on the right the large pond of Hôr aṭ-Ṭârmijje was seen, with the gendarme station Nuḳṭat aṭ-Ṭârmijje north of it. From 7.48 to 8.16 our camels pastured near the Ḳabr al-ʿAbed. At 8.25 we crossed the spur of the railroad which branches off towards Abu Farrağ and the Tigris and then rode along the southwestern side of the ridge of Čeff ʿAli. To the east appeared the Saḳr, Bârûd, Ṛazâl ruins and the gardens of al-Ḥẓêra; to the northwest the Meḳâdme family of the Zôbaʿ clan had their herd of camels grazing. At 9.12 we passed by

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Tell Ḳerr ruins, 20 kilometers north of old Bagdad. The ʿOkbara' ruins lie 26 kilometers north of the Tell Ḳerr on the left bank of the old Tigris channel. The station of Bâḥamša' is to be sought somewhere near aš-Šejḥ Manṣûr. The settlement of al-Ḳâdesijje, inhabited to this day, is situated on the left bank of the present channel of the Tigris.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 79, states that the distance from Bagdad to Sâmarra' is three days' march in all, and from Sâmarra' to Tekrît one day's march. — From Bagdad to Sâmarra' is 105 kilometers, from Sâmarra' to Tekrît 48 kilometers; the marches were, therefore, not of equal length.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 158, reckons three marches from Bagdad to Sâmarra' and two marches from Sâmarra' to Tekrît.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 134 f., counts from Bagdad to al-Baradân two *barîd* (mail stations); thence to ʿOkbara', one march; thence to Bâğamša' (*sic*), half a march; thence to al-Ḳâdesijje, one march. — From Bagdad to al-Baradân is actually about 20 kilometers, this being the distance between two mail stations. Thence to ʿOkbara' is 26 kilometers, or one march; thence to Bâḥamša' is about 14 kilometers, or half a march; and thence to al-Ḳâdesijje, about 37 kilometers, or one march.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, IV, 6, agrees with al-Muḳaddasi. Furthermore, he preserves a fragment relating to a route from Bagdad to the valley of aṭ-Ṭarṭâr, which route he says originates at the town of al-Ḥadr and thence runs nine days through the desert to ar-Raḳḳa. In the translation of al-Idrîsi by Jaubert, Vol. 2, pp. 146 ff., we read that this road turned off from the Tigris at Tekrît. — If it were possible to reach ar-Raḳḳa by this route in nine marches, then the marches must have been about 50 kilometers each. From Tekrît the road led directly west, passing the wells of Ab-al-Ḳdûr, Benijjet al-Mâlḥa, as-Semadân, at-Twejsân, aš-Šaḳma, Umm Ṛedrem, al-Ṛlejsijje, and al-Ḥubejra. It crossed the river al-Ḥâbûr at Tell aš-Šejḥ Ḥamed (Mâkesîn) and at the settlement of al-Ḥânûḳa reached the Euphrates, the left bank of which it continued to follow.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 2, pp. 132 f., traveled from Bagdad to a settlement by the Duğejl canal, which flows out of the Tigris and irrigates many villages. After two days he came to the large and wealthy town of Ḥarba' and from there, after another march, to the manor of al-Maʿšûḳ on the bank of the Tigris, at a short distance from which he encamped. His next halt for the night was in the town of Tekrît. After two marches more he reached the village of al-ʿAḳr on the Tigris. In the upper part of this place rose a hillock with a ruined ancient fort. Directly below it stood the Ḫân al-Ḥadîd, fortified by towers. After that the road continued between villages and many inhabited farms as far as Mosul. The next station beyond Mosul was called al-Ḳajjâra, situated on the river; in its neighborhood were numerous bitumen springs. — The first night Ibn Baṭṭûṭa probably spent at the settlement of al-Baradân, which was 20 kilometers north of Bagdad and received its water by a branch of the Duğejl canal. From there it was 52 kilometers to Ḥarba'. The manor of al-Maʿšûḳ may be identified with the present al-ʿÂšeḳ, 37 kilometers from Ḥarba' and 40 kilometers from Tekrît. The station of al-ʿAḳr, above which village after village with cultivated fields extend all the way to Mosul, is to be sought near Ḳaṣr al-Banât.

the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ibrâhîm, built at the end of an extensive ruin. At 9.25 we had on our right a large old canal, behind it the shrine of Čeff ʿAli, and north of that again the Uwâne ruins; in front of us were some palm gardens and on the

Fig. 41—As-Sumejče from the south.

west the knoll of ʿAṭṭâf. At 10.05 we saw to the east the Bîr as-Sfejrât and north of it, on the left bank of the old Tigris channel, the ruins and railroad station of ʿOkbaraʾ.[76]

A wind began to blow from the east-northeast. At 10.20 we had or our right the Tell Manṣûr ruin. At eleven o'clock we halted in the ruins south of the settlement of as-Sumejče (Fig. 41), east of which there towers the débris of the ruined settlement of Mesčîn.[75] To the southeast lay the ruin mounds of Uwâne and Ṣrîfîn, northeast was ʿOkbaraʾ with gardens between us and it, and to the north clustered the huts of the settlement of as-Sumejče.

[75] See below, Appendix XX.

[76] ʿOkbaraʾ and Uwâne were settlements known to the early Arabic writers.

King Sapor I (241—272 A. D.), a contemporary of the Emperor Valerian, built on the banks of the Tigris the town of Marw Ḫâbôr, which was later called ʿOkbaraʾ (*Chronicle of Sairt* [Scher], p. 221).

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 839, note e, writes that the original name of this place was Buzurǧ Sâbûr (see Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* [De Goeje], p. 28).

In 633—634 Ḫâled ibn al-Walîd sent a troop of Moslems from ʿAjn at-Tamr against the camp of the Taṛleb near some watering place and from there to the district of which the town of Tekrît was the center. Muḥammad ibn Merwân relates that when this troop arrived at the town of ʿOkbaraʾ its inhabitants begged for peace. Then the Moslems went to al-Baradân, where peace was arranged, and after that to al-Muḥarrem. Here they crossed a pontoon bridge at the Ḳaṣr Sâbûr, later called Ḳaṣr ʿÎsa ibn ʿAlî, where the Persian commander offered resistance. After defeating him, they returned without mishap to ʿAjn at-Tamr (al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], pp. 248 f.). —

According to this account the raiding party returned from ʿOkbaraʾ along the right bank of the Tigris by way of al-Baradân, or the present Tell Ḳerr, to the Ḳaṣr Sâbûr, or the later ʿÎsa. As the latter stood on the very outskirts of Bagdad by a canal of the same name, we must look for al-Muḥarrem in the vicinity of the gardens of al-Metwâlijje. As the raiders passed over by a pontoon bridge at the Ḳaṣr ʿÎsa, it is obvious that the ad-Duḳejl canal, later known as the ʿÎsa, must at that time have emptied into the Tigris near the point where Bagdad was subsequently to arise.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 59, counts nine *sikak* (relays) from Sâmarraʾ to ʿOkbaraʾ, from this place to Bagdad six *sikak*. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 93) he says that from

The lands around the old Duǧejl canal belong to the Beni Tamîm tribe, which numbers about two hundred tents and is made up of the following clans:

al-Bu Ḥašme
al-Bu Ḥasan
al-ʿAṭâṭbe
aš-Šrejfât
aṭ-Ṭâmer.

The settlement of as-Sumejče is inhabited by both Sunnites and Shiites in about equal numbers, while the settlement of al-Balad is inhabited by Shiites alone. We found it very difficult to buy the barley we needed, and even then it was withered from drought and not much better than chaff. It was also very dear, because of the presence of the Kurdish volunteers (*muǧâhedîn*) who were returning home after the defeat of the Turks at al-Baṣra and all of whom were mounted and needed fodder for their horses.

AS-SUMEJČE TO PLAIN OF AŠ-ŠNÂNÂT

Having found a guide, we left at two in the afternoon and, riding in a zigzag course in order to avoid meeting the volunteers, at three o'clock we reached the northern end of the gardens, northeast of which rises the Tell al-ʿAbbâra, with the Tell aṣ-Ṣôfijje to the east of it, and to the east-southeast the Tell al-Aḥejmer. To the southwest we saw the Tell ad-Dwêr, beyond it the Tell Semâr, and far to the west the heights of Redâjef. At 3.15 we rode through the al-Waḳof ruin. At 3.50 we saw to the north the Tell ad-Dbâbijjîn and

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Bagdad to al-Baradân is four parasangs; from there to ʿOkbara' five parasangs. — These statements are not correct.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 122,writes that ʿOkbara' is a large, populous town, in the neighborhood of which vegetables and vines are cultivated with good results.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 270, records, quoting Jâḳût, that ʿOkbara' is a small town in the administrative district of Duǧejl ten parasangs from Bagdad; but he adds that the town of ʿOkbara' lay on the east bank of the Tigris and says that when the Tigris dug a new channel for itself east from that place, the old channel was called aš-Šuṭejṭa. Awâna' lies on the right bank of the old channel opposite ʿOkbara', the inhabitants of which moved over to Awâna' and other settlements. The region between aš-Šuṭejṭa and the new channel of the Tigris is known as al-Mustanṣari, because al-Imâm al-Mustanṣer had an irrigation canal dug there, branching off the Duǧejl canal.

Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 4, p. 265, records that on his march from al-Kûfa Muṣʿab encamped at Bâḥamra' not far from Awâna', which belonged to the political district of Maskan. The Caliph ʿAbdalmalek marched against him by way of Ḳarḳîsija' and took up a position in Maskan, three or perhaps only two parasangs from Muṣʿab's camp.

In order to avoid the place where Ibn Hubejra had fortified himself, Ḳaḥṭaba ibn Šabîb marched in 749 A. D. by way of Buzurǧ Sâbûr (*i. e.* ʿOkbara') and forded the Tigris over to Awâna' (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 12).

In 865 the Turks had a skirmish at Awâna' with the garrison of Ḳuṭrabbul (*ibid.*, Ser. 3, pp. 1587 f.).

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 458, knew of Bâḥamša', a settlement between Awâna' and al-Ḥaẓîra, where al-Muṭṭaleb fought in the time of Harun ar-Rashid.

Al-Ǧuwejṭ is a settlement between Bagdad and Awâna', near al-Baradân (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 163).

at 4.02 close on our left the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Manṣûr and north of it the al-Wzûn ruins. At 4.30 we reached the camp of the Ṛannâm clan of the Ḥazraǧ tribe, a tribe which engages in agriculture only. At 5.50 we camped in the Ḥazraǧ camp near the sepulchral mound of aš-Šejḫ Ṛarîb, which is shaded by a palm tree. Here we found a new guide, who professed to know every inch of the region of aṭ-Ṭarṭâr. Although I did not put much trust in what he said, I at last hired him, as the Ḥazraǧ said he was a Šammari. His name was Ḥamûdi eben Ẓâher eben Rbejjeʿa. At night there was much lightning in several directions and a few heavy drops of rain fell. Mosquitoes of the *ḳarîṣ* and *zrejž* varieties also helped to make the night unpleasant.

On May 3, 1915, we left at 5.20 A. M. There was no wind. To the northwest were seen the Umm Ḫejme ruins, west-southwest those of Umm Ẓejbaʿa, and to the northeast the railway station of aṭ-Ṭwêbeʿe. At 5.35 the Umm Ẓbejʿa (or Ẓejbaʿa) ruin was reached, past which flows the irrigation ditch Ǧamm Šerîʿa which issues from the ad-Duǧejl canal. The fields north of Umm Ẓbejʿa are called Abu Šenna and belong to the Rfêʿât family of the Muǧammaʿa clan, which owns the district as far as the ad-Duǧejl canal.

The Muǧammaʿa clan consists of the following families:

ar-Rfêʿât	al-Žassât
aṭ-Ṭaʿême	al-Ṛazîb
al-ʿAwêsât	al-ʿAḏijje.

The land around the Eṣṭablât ruins is the property of the Sawâmre, inhabitants of Sâmarraʾ. At 5.45 we came to Šaǧarât al-ʿAsal, a group of about twenty big trees supposed to have been planted by order of the Caliph Majmûn. Their blossoms are fairly large and lemon yellow in color. In the growth and shape of their leaves they resemble medlar trees. As our guide and the gendarmes both declared these trees to be sacred, for which reason cutting a stick or breaking off a branch from them is forbidden, I could not obtain even a twig with a few blossoms for my botanical collection. At 6.25 we crossed the old canal of Abu Darağ, which begins at the settlement of Ǧisr Ḥarba[77] to the north and ends at

[77] Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Slane), p. 202, states that in 1158 the troops of Prince Muḥammad, the son of the Sultan Maḥmûd, joined the troops of the Atabeg Ḳoṭbaddîn, lord of Mosul, in the district of Ḥarbaʾ and then marched on Bagdad.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 2, p. 132) on his journey from Bagdad to Mosul came to a station on the Duǧejl canal which branches off from the Tigris and irrigates many settlements. After two days more he reached the large settlement of Ḥarbaʾ

the swamps of al-Hôr north of ʿAḳarḳûf; to the north-northwest the sepulchral mound of Abu-l-Maḥâsen showed white.

At 6.40 the Tell al-Eḳêrʿa came into view to the south-southwest, with the ruins of Abu ʿAwseğe close by and to the west-southwest the Tell Bejâẓ. The hour from 7.10 to 8.10 we spent drawing water from the shallow wells by the Saʿlwa ruins. At 8.50 we had on the southeast the Tell Bejâẓ ruins; they form a rectangular, table-shaped hillock about ten meters high and are situated on the western border of the alluvial plain. To the west rise the undulating uplands of Redâjef intersected by broad, shallow valleys. At nine o'clock we crossed the old rampart of al-Farḥatijje, which stretches from north to south as far as the Hôr abu-l-ʿWejžîle, close by the Tell Bejâẓ, and is over twenty meters wide and five meters high. To the south our guide pointed out to me the little well ʿAḳlat ad-Drejğe and to the north the Fâğ abu ʿAṣâfîr well. By 9.10 our camels were beginning to graze on the plants typical of the desert, which we were just entering. At 9.25 we had on the north the hillocks of al-Mṭabbaḳ, through which runs the defile Ṯenijjet aš-Štêṭ; in the *šeʿîb* adjoining this defile is a *ṛadîr* of the same name. Ahead of us lay the ʿAḳlat Naffâḥ and to the southwest the well of Abu ʿAẓâm with that of al-Ṛardaḳijje to the west of it.

The region which we were now traversing resembles a great park. The undulating uplands are overgrown with various annuals and perennials, in the lowlands *sidr* groves alternate with luxuriant meadows, where thousands of *ḳaṭaʾ* (sand grouse) were nesting. Beneath almost every third bush these birds had dug in the ground a shallow pit which contained three little eggs not much larger than a hazelnut and of a greenish tint with brown spots. Nowhere was a bird sitting on the eggs; when we occasionally startled one it was always a female who happened to be laying just at that moment. We also sighted a few lizards (*arwal*) in the thick grass.

At 10.40 we had the ʿAḳlat Naffâḥ about one kilometer south of us and south-southwest of it the ʿAḳlat abu ʿAẓâm. From 10.48 to 12.00 o'clock was our dinner time. At 1.40 P.M. we reached the ʿAḳlat abu Kowze, south of which lies

in the midst of extensive and fertile fields. From there he arrived on the same day at a village built on the river Tigris near the castle of al-Maʿšûḳ and after a prolonged march reached the town of Tekrît.

Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 295, asserts that Ḥarba' is a small settlement in the upper part of the district of Duğejl between Bagdad and Tekrît. Coarse cotton fabrics made there are sold in the country far around.

the well of Abu Ẓhêr and north of it that of al-ʿEnêḳ. At 2.18 we crossed a high rampart (*čâli* or *čâlw*), the same one which we had followed on May 10, 1912.[78] At three o'clock a stiff wind began to blow from the west. At 3.04 our guide pointed out to me the ʿAḳlat abu Šerrâṭa about three kilometers south of us. At 3.20 we had on the right the Želîb al-Abjaẓ, where four army deserters were trying to hide at that moment behind some *sidr* trees. When our gendarmes expressed a desire to arrest them, I put in my veto, reminding them that their duty was to protect me and not to hunt deserters; thus the poor fellows were saved for the moment. To the north we saw a hillock with the sepulchral mound of Abu Ḥğêra. West of the mound the district is called aš-Šnânât on account of the abundance of *šnân* growing there. At 4.44 we bivouacked near a Dlejmi camp, where we obtained a new guide. About four kilometers south of the camp was the water of al-Barâṛîṯ and six kilometers to the northeast the ʿAḳlat ummu Šnêne.

PLAIN OF AŠ-ŠNÂNÂT TO UMM RAḤAL

On May 4, 1915, we set out at 4.40 A. M. in a westerly direction over the undulating pebbly plain of aš-Šnânât. At six o'clock we had on our right the well of al-Ḥadîdi. Our way led over the upland of Marḳab aṭ-Ṭjûr, which falls away to the south towards a valley containing the wells of al-Wšêl, al-Ğrajbe, and Lubbâd. Here and there rock salt and layers of gypsum were sighted. From 7.25 to 8.00 our camels grazed. At 8.40 to the north rose the flat-topped hillocks Ḳwêrât al-Ṛuzlâni, between which winds the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šadra. At 9.40 our guide showed us to the south-southeast the high, red tabular hill of al-Medarra, northeast of which lies the ʿAḳlat al-Ḳuṭbe. After 10.20 we saw to the southwest, west, and northwest the steep escarpment of ar-Rẖejmi, which exposes reddish and yellowish strata. To avoid this, we turned northwest through the small *šeʿîb* of al-Ğdejde. From 11.25 to 1.00 we rested in the deep *šeʿîb* of al-Hbi, which is full of rich grasses. At 1.25 P. M. we came to rain pools in the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šadra where, farther north, are also the wells of al-Ḫammâš, aš-Šujûẖ, and al-Abṭaḥ. At two o'clock we were in the *šeʿîb* of Abu Nẖala. At 2.20 we sighted to the north-northwest in

[78] See above, p. 51.

the high Abu Nḫala bluffs the gully in which is the water of as-Sâdde. At 2.54 we passed in the *šeʿîb* of Abu Nḫala the water of the same name and beheld to the west-northwest the hillocks of al-Ḫšejbi, north of which rise the Wudijân of al-Ḫašabijjât. At 3.10 we saw the western part of the valley of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr. It is a smooth, gray tract which slopes gently westward and is dissected by wide gullies and overlooked by flat-topped eminences.

Nearly due west there rose above the plateau surface some table-shaped hills, the Ḳârt al-Muʿassam, which lie on the watershed between the Euphrates and aṭ-Ṯarṭâr. Southeast of these the watershed follows the mesas of al-ʿWêsğı, an-Nwêḳṭât, al-Umehmât, Ḳwêrât ʿAmar, and ar-Rḥejmijjât. The most prominent of these is the Ḳwêrât ʿAmar, on top of which some remnants of a fortress are said to be standing. Northwest of the Ḳârt al-Muʿassam lie the wells of al-Ṛzejjel, al-Mwêžîbe, and al-Mṛejzel; at the first terminates the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ṯajje, which rises at the well of Abu Zwejğe to the north; at the second, the *šeʿîb* of al-Mwêžîbe, which extends from the well of Ummu Ṭbûḳ. Southwest of al-Mṛejzel is the well of Abu Ṣfêḥa and south-southwest of it that of Abu Rummâne. East of Ummu Ṭbûḳ at the well of Abu Trejčijje begins the *šeʿîb* of Abu Trejčijje, a branch of the *šeʿîb* of Abu Semâč which ends in aṭ-Ṯarṭâr. The upland of aš-Štejḥijje, upon the eastern end of which lies the well ʿAḳlat ad-Deḳûḳi, separates Abu Trejčijje from the *šeʿîb* of Ammu-ṭ-Ṭbûl. Farther south stretches the *šeʿîb* of Abu Šnêne, close to which lies the water Ḫlewijjet Marzûḳ. Still farther south is the *šeʿîb* of al-Aʿwağ, the largest branch of which descends from the Ḳârt al-Muʿassam, while two shorter ones come from al-ʿWêsğı and an-Nwêḳṭât. In the largest branch is the ʿAḳlat al-Merkede. On the watershed beyond the mesas of an-Nwêḳṭât lie the wells of as-Sulṭânijjât, aṭ-Ṭwîl, and Abu Ṣfej. To the left of aṭ-Ṯarṭâr and due east of Abu Trejčijje rises the spring ʿAjn al-Arnab, southward of which in order are the ʿAjn al-Faras and the wells of al-Mumbaṭaḥ, al-Ḳrejde, and Umm al-Ḫajâja, all connected with aṭ-Ṯarṭâr by short gullies.

At 4.15 we entered the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥamar, at 5.35 crossed the road Darb umm al-Ḫajâja, and at six o'clock bivouacked by aṭ-Ṯarṭâr in the plain Fejẓat Farḥân where al-Bu Hazîm of the Dlejm tribe were then camping. We determined the latitude and looked around for a new guide.

The Dlejm tribe camps along both banks of the Euphrates from al-Fḥejmi to al-Ambâr. Of its clans I recorded the following:

al-Bu Maḥal
al-Bu ʿAsâf
al-Bu Člêb
al-Bu Ḫalîfa
al-Bu Ḏijâb, families { al-Ḥardân / aš-Šellâl
al-Bu Fahad
al-Bu Saḳr
al-Maḥâmde
al-Masâlḥa
al-Bu ʿObejd
al-Malâḥme
al-Ğmejla
al-Bu ʿÎsa

al-Bu Ṛannâm
al-ʿAlejj Žâsem
al-Bu Nimr
al-Bu Hazîm
al-Bu ʿAlwân
al-Ḫalâbse
al-Bu Ḫajjâṭ
Ğerajfe
al-Ğfajfe
al-Bu Marʿi.

On the right bank ʿAli as-Slêmân al-Bekr of the al-Bu ʿAsâf is the head chief. He owns much land in the vicinity of ar-Rumâdi.

On the left bank Neğres eben Ḳâʿûd used to be the ruling chief, but after his imprisonment Ḥardân al-ʿOjṯe (or al-ʿEjṯe) of al-Bu Ḏijâb was proclaimed head chief.

THE DEPRESSION OF UMM RAḤAL

May 5, 1915. At 4.45 A. M. we set out with both our new and old guides in a south-southeasterly direction. At 5.10 we halted in order to make a sketch map of the environs of the lower course of the river aṯ-Ṯarṯâr, which traverses the broad lowland Fejẓat Farḥân. Towards this lowland on both the east and west sides numerous flat-topped mountains and hills — the eroded remnants of the plateau surface — present gentle slopes. At 5.20 we ascended an elevation to the east, whence we could overlook the whole elliptical depression into which aṯ-Ṯarṯâr empties its waters. This depression emerged slowly from a veil of dense vapors and appeared amidst the green of luxuriant vegetation, enclosed by a precipitous, rose-tinged escarpment; gradually it changed into a vast elliptical plain, rising from the center toward the north and south and shut in by a second, but white, escarpment still higher than the first. A salina, called al-Meleḥ, or Umm Raḥal, lies on the floor of this depression at an altitude of 50 meters below sea level. Both escarpments and plain are intersected by numerous gullies which carry the run-off from the south and north into the depression. At seven o'clock we halted in order to sketch a map.

On examining our new guide with regard to the names of the various hills and valleys, I soon learned that his knowledge of them was insufficient. Therefore, discharging him at once, I sent one of the gendarmes with the old guide to the *šeʿîb* of al-Ğdejde, where the al-Bu ʿObejd clan of the Dlejm tribe happened to be encamped, to fetch a guide. This clan dwells by the salt lake all the year round in order to extract salt from it. The old guide, a member of al-Bu Ḏijâb, who own the stony slopes of Redâjef bordering the alluvial plain between as-Saḳlâwijje and Sâmarra², had told us about the different places east and northeast of the lake. He and the

gendarme did not return until ten o'clock, but they brought a guide with them, who never contradicted himself and evidently was entirely familiar with the whole surrounding country.

North of the Ḳwêrât ʿAmar and east of the Ḳûr al-Umehmât could be seen the Salâba plain, which falls off in a terrace to the east and from which the *šeʿibân* of Ummu Dli, Abu Sbâʿ, and Abu Bîše, each containing a well (*ʿaḳla*) of the same name, wind towards the lake of al-Meleḥ. South of the Ḳwêrât ʿAmar lies the well of al-Fwâra, from which the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫnejzîr descends to the lake. East of ar-Rḥejmijjât are the wells of al-Ḥaffi, al-Mnezzel, and Abu ʿEržâje, and here also are the heads of the *šeʿibân* of al-Ṣurâba, al-Mezâbed, and Daššet Nâjfe. Farther southeast the escarpment Ṭâr al-Mezâbed was visible, below which yawn the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥamar, an-Naʿêri, Daššet ar-Rdêni, and Abu Ḥoss, the last ending at the south edge of the lake.

Having finished the outline of the sketch map, we departed at 11.35, making our way along the banks of the lake. At 12.25 P. M. we had on our right the water Baḥât Šerab. To our left, north of the lake, we observed a stratum of reddish earth about twenty meters thick and interbedded with thin horizontal streaks of salt, resting on a rocky foundation. At 1.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥlêwât and at 2.15 rested in the *šeʿîb* al-Ubejter by two low wells (*ʿaḳlatên*) among luxuriant bushes of *ṛaṛa* (Fig. 42), the leaves of which seemed to be very much to the taste of our camels. Ascending the nearest elevation, we sketched another map of the neighborhood and in the evening determined the latitude. At night a sand storm burst upon us from the west, and towards midnight it rained for about half an hour.

On May 6, 1915, we were on the march at 5.09 A. M., proceeding through a level plain covered with a rosy sand wet by the rain, from which grew huge *ṛaṛa* bushes. The gray coating of salt and sand on the needles of these bushes had been washed off by the rain and they almost blinded us with their fresh green. Above the plain rose isolated, reddish, dome-shaped hillocks, not unlike the mausoleums in ancient cemeteries. The lake shone the purest blue, while the steep southern escarpments were enveloped in a rosy veil. The air, purified by the rain, permitted a very clear view.

At the north end the lake is shut in on the west by three steep escarpments rising one beyond and above another. About one-third of the distance along the lake the middle escarpment, Salâba, ends, but about ten kilometers farther south it reappears to form the Ṭâr al-Mezâbed. The third or highest es-

carpment also disappears to the south, whereas the lowest one rises in such a way that a high wall is formed at the southern end of the lake. On the east side there are three escarpments or terraces above the northern end of the lake, but south of the mesa of al-Medarra only two remain. The northwestern part of the plateau the edge of which forms the highest escarpment east of the lake is dissected into flat-topped hills. All the slopes overlooking the depression are composed of gypsum and rock salt and supply salt to the lake, where it is said that a layer of pure salt more than two meters thick has been deposited.

FIG. 42—At al-Ubejter; *ṛaṛa* bushes in background.

At 6.30 we saw on the left among some *ṛaṛa* bushes the wells ʿAḳl al-Ḥelwât. At 7.10 we crossed the first *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧerdânijjât. At its east-southeast end two rocky spurs with low but almost perpendicular sides project into the lake from the south. The great number of footpaths leading to these indicate that they offer the most convenient spots for collecting salt. From 7.23 to 7.43 our camels grazed. In the fertile soil of the *šeʿîb* I found a stock of barley with twenty ears, each of seventy-five to eighty-four grains. At 9.16 we sighted to the south on a slope above the lake a rocky ridge consisting of vertical ribs. A wind now rose from the west-northwest. At 9.50 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Mḥabbeš. The lake glittered like glass. At 10.20 we saw to the south-southwest the *šeʿîb* of an-Naʿêri running back up into the upland. At 11.15 we had the south edge of the salt deposits due west of us (Fig. 43), while to the east was the hill of ad-Dwêr. At 11.40 we passed on our left the end of the *šeʿîb* of an-Nwêḳîd, which unites with that of al-Ḳaṭṭâra. From 11.46 to 1.10 P. M. we rested. At 1.40 there was visible to the west-southwest of us the steep escarpment Ṭâr al-Mezâbed in which heads the *šeʿîb* of an-Naʿêri. On our right was the *šeʿîb* of Boḥoz or, as our old guide called it, Abu Ḥoss.

At 2.20 we rode past the wells Bijâr abu Ḥoss, which contain good fresh water. At 2.30 we reached the as-Sičče road (*sičče* means an easy and much used road) leading from the Euphrates to the small spurs which project into the lake and have been mentioned above as the easiest place for the collection of salt. The escarpments shutting in the lake of al-Meleḥ on the west, as seen from the place where we entered the as-Sičče road, resemble a high ridge. At 3.10 we ascended to the surface of the plateau of ar-Rafî'i, out of which the depression containing the lake of al-Meleḥ has been eroded. The plateau is grayish white, overgrown in the lower parts with *ṣam'* and covered with countless pebbles.

FIG. 43—Southern end of Umm Raḥal.

Leaving the salt road as-Sičče we turned east, casting a last look on the lake, which glittered as if full of crystals. From 3.18 to 3.48 our camels grazed. At 4.25 we had south-southeast of us the Želîb Ṭarrâḥ in the center of a large meadow, and west of it the hills of at-Twêm. At 5.28 we headed toward the al-Bu Saḳr camp of the Dlejm, which we had seen to the northeast. At 6.08 three whitewashed sepulchral mounds shone to the east-southeast, north of which lies the Bîr aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi. At 6.35 we made camp but shortly after were surrounded by the Dlejm, who wanted to examine our saddles and even our baggage. For the gendarmes they had nothing but derisive laughter; they annoyed us in every possible manner and could not be dissuaded from doing so. Only when I declared that I would tell in every settlement on the left bank of the Euphrates how the Bu Saḳr treat their tired guests did they leave, the old men first and the young people after them.

CHAPTER XI

AṮ-ṮARṮÂR TO AL-ḤÂBÛR ALONG THE EUPHRATES

UMM RAḤAL TO THE ḤÂN AL-MEŠÂHDE

On May 7, 1915, at 4.56 A. M. we set out in an easterly direction. At 5.05 we had the well of aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi on our right. At six o'clock the wells of al-Ṛẓiwi, Ḥlejž aḍ-Ḏîb, and al-Ṛardaḳijje were north of us, and at 6.53 we crossed an ancient rampart close to the Bîr Ḫenfsân. At 7.13 we passed across some footpaths leading north to the shallow well Ḥlejž aḍ-Ḏîb. To the south the heights of ʿAkkâz were pointed out to us by our guide; north of them are the wells of al-Eḫsêfât and to the south the wells of ʿAlît al-Banât and Šhâb. From 7.40 to 8.07 our camels grazed. At 8.20 the well of al-Ḥṣêni lay to the south of us. At 9.47 we recrossed the large, ancient rampart (*čâlw* or *čâli*) which we had crossed farther north four days before[79] and which was here about three meters high and twenty-four meters wide. To the northeast this rampart turns towards the Bejâẓ ruins and then runs north to the Tigris. Formerly it divided the cultivated territory from the desert. Apparently it was once strengthened by semicircular bastions, as there were bulging projections on both sides. The guide showed us to the northeast, west of the *čâlw*, the wells of Bakr, as-Sabʿa, and north of the latter the Bîr al-Ṛardaḳijje. At 10.20 the Bîr al-Ḳṣejbe was south of us, northwest of it the well of al-Ḫnêfre, and northeast of the latter the Bîr ar-Rašrâši. At 11.20 we rode over a branch of the ancient rampart stretching from north-northwest to south-southeast. Much ʿ*arfeǧ* grew in this particular locality. From 11.38 to 1.55 P. M. we rested by the well of aṣ-Ṣbaḥi. At 2.15 we had to the southeast the ʿAjn al-Baḳara, to the north the water of an-Nḫejle, and before us that of al-Faẓijje. At 2.20 we crossed the Darb al-Ṛaẓa, which leads from Bagdad through the valley of aṭ-Ṭarṭâr to the former town of al-Ḥaẓr. At 3.40 the well of al-Mṛêrân was to the north-northeast of us, with that of al-Werrân to the north of it and farther northeast the well of Šennâʿa; at 3.50 the Bîr al-Faẓijje was on our left.

[79] See above, p. 142.

From 3.55 to 4.15 our camels pastured on the western border of a large vale called ʿEbb abu Ṯowb where palm trees might well be planted. Turning to the southeast at five o'clock, twenty minutes later we saw to the south-southwest at the end of the vale the large al-Ḥamra ruins. At 5.25 we crossed a wide, ancient canal running from north to south. At six o'clock we sighted at a distance of about two and a half kilometers to the east the extensive ad-Dejr ruins, which form a huge rectangle and to the north of which rises a small hillock. North-northwest of ad-Dejr appeared the al-Mšarraḥât ruins and to the east those of al-Baṭawijjât. At 6.22 we bivouacked for the night alongside a camp of the Beni Zejd and al-Ğmejla, both of whom are descended from the Ḳḥaṭân but have joined the al-Bu Saḳr clan of the Dlejm.

May 8, 1915. We set off at 4.47 A. M. to the east-southeast. On the left we could see the white grave of Šlâš eben Ğarbaʾ, once chief of the Šammar who camp in Mesopotamia. At 5.10 we sighted to the south the glitter of the decorated shrine Banât al-Ḥasan, to the southeast the Sabʿat Ešen (or Seven Ruin Mounds), and beyond the latter the rectangular aẓ-Ẓabʿa ruins. At 6.45 the Sabʿat Ešen were to the southwest and the large ruin mound of Masʿûd almost to the north of us. We crossed an old canal at 7.35 and again at 7.45, and at 7.58 the road Darb al-Kelek, which runs from al-Kâẓimên to as-Sumejče. During the rainy period this road is not used, but, rather, the highroad leading past the Ḫân al-Mešâhde. From 8.18 to 8.46 our camels grazed, and at 9.44 we reached the Ḫân al-Mešâhde, outside of which we encamped. Here we found Nâṣer and the tents, supplies, and camels which we had left on May 2. During the day we completed our cartographical notes and in the evening we determined the latitude.

THE ḪÂN AL-MEŠÂHDE TO AL-WAŠŠÂŠ

On May 9, 1915, we set off at 4.45 A. M., passing in a southwesterly direction through the al-Ḫrejbe ruin. On our left we had the Hôr Bâḳûʿa. At 5.20 we rode through the al-Eḥmedi ruins; at 5.45 we crossed an old canal and at 5.51 the road Darb al-Kelek. At 6.30 the large aẓ-Ẓabʿa ruins were south-southeast of us. At 6.45 we turned in a south-southwesterly direction. At 6.55 the aṭ-Ṭâḳije ruin, resembling a high cap, was seen to the southeast and below it the az-Zwâṛîr

ruin. At 7.10 we reached the as-Stêḥ ruins, and from 7.18 to 7.41 our camels pastured. Then we turned southwest in order to obtain a guide in a camp of the Beni Tamîm which lay in that direction. In front of each of the Beni Tamîm tents lay a heap of white gypsum. On our left we had the Ṛadîr al-Ḥṣân with the Hôr abu-l-ʿWejžîle beyond it. At 8.30 the Tell al-Ḳarʿa appeared to the north. At 8.45 the ruin mounds of as-Sumr were north, the dome of the shrine of Banât al-Ḥasan southwest, and the Tell Ṛarîb northwest of us. We were now traversing a fertile alluvial plain, to all appearances well suited for the cultivation of cotton. At 9.25 we passed through the camp of the Lḥêb clan of the Zobejd tribe. Here we had to turn west-northwest in order to circumvent the Hôr al-Ḥamra, from which a stiff west wind was driving the water as much as five hundred meters eastward over the level plain. At 10.15 the islet of al-Mağaṣṣa was sighted to the south-southeast. This islet consists of a rather low, white hillock, which slopes most steeply towards the west and northwest; here the Beni Tamîm dig gypsum, which they sell at al-Kâẓimên and Bagdad. To the southwest the Tell abu Rwejs appeared above the horizon.

The Zobejd tribe belongs to the Beni Tamîm; of its clans I noted down the following:

al-Baṭṭa, between Ḫân abu Ṭanṭûr and Bagdad north of the high-road;
Ḳaraṛûl, by the left bank of the al-Laṭîfijje canal;
al-Ğennâbijjîn, on both banks of the Euphrates between Abu-l-Fejjâẓ and ar-Rwêʿijje;
al-Bu Sôde, camp with the Zôbaʿ;
al-Bu Saḳr, between al-Mṭabbaḳ and ʿAḳarḳûf;
al-Lḥêb, by the Nîšân al-Ḳassâwi.

From 11.20 to 12.50 P. M. we rested at a high rampart which stretches from the south-southeast to the north-northwest, east of the old frontier fort of Abu Rwejs. At its base this rampart is about forty-five meters wide. At 1.10 we rode through the shallow *šeʿîb* of aṯ-Ṯrêṯer, coming from an upland of the same name. To the southwest we beheld the Bîr abu Ṭoboḳ, which lies almost due west of the large al-Mḳejjed ruins. To the east appeared a wide old canal running from the south. At 1.25 the isolated hill of Abu Čalb came into view to the north-northwest; beneath it is the well of the same name and beyond to the northwest the well of al-Kejfijjât.

The first halt we made after 2.15 was at the Tell al-Mḳejjed, formerly a town enclosed by an elliptical wall. At 2.38 we turned southward along the rampart to the Lḥêb camp, where we wished to buy barley for our gendarmes' mares. From 3.08 to 3.34 our camels grazed by the well of Ğaffâl; in the meantime, standing on another rampart which was here more than seventy-five meters broad and extended to the south-southeast, we sketched a map of the neighborhood. To the east was visible at one side of the shrine of Banât al-Ḥasan the smaller white shrine of Makân al-Mahdi; to the east-northeast the sepulchral mound of Ḳabr ʿAbdallâh; to the south the sepulchral mounds of al-Aḥajjên and an-Nimrâwi and beyond them the ruin mounds of aṭ-Ṭejbe, al-ʿAḳla, Bijâẓ, al-Mḳajjer, and al-Ašhâbi. At the last-named ruin there flows out of the canal of al-Ḳarma a branch called ad-Dwâje towards the Banât al-Ḥasan. Between the main canal and its branch lie the al-Mḳajjer and al-ʿAḳla ruins. At 5.15 we encamped at the wells of al-Ḳassâwi.

On May 10, 1915, at 4.43 A. M. we continued on our journey through an undulating plain which slopes gradually to the southwest. At five o'clock we saw to the southwest the Tell umm al-ʿAšûš and beyond it the Tell Ğesem; to the southeast, to the left of the Išân al-Mhejdi ruins and northeast of the Išân ar-Rhejle, lay the sepulchral mound of Sajjedna Ibrâhîm and to the east the sepulchral mound of Ḳabr Mhanne. To the north, northwest, and northeast the horizon was shut in by rocky uplands, where the layers of rock salt were seen glistening. In the valleys *sidr* was growing plentifully. At 5.30 on our right were the Tell umm al-ʿAšûš ruins and at 5.48, on the left, the Tell Ğesem. Then we turned west and rode across an ancient canal, which once brought water from "al-Ḥûr" — as our guide, Ğâsem eben ʿAli of the Lḥêb, chose to pronounce it, instead of "al-Hôr," as it is pronounced by the tribes on the right bank of the Euphrates. At 6.08 on the right were the Bijâr umm al-ʿAžârîž and on the left the district of al-Ḥṣêwât, owned by the Ğmejla clan. At 6.45 the Tell al-Ašhâbi appeared to the south, south of al-Ḳarma, the canal which branches off from the Euphrates at the settlement of as-Saḳlâwijje and connects with the Tigris. A canal through which water runs continually is a "live" canal and is called *ḳurna*, while a dry or "dead" canal is spoken of as *rasm* and, if surrounded by large heaps of earth, as *ḫejṭ* (pl. *ḫjûṭ*). West-northwest

was seen another huge ancient rampart (*čâlw*). After seven o'clock we were riding through the valley of al-Ḫûr. From 7.18 to 7.46 our camels grazed by the extensive Abu Ṣḫêr ruins. At 8.25 we were among the al-ʿAnnâzi ruins. To the south the south bank of the al-Ḳarma canal showed blue. At 9.20 we saw to the south on the right bank of al-Ḳarma the two ruin mounds of aḏ-Ḏijâbijjât, to the southwest the large ruins of al-Ambâr, and near them the old canal of Abu Sdêre with the hill of al-Kûḥ.

From 10.15 to 11.30 we dined by the shallow wells of al-Ḳlajjebât, the property of the Maḥâmde clan of the Dlejm. We sketched a map of the surrounding country from the top of a height, below which there are some deep little wells. The al-Ambâr ruins and the palms of the settlement of as-Saḳlâwijje, the latter lying on the left banks both of the Euphrates and of al-Ḳarma, could be plainly seen from the height. There are about 250 houses in the settlement. The slopes to the north of us called aš-Šnâne and ʿAkkâz become steeper and the *šeʿibân* deeper the farther north one goes. At 12.35 P. M., after passing through the plain of al-Ḫarîži, we reached the aṣ-Ṣfêra ruins, which owe their name to *ṣfêra*, an annual plant growing throughout the undulating and pebbly country in the vicinity. Between the mound of al-Kûḥ and the ruins of al-Ambâr we sighted the minaret of the settlement of al-Fellûǧe. In the extensive al-Ambâr ruins the sanctuaries of Abu Fejjâẓ, aš-Šejḫ ʿAbdallâh, and the Mesǧed ʿAli are still well preserved.[80]

At 1.35 we observed on our right the end of a *čâli* or *čâlw* and beyond it the hillocks of al-Ṛorr; on the left we could see gardens and houses along the Euphrates. We also met two deserters, who took to their heels on catching sight of our gendarmes.

On the right bank of the Euphrates not far from the flood plain, rises a steep line of bluffs, the eastern part of which is called Sened Ḏubbân and the western al-Muʿajjed, aš-Šejḫ Masʿûd, and Abu Fahad, the last stretching as far as ar-Rumâdi. Two rifts appear in the bluffs. Above the eastern one stands a rather low cone and above the western a cone which slopes most steeply to the north. From 2.08 to 2.45 we sketched a map of the vicinity. At 3.20 on the left appeared an embankment of rock about four meters high, through which

[80] See below, Appendix XVIII.

water from the Euphrates flows by three holes into the branch called al-Waššâš (Fig. 44). On the rocky space above the cataract thus formed two fishermen were spearing fish with a four-pronged fork (*fâle*) (Fig. 45). The flooded plain west of the falls is called al-Mṛajre.

AL-WAŠŠÂŠ TO AṢ-ṢBÊB

The al-Waššâš branch connects the Euphrates with the al-Ḳarma canal, which itself branches off from the Euphrates at as-Saḳlâwijje. Between this settlement and al-Waššâš are the hamlets and fields of Šellâl, al-Ḥwêwa, the al-Ḥôz ruins, the hamlets of as-Serijje, al-Kenʿânijje, al-Ḳurṭân, az-Zwijje, and Ṛarrâž, and the Abu-l-Frêwa ruins.

At 4.08 we had on our right the Ṛadîr al-Waḥale and at 4.30 on our right the al-Ḥarîžijje ruins and on the left those of Abu-l-Frêwa. These are all situated on a spit of land accessible from the southeast from the flood plain, which is frequently inundated. At five o'clock we noticed to the west the group of Išân Mâḥûz ruins; the fields of al-ʿObejdijje lie west of these, and those of Ṛarrâž to the southeast. On our right opened the wide valley of ʿEbdân with small ruins at its north-northwest end.

The Euphrates along this part of its course flows through an alluvial plain and divides into several branches,[81] of which al-Waššâš, which leaves the main stream at al-ʿObejdijje is one.

[81] Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 233, says that the Euphrates touches the settlements of Bâlis, ar-Raḳḳa, Ḳarḳîsija', and ar-Raḥba, encircles the islands of ʿÂna, and reaches the settlements of Hît and al-Anbâr, where it splits into two branches. The first branch, the ʿAlḳami, flows slightly west of south to the town of al-Kûfa, whereas the second, the Sûra', keeps a straight course and flows past the towns of Sûra' and an-Nîl through various cultivated districts. Below al-Anbâr the ad-Duḳejl canal separates from this branch, and from the ad-Duḳejl, in turn, the ʿÎsa canal issues.

Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâ'ib* (Le Strange), p. 10, writes that the Euphrates flows by Bâlis, ar-Raḳḳa, al-Mubârak, the outlet of the Saʿîd canal, Ḳarḳîsija', ar-Raḥba, and ad-Dâlija, forces its way through the rocks of the ridge of al-Ḳsûs, flows around the island town of ʿÂna, and reaches also Âlûsa, Nâ'ûsa, Hît, al-Anbâr, to which a pontoon bridge leads, and finally of al-Kûfa.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 138, refers to Raḥbat ibn Ṭowḳ, Ḳarḳîsija', ʿÂna, ad-Dâlija, and al-Ḥadîṯa as the most important towns on the Euphrates.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, IV, 5 (Jaubert's transl., Vol. 2, pp. 137 f.), says that the towns of ar-Râfiḳa and ar-Raḳḳa are to the left of the Euphrates, al-Muḥammadijje to the right. The Euphrates flows past al-Ḥânûḳa and Ḳarḳîsija', where it reaches the river al-Ḥâbûr; then by Raḥbat Mâlek, ad-Dâlija, ʿÂna, Hît, and al-Anbâr. Here the ʿÎsa canal branches off and runs towards Bagdad. Beyond this point (the head of the ʿÎsa canal) the Euphrates flows from ar-Raḥba through the desert, four branches issuing from it on the way: the first in the direction of Ṣarṣar, the second to al-Ḳaṣr, the third to Sûra', and the fourth to al-Kûfa. —

The insertion of ar-Raḥba here after al-Anbâr is wrong. The second branch should have been given as the Nahr al-Malek, since the canal which passes al-Ḳaṣr (Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra) was identical with the Sûra' canal.

Ad-Dimišḳi, *Nuḫba* (Mehren), p. 93, states that the Euphrates touches the settlements of Bâlis, ar-Raḳḳa, ar-Raḥba, al-ʿÂna, al-Ḥadîṯa, encircles the islands of ʿÂnât, and reaches the settlements of Hît and al-Anbâr, where it divides into two branches. The branch called

At 5.35 two low natural cones, at-Twêm, came into view to the north-northwest. At 5.55 we crossed the wide valley ʿEbb Ḥâṭer, which comes from the well of Ṭarrâḥ. At 6.10 we saw before us a rampart (*čâli*) ending at the fort of Ummu-r-

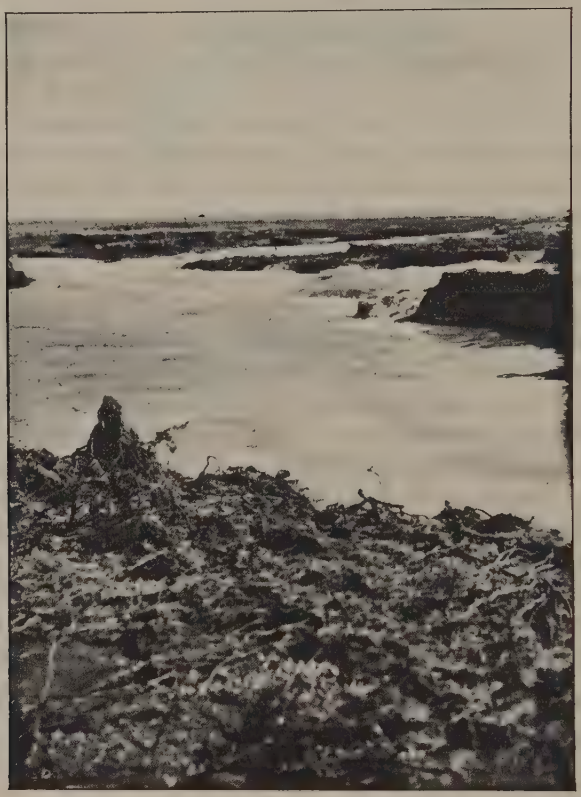

Fig. 44—Al-Waššâš from the east.

Ṛûs, which lies on a rise in the fertile Euphrates flood plain. The fort consists of a few low heaps of old brickwork together with the main part of the stronghold itself, which is rectan-

al-ʿAlḳam flows in the more southerly direction to the districts of Sûraʾ, Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, and al-Ḥilla, and to the swamps of al-Baṭîḥa. The name of the second branch is ʿÎsa.—

The article before ʿÂna is very strange. It is possible, however, that this ʿÂna arose from another name, as it appears again in the form of ʿÂnât (though, of course, in a wrong place). The description of the Euphrates canals is altogether incorrect. The canal of al-ʿAlḳami (not al-ʿAlḳam) was at one time connected with the branch running past al-Kûfa (al-Ḥîra). The canal by Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, Sûraʾ, and al-Ḥilla, on the other hand, received its water from the main channel of the Euphrates, which flowed from al-Anbâr in a southeasterly direction.

Abu-l-Fedaʾ, *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 51, records that the Euphrates flows eastwards past Bâlis, Ḳalʿat Ǧaʿbar, ar-Raḳḳa, ar-Raḥba, ʿÂna, Hit, and al-Kûfa.

gular in shape with walls strengthened by semicircular towers. On its west side the gate was still visible. From afar the fort resembled a Roman camp. It was impossible to come close to it, as water surrounded it on all sides. We bivouacked for the

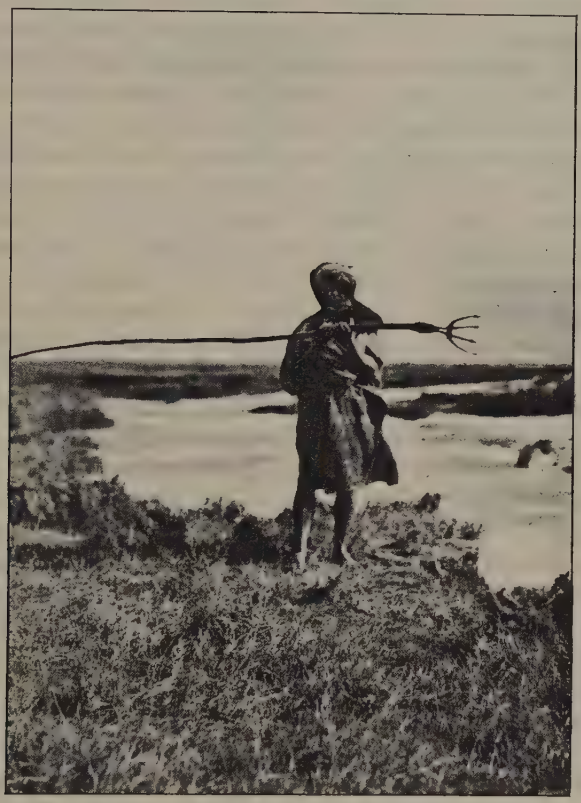

FIG. 45—Fisherman with *fâle* at al-Waššâš.

night at 6.47 in the fields of al-ʿObejdijje near a camp of the Dlejm, who were busy cutting corn. The air was full of big mosquitoes (*bakk*), the pest of the Babylonian alluvial soil on which we were camping. Intersected as it is by innumerable old and new canals, ponds and swamps of varying dimensions are formed on this ground and make ideal places for mosquitoes to breed in.

On May 11, 1915, at five o'clock we proceeded along the al-Kejfijje road with a fisherman named Ǧamîl for a guide.

At 5.40 A. M. having left the flood plain, we crossed the ʿEbb abu ʿArejğ. *ʿEbb* means an inlet or bay and also a valley without a channel. From the ʿEbb abu ʿArejğ, which comes from the well of ʿAwağ, a footpath leads through a tract of land known as al-ʿAsîle to the water of at-Twêm, situated at the head of the *šeʿîb* of Boḥoz, which runs down to the lake in the depression of Umm Raḥal. At 5.50 to the southwest the white shrine of al-Mšêhed showed above a steep bluff on the right bank of the river, and west of it the palms of al-Ğwejbe were visible. At 6.08 we crossed the ʿEbb Helli, in which lies the well of Abu Ḳbêre. To the west were seen the ruins and farm of Sêbât Mḥammad al-ʿEjṭe, west of it large ruins with a sepulchral mound, Ḳabr Farağ, northwest of this a few small houses, and above them the extensive rectangular Išân abu Ḥalîb ruins. At 6.40 ar-Rumâdi was sighted to the southwest between two groves of Babylonian poplars (*ṛurâb*); to the west-southwest we saw the white dome of the burial mound of aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd, with the burial mound of aš-Šejḫ Muḥammad to its right. Rocky spurs of the northern bluffs here reach almost to the Euphrates. At 6.42 we were on the alluvial plain, here about five kilometers wide. West of ar-Rumâdi the flood plain is bordered by a gentle slope rising gradually towards the northwest. At 7.08 we reached the northern edge of the plain of al-ʿElêmijje, which begins at Ḳabr Farağ and extends as far as aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd. At 7.18 the large rectangular Išân abu Ğrajši ruins appeared to the west. From 7.32 to 8.01 our camels grazed south-southwest of Abu Ḳbêre. At 8.20 we had on our left the Išân abu Ğrajši and also the inlet of the ditch of Ṣadr ʿAzzâr which irrigates the flood plain. At 8.30 we crossed a secondary channel of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥadd. Our guide Ğamîl related that he once shot a wild ass, called *ṛazâli*, near the well of al-Ḥlêwât at the head of al-Ḥadd, but that the animal, being only wounded, kept on running. A stranger, who chanced to be passing by mounted on a mare, overtook and killed it. Ğamîl took the hide; the flesh they divided equally.

It could be observed that the line of precipitous rock bluffs on the right-hand side of the Euphrates, bordering the flood plain, grows gradually lower from northwest to southeast. The flood plain here forms a tract about ten kilometers wide, the center of which lies almost due south from aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd.

Farther south the bluffs again slowly rise until they form the high escarpment which stands east of ar-Rumâdi.

From 8.56 to 9.14 our camels were in pasture, while we negotiated with a new guide. At 9.42 we crossed the main channel of al-Ḥadd at the right of the Abu Sfejne ruins. The *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥadd comes from the northwest, beginning in the tabular hills of ar-Rḫejmijjât northeast of Hît. In the channel are the small wells of al-Ḥlêwât, al-Kalb, and Abu D̲kêr. From 10.35 we rode along the foot of the bluffs of Ḥazm aṣ-Ṣâri, which border the fields of Abu Sfejne and al-Umêleḥ forming the southern edge of the undulating plateau of Below, which extends as far as al-Ḥadd. At 10.50, about two hundred meters to our left we had the Kawwašte ruins. At eleven o'clock we were almost on the banks of the Euphrates. To the right rose the red terrace of Ḥazm aṣ-Ṣâri. In the Euphrates the islet of Abu Rîše was visible. At twelve o'clock we had on the left the fields of Môḫ Farḥân and on the right the fields of Ḳbûr Žâsem. From 12.14 P. M. to 1.52 we rested. At two o'clock we were in the *šeʿîb* of Nabar below some small ruins on its right bank. At 2.32 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of aẓ-Ẓbâʿi. To our left was a field about thirty meters wide and farther northwest a salt marsh (*sabḫa*). At this point on the left bank of the Euphrates close to the water there was a low dike. A few groups of poplars and one palm grew near by, and many huts were scattered among the trees. In the rocky bluff overlooking the flood plain on the north we noticed much rock salt and gypsum.

At three o'clock we reached a strong naphtha spring called an-Naffâṭa. The naphtha bubbles out in a fountain about two meters deep and four meters wide. The naphtha obtained here is stored in a poor hut standing by the spring. West of this the northern upland sends forth a black, rocky projection which compels the great river to make a bend of about five kilometers to the south, thus forming a peninsula. At 3.40 we saw on the left a deep ancient ditch bordering on the north the aṣ-Ṣnejdîž ruins, the southern half of which have been carried away by the Euphrates. In front of these ruins is an islet overgrown with poplars. At four o'clock we crossed the *šeʿîb* of aṭ-Ṭmâd. On the black, rocky peninsula before us appeared the Tell al-Aswad, a mighty, ruined fortress. At 4.40 we stood beneath its walls. The fortress is enclosed on the

east and north by deep moats which resemble ancient irrigation canals. Of buildings there is not much left, as the greater part has been washed away by the Euphrates and whatever remained has been dug over and then covered with a thick layer of sand. At 4.45 we descended to the Euphrates into the level plain of az-Zwejje, which is bordered on the north by steep, rocky bluffs, topped by the shrine Banât al-Muḥallabât. Close by stands a half-demolished stronghold. In the fields of aṣ-Ṣbêb, then sown with wheat and barley, we encamped at 6.08.

AṢ-ṢBÊB TO AL-MḤABÛBIJJE

On May 12, 1915, we left, accompanied by a guide named Mâneʿ eben Ṣaḥaw. First we traversed the plain of aṣ-Ṣbêb, which is bordered on the west by a rocky spur that projects from the bluffs toward the river and is known as ʿOnḳ al-Hawaʾ. In this spur is the cave Čhaft al-Bḥês. Between the crags of Čhaft al-Bḥês on the left and those of al-ʿOḳoba on the right, the valley of the Euphrates is very narrow, and the roads on both banks of necessity lead through defiles. At 5.53 we saw to the south-southwest on the right bank the Išân al-Ḥaḳba ruins. After 5.40 we rode along the northern edge of the fields of al-Ǧbêl. The dark, conical hill of Hît, covered with gaily colored little houses, now came into view before us and could be seen more clearly as we advanced. At intervals, however, it was enveloped by clouds of black smoke, arising from the bitumen furnaces on its southeastern base. At 6.50 we had on the right the small *šeʿîb* of Ḥeshês, at the lower end of which lie the Ṭellâʿ Zeben ruins and at the head of which is the well of al-Maʿaṭše. To the northwest the steep slope of Ṭâbaḥje came into view. From 7.08 to 7.34 we breakfasted in the *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣwêb by the side of the al-Marbaṭ ruin.

The cultivated fields on both sides of the Euphrates are irrigated for the most part. The water is raised by large flush wheels fastened to stone pillars, which very often reach far into the river. These stone structures have names of their own, and the fields around are called after them. Here and there stand mud huts, either solitary or in groups, which have no names at all but are designated by the water hoists next to them, even if these are already broken and out of

use. Since 1912 the number of the huts has noticeably increased, and in several places whole hamlets have been built; the latter, as a rule, are each the property of one family, from which they also receive their names.

Fig. 46—Defile along the Euphrates, al-Maẓîž.

At 7.53 we came near the Euphrates proper. To our left, on the right bank of the river, we saw the hamlet of Bannân. The rocky cliffs which border the valley of the Euphrates on the north gradually approach the water at this point, finally leaving along the river a rocky strip called al-Maẓîž (Fig. 46) no more than three meters wide. On this we rode from 8.00 to 8.04. Before us were the black palm groves of al-Maǧnûne, Derestânijje, al-Baḳḳ, and aṭ-Ṭurba, and on the right bank the farm of al-Ḥammâdi. The word for farm here is not *ḳaṣr*

but *žerije*, the term also applied to a group of huts. At 8.22 we crossed the first of the *šeʿibân* of al-Maʿebdijjât. At 8.43 we reached the high hills of Ṭâbaḫje, where bitumen (*žîr*) and sulphur (*kibrît*) bubble out. At 8.48 on our left was the hamlet of al-Maǧnûne and on the right bank the dome of as-Sajjed Aḥmad. At 8.58 we passed through the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿÎdi, on the left bank of which is the vigorous spring ʿAjn al-Žîr. This valley heads south of the table-shaped hills Ḳûr al-Umehmât and Ḳwêrât ʿAmar, which rise above the plateau about midway between the Euphrates and aṭ-Ṭarṭâr. South of the Ḳwêrât ʿAmar is the well of al-Fwâra, west of which lies the well of al-ʿEjdi and south of the latter the wells of al-Ḳmejžem and ar-Rḫejmijjât, all of which are in the al-ʿÎdi valley. About the middle of its course on the right, east of the Ḳârt al-ʿEleme, this *šeʿîb* is joined by the *šeʿîb* of Ab-al-Ḳrûš; in its lower part lie the al-Ešêʿel ruins.

The hamlet of al-Baḳḳ is enclosed by palm trees.[82]

At 9.05 we had the town of Hît on our left. The houses there are grouped together on the terraces of a huge conical hill. About the middle of the town rises the minaret of an ancient mosque. There is an old Jewish colony in Hît. On the left bank of the Euphrates opposite the town stands the shrine of ʿAli al-Hîti, with the palm garden of aṭ-Ṭurba adjoining. At 9.40 we saw on our right the aṣ-Ṣadḳe ruin, in front of which an old canal issues from the Euphrates and brings water to irrigate the fields along the left bank. On this bank also lies the hamlet of an-Nâṭef and beyond it that of al-Ḥesnijje, where we rested from 10.00 to 11.54. Both the wheat

[82] Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* (Houtsma), Vol. 1, p. 237, knew of the administrative district of Baḳḳa on the bank of the Euphrates near al-Anbâr. Its ruler was a woman, az-Zabbaʾ.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, pp. 758ff., records that the kings of al-Ḥîra resided at times in the settlement of al-Baḳḳa. King Ǧudejmat al-Abraš marched from there by way of al-Furda along the Euphrates to [Zelebijje], the residence of the beautiful but crafty Queen az-Zabbaʾ.

Ibn as-Sikkît relates (Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ], Vol. 8, p. 70) that the poet Imruḷḳajs sought shelter with one of his relatives on the Euphrates. That relative was ʿAmr ibn al-Mundir, who in the name of his father administered the several territories along the Euphrates and lived in the settlement of Baḳḳa, situated between al-Anbâr and Hît. ʿAmr, whose mother belonged to the poet's family, received him, but when al-Mundir heard of this the poet had to flee (Imruḷḳajs, *Diwân* [De Slane], p. 12).

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 383, describes the siege of Hît by the Carmathians in December, 927. Some advanced from al-Anbâr along the left bank of the Euphrates and, finding a number of boats in the inlet into the Baḳḳa canal, the Fam Baḳḳa below Hît, they crossed the river. — This proves that Baḳḳa lay on the left bank near and to the southeast of Hît, for the inhabitants would surely not have hidden their boats very far from their homes.

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 176, referring to Ibn al-Kalbi, writes that Baḳḳa is a town on the Euphrates on the borders of Irak. According to (Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad) al-Mufaǧǧeʿ, Baḳḳa was a settlement between al-Anbâr and Hît.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 702, and Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 166, describe Baḳḳa as an old settlement or fortress, two parasangs from Hît. Jâḳût's statements as to distances are seldom correct.

also lies the hamlet of an-Nâṭef and beyond it that of al-Ḥesnijje, where we rested from 10.00 to 11.54. Both the wheat and barley were already harvested. In the gardens apples and apricots were nearly ripe. At 12.04 P. M. we rode past the hamlet of al-Kmojje, northwest of which the strong bitumen spring of ʿAṭʿâṭ gushes out. At 12.10 we had on the right two other bitumen springs, said to furnish six donkey loads of *žîr* (bitumen) daily. At 12.20 the hamlet of al-Ḥebbijje was on our left.

At 12.28 when near the settlement of al-ʿAmîre we left the level flood plain and took the road called Mefâzt al-Banâšîre leading beyond the rocky bluffs. Along the Euphrates in this vicinity lie the hamlets of al-Manâzel, ʿAbde, Salâmijje, ʿAwîre (with a ruin), Ǧellâdijje, as-Sabbi, an-Nwêʿîr, ad-Dlâṭât, and al-Ḳôšerijje, and the al-Meḥlebijje ruin. At one o'clock we saw on our right the mesa Ḳârt al-ʿEleme; at 1.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳôšerijje, and at 1.54 we descended to the level plain of al-Manâšîre (or al-Banâšîre), where our camels grazed from 2.05 to 2.30. From the hamlet of Dwêlît ad-Debes to al-Manâšîre the Euphrates washes the bluffs of the left bank, leaving alluvial deposite on the right. At 2.40 we had the group of huts of al-Manâšîre on our left, and on the right bank lay the hamlet of Saʿdân with the sepulchral mound of aš-Šejẖ Ẓâher above it. At three o'clock the hamlet of al-Ḥîṭân was on our left and on the right bank al-Muferdât, a hamlet of a more considerable size, owned by the Ḫazrağ tribe. At 3.20 we saw to the west twelve large and fifteen small palm trees, with a flush wheel and the large farm of al-Weršânijje close by; farther on we could see the hamlets of al-Eẖẓârijje and as-Sênijje.

Then we had to cross the bare aš-Šubejče plain, covered with fine gravel, from which we ascended the rocky slope of aš-Šîḥa, only to descend to the Euphrates again at 3.50. At 4.10 al-Mabṛijje was on our left. We next proceeded along the fertile, cultivated flood plain, where the valley of al-ʿAjn terminates; this we crossed at 4.20. Much *ṭarfa* grows there. At 4.40 we had on our left the hamlet of al-Ḳoṭbijje and on our right the jagged yellow hillocks of al-Ǧared, their color contrasting noticeably with the whitish bluffs which shut in the Euphrates flood plain. Although from afar they resemble large ruins, no remains of old buildings are to be found there. At 4.50 we had on our right some small ruins and before us

a picturesque tract in which there are formations not unlike those of the great Nefûd of Arabia. The west wind has excavated out of the dark gray sand of the Euphrates at least one hundred hollows or *ḳaʿar*, which are open to the east; these *ḳaʿar* are, however, very small. Their western sides are steep and higher than the others. At 5.30 we rode through the fields of al-Leḥûdijje, which are slowly changing into a salt marsh because of the proximity of the *šeʿîb* of al-Musṭaḥ, which we crossed at 5.53. The run-off brings much salt, which it absorbs from the gypsum rocks forming the bed of this ravine. In the *šeʿîb* of al-Musṭaḥ, south of the Ḳârt al-Muʿassam, are the wells of Abu Ṛarab and Abu Swejže; east of this *šeʿîb* lies the well of az-Zaʿtri. Beyond al-Musṭaḥ we came to the farm of al-Mḥabûbijje and at 6.12 made camp in the fields of as-Srâğijje, only to be tortured by the mosquitoes all night long.

AL-MḤABÛBIJJE TO ŠEʿÎB OF AD-DMÂME

On May 13, 1915, we set out at 4.43 A. M. through the fields of Maʿâlijje towards the dissected plateau of al-Aǧʿâl, which here forms a promontory encircled on three sides by the Euphrates. This plateau consists of innumerable rocky, flat-topped hillocks, with deep, narrow gullies winding between them. After missing our way, at 8.20 we reached the Euphrates again near al-Marʿabdijje and left our camels in pasture there until nine o'clock. Our new guide then led us past the hamlet of at-Taḥmânijje up the crags. Along the bank of the Aǧʿâl promontory fronting the river are the hamlets of aṭ-Ṭlêḥijje, al-Warrâdijje, ad-Dânaḳijje, al-Wâṣlijje, Jerde, Smâle, Ṛarrâf, ad-Dwêlje, al-Mesǧed, al-Mheddânijje, az-Zwêr, al-Mîsrijje, al-Mbâraka, al-Madda, Markân, and Ǧubba. To the south we observed an island with some old houses on it. This island is called Ḥnêfes or Ḥawîǧt an-Nâûsa. Across the river on the right bank we saw at 9.50 the hamlets of al-Ǧnânijje and ad-Dwêlje, with the al-Ǧâbrijje ruin rising near the latter.

These hamlets for the most part are owned by the wealthier citizens of Kerbela, Bagdad, and even of Aleppo, who have either bought the land outright from the Dlejm or have simply taken possession of it, driven the Dlejm out, set up flush wheels (*nawâʿîr*), built huts, and rent the land to peasants from other villages. The tenant pays all the taxes and gives one-

third of the crop to the owner, keeping the rest himself. He remains on the land if he desires; if not, he goes to seek work elsewhere. Owing to this loose system a good deal of the land lies uncultivated for years, the irrigation works deteriorate, and the huts go to pieces. If these lands were owned by the men who worked them or if the owners would themselves pay the taxes besides allowing the tenants to keep a certain portion of the produce, in a short time there would be no uncultivated land all along the Euphrates. But the owners insist on receiving the stipulated part of the crop without heeding whether the yield is satisfactory or how high a tax is imposed. The tax collector, too, squeezes the peasant in the most heartless manner, often leaving him even less than a bare sixth of the crop, on which the poor fellow has had to work with all his family, his cattle, and implements for a whole year.

At 10.35 we again came to the river at the hamlet of at-Taḥmânijje. Ahead of us lay an islet with the old settlement of Ǧubba. From 10.44 to 11.45 we dined by the fields of Sifle. At twelve o'clock we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧbârijje opposite the settlement of al-Merwânijje on the right bank. At the head of this valley is the well of Abu Ǧemâʿa, southeast of which lies the well of ʿAnêze and to the north that of Abu Rummâne. At 12.36 P. M. on the left were the huts of al-Brûṭe and on the right the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ẓâher. Leaving the Euphrates through the *šeʿîb* of Abu-l-Ḳanâṭer, we rode until 1.25 along a rocky spur which slopes down to the water and then through the salt marsh of al-ʿÂmre, where our camels grazed from 1.38 to 2.06. At 2.38 we rode past the aṭ-Ṭossijje ruins. At 3.15 we had on our right the Sifle ruins, and at 3.20 we encamped among reapers. As we had before us a long journey through a rocky desert where neither our camels nor our mares would find anything to sustain them, we remained in the fields.

On May 14, 1915, we started at 4.43 A. M. and entered the Mefâzt abu Sakrân. These are bare, rocky uplands intersected by deep ravines which extend down to the Euphrates. At 5.08 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of an-Nihel, in which lies the water of Umm al-Ḥamâm; at 5.15 on our left were the fields of az-Zejre and on the right bank the hamlet of ʿAnâje, with a heap of old ruins standing close by. At 5.50 we reached the Euphrates again, this time at the fields of al-Ḫâldijje so called after the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ḫâled, which at 6.05

was on our right. On the bluffs above the shrine stand the remains of a stronghold, and to the east gapes the *šeʿîb* of Sakrân, which descends from the wells of Ummu Ṭbûḳ and Abu Šôkâje. At 6.15 we sighted the inhabited island of al-Eḫzâne. When near al-Aswadijje we again had to ascend a bluff, beneath which the river is bordered by a narrow strip of gardens and small tracts of field called al-Aswadijje, al-Maštûr, al-Ḥammâdi, al-Ḥalḫalijje, al-Ḳwêẓe, al-Ǧbêl, Zabde, as-Sadḳe, as-Slejǧe, Berbîbi, Barḳêta, Baḥrân, al-Ḥaddâdije, az-Zambâḳijje, Beni Ṣâleḥ, aš-Šubejle, Harejmes, Bečârijje, Beni Zečče, Dowâr, and, finally, Berwâne. At 7.35 we entered the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥsên through the fields owned by the inhabitants of Berwâne.

Our guide, a peasant from Berwâne, uttered bitter complaints against the Government, which he said demanded every tenth sheep for meat and from each animal three *oḳḳât* (3.84 kilograms) of wool and three *oḳḳât* of butter, as well as seven piasters (31 cents) and one third of all the corn harvested. This exorbitant tax the Turkish Government collected twice in 1914.

At 8.40 we had a beautiful view over the river, decorated, as it were, with green islands in its midst and bordered by palm groves, above which rose white bluffs. We had to travel on the uplands in order to get around the settlement of Berwâne, which though very narrow is five kilometers long, a detour which took us from 8.57 to 10.00. The settlement consists of the huts and fields of aš-Šḳêlijje, Eben Sellâm, Sâṭîn, Abu-l-Krâdîs, al-Maʿbara, ad-Dwêlje, and al-ʿElje. At 10.12 we emerged from the *šeʿîb* of ad-Dmâme, where lies the water of al-Ḳrene.

THE ŠEʿÎB OF AD-DMÂME TO RÂWA

At 10.50 we had on the right the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Mḥammad al-Ḥawrâni, east of which rises the rocky spur Râs Laʿal. By the Euphrates stood the hamlet of al-Muʿejmîre. On the right bank the shrine of as-Sajjed Nûraddîn showed white, with the huts of Ḫamse clustering beneath. West of the island of al-Ḥadîṭa on the right bank of the Euphrates stood the dome of al-Imâm ʿAli (or Mešhed ʿAli). From 11.15 to 11.38 the camels were in pasture. At 11.45 we saw to the west of us on the right bank the hamlet of al-Bṭêne with the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd. At 12.35 P. M. we rode through the fields

of Abu Tafsara. At 12.47 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Abu Tafsara, which is joined near the water Abu Ḏkêr by a branch, az-Zwejči. At one o'clock we had the hamlet of Abu Tafsara on our left. By 1.10 we had passed the small gully of Zeḳeb, by 1.30 the *šeʿîb* of Lâṭe, and from 2.20 to 2.58 we rested at al-Ṟorejr near the *šeʿîb* of al-Čebîr. On the river bank lie the hamlets of Ḥawrâṭe and Zibde. At 3.38 we saw on our right the small gully of ad-Dwejlîb and on our left the cultivated islet of Sûse, west of which lies the islet of al-Ḥṣejjên with a pretty garden.

Near as-Slejmijje there is a ford (*maḫâẓa*) used by the Bedouins when going out on their raids. In the course of these raids they steal all the forage they can lay their hands on and allow their horses and camels to eat off the grain which is still green. At 4.05 we had on our left the hamlet of al-Afḥağ with the islet of an-Nâṣrijje beyond it and on our right the *šeʿîb* of al-Mâmsijje. At 4.20 we went through a defile between the Euphrates and a line of rocky bluffs and at five o'clock reached the large *šeʿîb* of al-Ğamme, in front of the mouth of which extends a salt marsh. On the right bank of the river at this point stand the huts of Tartâse. In the west high above us on the bluffs appeared the little shrine Mizâr Ḥabîb an-Nağğâr; the guide explained to us at some length that this Ḥabîb was a carpenter who helped to build Noah's ark. At 5.38 we had on our left the huts of ad-Dejr; these were built in an old ruin opposite the islet Ḥawîğt ad-Dejr and the flush wheels of Šeṛjâṭe on the right bank. In the level plain which we were now traversing the wind blows up the dark sand into thousands of low drifts (*ṭuʿûs*) which form an obstacle to travel. At 6.32 we crossed the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Četîbe, which begins in the plateau of ʿAllâwi, and at 6.50 the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥabîb, which comes from the level plain of al-Watâḥa. At seven o'clock we were beneath the shrine of Ḥabîb an-Nağğâr and at 7.20 bivouacked in the fields of ar-Riẓḳe, where barley was being cut.

On May 15, 1915, we left ar-Riẓḳe at 4.38 A. M. with Ḥamad eben ʿAbdallâh for our guide. At 4.54 we had on our left the islet of as-Sawwâri[83] and ahead of us the Tell al-Mḥaddâde, which conceals the *šeʿîb* of as-Shalijje. On the right bank we saw Žerna and to the west beyond it the defile Muẓîž

[83] Asinius Quadratus, *Fragmenta* (Müller), p. 660, states that Syrbane is an island in the Euphrates. — Possibly this island is identical with Sawâri, or as-Sawwâri, *b* having been misrendered for *w* and the order of *r* and *b* changed.

al-Marzûḳijje. The island of al-ʿAskar to the south of as-Sawwâri is fairly large, cultivated, and inhabited.

At 5.20 we had on our left the hamlet of Abu Ğûʿâne, which lies opposite the islet of al-Wudâje, and the al-ʿElje farm farther along on the left bank. At 5.43 we traversed the deep *šeʿîb* of as-Shalijje, which is bordered by white limestone rocks; opposite its mouth lies the islet of al-Mohra, covered by a thick growth of poplar trees and *ṭarfa*. At 5.53 on our right were the ruins of an ancient settlement and at 6.05 on our left the al-Ğerʿa ruin with the little shrine of aš-Šejḫ Mḥammed to the west of it and farther on the large settlement of az-Zâwje. From 7.13 to 7.44 our camels grazed. At eight o'clock we reached the hamlet of Abu Ğowʿa, which lies on the river bank in the end of a defile. Then we proceeded through a limestone plain, which extends far to the north. At 8.15 we saw the al-Maʿâḏîb ruins to the south-southwest, at 8.20 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Belčârijje, and at 8.42 the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿEmrijje, which heads at ʿAjn al-Ṛubejn. The rocky plain of Šeben, through which we were passing, is bordered by the upland of ʿEnâb (beyond which extends the upland of al-Watâḥa) and is intersected by a number of deep gullies. At 8.55 we saw close to us the hamlet of al-Merdâdijje and on the right bank the narrow strip made by the gardens of aš-Šwêmijje stretching to a point opposite the settlement of Ḥbên, the palm trees of which greeted us from afar (Fig. 47). At 9.10 we rode past the palm trees of the hamlet of al-Bêẓa, which together with the neighboring aš-Šaʿbijje properly forms part of the long but narrow settlement of Ḥbên. Our way led along the rocky bluffs above this settlement and after 9.30 approached the Euphrates again. Before us in the midst of the river lay the island of Telbes (Fig. 48) on which stand a number of old buildings, the walls of which are washed by the Euphrates. Fine palm trees grow on the eastern part of the island, opposite which on the left bank stand the Sûr ruins,

Fig. 47—Settlement of Ḥbên.

consisting of a round hill and a high mound of ruins extending from southwest to northeast.[84] The small *šeʿîb* of Abu Sâli, which heads at the wells of Bêẓa Menîʿa, runs along the south side of the ruins. We crossed this *šeʿîb* at 10.20.

FIG. 48—Telbes from the east.

From 10.50 to 11.48 we rested. At twelve o'clock we had on the left the Tell abu Ṭôr, a blunt cone without ruins on it. At 12.08 P. M. we saw the settlements of ʿÂna and Râwa. At 12.15 near the fields of al-Ǧdejde we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Hâbûlijje, close to which lie the demolished huts of a settlement grouped around the crumbling minaret (*maftûl*) of the monastery of al-Melewijje. West of Hâbûlijje extends the small

[84] In the time of King Hammurabi one Sin-iḳîšam was the regent of Sûḫi, his residence being at Sûri in that province (Sayce, *Early Babylonian Document* [1899], pp. 24f.; Peiser, *Orientalische Altertumskunde*, No. 4 [1901], pp. 50ff.). — This may have been the fort of Sûr opposite the island of Telbes.

In 878 B.C. Kuduru, the prefect in Sûru, a stronghold of the land Sûḫi, rebelled against King Asurnazirpal III (Annals [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pll. 23f.], col. 3, ll. 17—25; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], pp. 351—353), who was approaching from the northwest. Kuduru was aided by a Babylonian auxiliary army sent him by King Nabû-apla-iddin under the command of the latter's brother, Ṣabdânu. Asurnazirpal took the fort by assault, but Kuduru escaped on the Euphrates with seventy men. Fifty of the cavalry, the brother of the Babylonian king, as well as three thousand of the Babylonian troops, however, were captured; the fort was pillaged for two days and then demolished; the women from the prefect's harem, his team (of war horses), chariot, horses, various implements of war, silver, gold, lead, copper vessels, precious stones from the mountain, and all his supplies became the spoil of the Assyrians. Asurnazirpal had a statue of himself erected in the demolished town with an inscription announcing his victory.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 2: 1, writes that Thilutha is a stronghold built in the middle of the river on a high hill fortified alike by nature and by the hand of man. In 363 A.D. the Emperor Julian, fearing a heavy loss, hesitated to attack it. The soldiers then called on the inhabitants to surrender; this they promised to do, but only after the Romans had gained the victory over their Persian overlord.

Asinius Quadratus, *Fragmenta* (Müller), p. 660, mentions a settlement of Thelamusa on the Euphrates in Arabia. Since the letter *b* is often mispronounced as *m*, and the name of the island of Telbes was undoubtedly written in various ways by the classical authors, Thelamusa may be identical both with Thilutha and Telbes.

Al-Belâdori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), pp. 178f., writes, quoting an informant from Ḳarḳîsija', that ʿUmejr ibn Saʿd, while conquering Râs al-ʿAjn, set out (in 642 A.D.) along al-Ḫâbûr to Ḳarḳîsija' and from there to the fortresses along the Euphrates, which he took one after another as not one offered resistence. In this manner the Moslems became the lords of Telbes, ʿÂnât, an-Nâ'ûsa, Âlûsa, and Hît; in the last-named ʿOmejr left half of the church to the inhabitants. Later he marched on ar-Raḳḳa.

level plain of ad-Difle, where oleanders grow in profusion, beyond which we came to the Razzâz fields, the gully Saḥl al-Ḥadetîn in which lies the water of Umm Naḫl, the gardens of Zaḫnûne, ʿAbdelleh, the *šeʿibân* of ʿÂna, the gardens of al-Mezandaḳa, aẓ-Ẓwejʿa, and aš-Šaʿeba, the rocky spur of al-Ḳurna, and the settlement of Râwa. Unable to pass with our camels between the huts and the flooded Euphrates, we rode around Râwa on the rocky bluffs above it. These, however, are furrowed by the Wudijân aṭ-Ṭôr, which are so deep and precipitous that we had to make a detour far to the north before we could reach the road leading to Mosul. At 5.25 we encamped by the Euphrates, close to a high garden wall about one kilometer west of Râwa, where we were well protected from a sand storm which burst later in the evening. Both the garden and the surrounding fields were irrigated by a flush wheel (*nâʿûra*) (Fig. 49).

RÂWA TO AS-SÛSE

On May 16, 1915, I wrote to the *ḳâjmaḳâm* at ʿÂna to send me two new gendarmes. Our gendarmes had themselves ferried over with their horses to ʿÂna, and their successors came to us in the same way. This was a venture both risky and dangerous, as there was no sufficiently large boat to be had either at Râwa or at ʿÂna. The water in the Euphrates had risen very high by this time and a stiff wind blew all day from the northeast. We busied ourselves in arranging and completing our cartographical notes and making inquiries as to the settlements on the Euphrates between Râwa and al-Ḫâbûr. In the evening the latitude was determined. A tremendous storm surprised us at midnight, with much lightning and peals of thunder but little rain.

On May 17, 1915, the storm died down sometime after 2 A. M., but the sky remained clouded, and a strong, cold, west wind arose to add to our discomfort. We set out at 4.45 A. M. At 5.08 we were on the fields of al-ʿAmârijje south of some large ruins with a small cemetery close by. At 5.30 the little shrine al-Mašhad on the right bank of the river south of the fields of Abu Kawwa was sighted. Then we ascended the rocky bluffs and at 6.20 rode down again to al-Ûrijje on the river bank. To the south appeared the trees of the hamlets of al-Kûzijje and Eḳratijje. From 6.52 to 7.30 our camels pastured

on the right side of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧbâle. At 7.30 the farms of an-Nâṭrijje were reached. Across the river, on the right bank, the bluffs recede towards the south, but owing to the many low spurs which they send out to the Euphrates, the

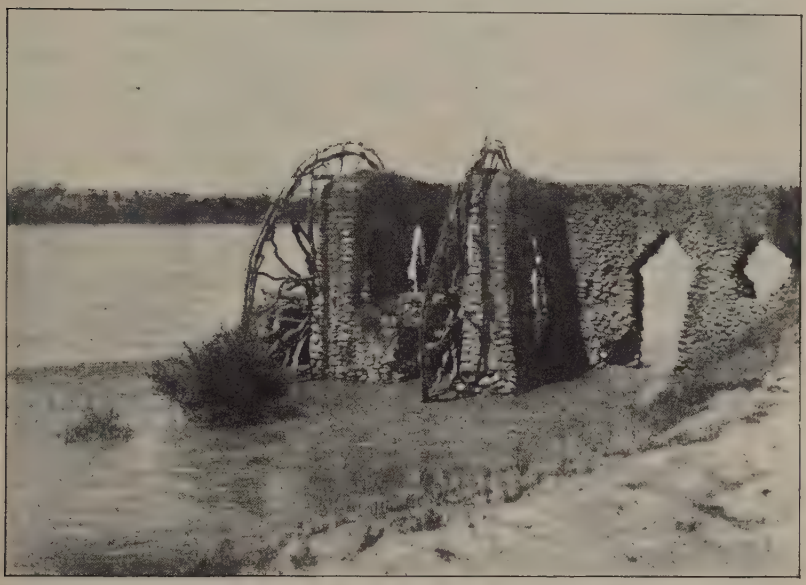

Fig. 49—Flush wheels west of Râwa.

flood plain is capable of cultivation in a few places only. At eight o'clock we traversed the fields of as-Semsijje past the islet Ḥawîǧet Srejser, which is overgrown with young poplars. The rocky spurs on the right bank reach right down to the water, creating there a defile (*muẓîž*). West of this stands a large mulberry tree in the fields of as-Swêwîde. Once more we had lightning and thunder.

At 8.20, when near the *šeʿîb* of Srejser, we left the fertile plain with the hamlets of al-Bûnijje, al-Ǧbêl, and al-Ḥasanijje, and proceeded along a rocky flat-topped upland, where at 9.06 we saw the hillocks of Mezrâb al-ʿAnz. From 9.45 onwards the road both on the right and left was marked with small heaps of stones, called here Rǧûm al-Fežîr. Far to the east above the tabular hillocks we could see the rather long, low escarpment formed by the edge of the upland Ḳârt al-Ṛubejn. At 10.35 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Abu Redijje, which has here

eroded its way through white rocks. From 10.51 to 12.14 P. M. we rested. At 12.23 we had the small *šeʿîb* of al-Hdejbe behind us and at 12.36 the farm of al-ʿAğamijje on our left, and on the right bank the small ruin mound of al-Ḫalâwi; at 1.10 we passed the settlement of Ebrahmijje on the left bank and, shortly after, the settlement of al-Mhedijje, and observed west of the latter on the right bank the ad-Dînijje ruin, which measures about five hundred meters in diameter. Opposite ad-Dînijje on the left bank lie the hamlets of al-Ğzânijje with beyond it that of al-Ğeṣṣijje, where saltpeter, used by the *fellâḥîn* in the manufacture of gunpowder, is dug. At 1.18 a stiff wind began to blow from the northwest. At 1.38 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ğeṣṣijje; at 2.05 we passed the al-ʿÂmrijje hamlet with a smaller ruin and a cemetery lying close by; and at 2.54 the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥaddâr. Jagged crags on the right bank here reach almost to the water. At 3.38 we had the hamlets of as-Saʿadijje and aš-Šaʿêṭi on our left; to the north-northeast we saw three table-shaped hills, the Ḳârt aṭ-Ṭlejṭwât, among which lies the well of Abu Barâbič; to the west-southwest was the hamlet of az-Zaʿfarâne, to the west the islet of ʿAlejji, and on the right bank the hamlet of al-ʿAmmâri.

From 3.57 to 4.30 our camels grazed in the *šeʿîb* of -al Meṣâjed close by the fields of ad-Dejr,[85] which were then lying fallow. As our guide Ḥmûd told us, he had rented them the year before but gave up in despair when the tax collector took almost his whole crop, leaving him barely enough to live on for two months.

Near ad-Dejr is the islet of al-Čedîš, overgrown with poplars. We ascended to the upland again, where we saw on our left on a crag overlooking the Euphrates the medieval fortress of Ertâğe, which forms an oblong enclosed by a mighty rampart with eight semicircular towers. A *fellâḥ* from Râwa once dug up there a brick covered with inscriptions (*libne mačtûbe*) and promptly sold it for forty *meğîdijjât* ($ 36.00). According to a local legend there is a golden horse hidden somewhere at Ertâğe. At 6.04 we made camp in a small vale opposite the huts of ar-Râfda, which could be plainly seen on the right bank. There was more lightning and thunder

[85] Ad-Dejr probably is the ancient Dejr Lubba.
Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 690 f., and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 438, write that Dejr Lubba (or Lubna) is said to be an old monastery on the left bank of the Euphrates in the territory of the Beni Tarleb, where the latter encountered the Beni Šejbân. — At the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century of our era the Beni Tarleb used to camp southeast of al-Ḥâbûr between the Euphrates and the Tigris, or in the region where our ad-Dejr is situated.

throughout the night. The surrounding crags were struck several times by thunderbolts and one bolt fell into the Euphrates.

On May 18, 1915, we started at 4.53 A. M. across the rocky upland of al-Wrejče. At 5.38 on the left ahead of us the white dome of as-Sulṭân ʿAbdallâh swung into view. West of it lie the fields of al-Bûbijje, al-Ğaʿbrijje, al-Bêẓa, and al-Emlêli. Then we passed through the rocky plain of as-Suḳât, where heavy rain had fallen (*waḳaʿ al-maṭar*) the night before. At 6.15 we rode past the little shrine of as-Sulṭân ʿAbdallâh, built on a sharp spur of rocky bluffs right above the Euphrates. West of it, in the bluffs close by the river, is the large cave of Ğuḥrân. At 6.32 we saw to the south-southeast, opening in the rocky bluffs on the right bank of the Euphrates, the deep *šeʿîb* of Ab-al-Ğerwa, where a ruin of the same name lies near some old trees about six kilometers from the river. The fields east of al-Ğerwa are called aš-Šḳaḳijje; west of its mouth the islet of al-Ḥṣêm was in process of forming. We found on the road a spotted adder which had set its fangs into a small lizard (*slêmânijje*), and as it would not run away we killed it. At 6.55 we sighted on the right bank the large aš-Šğêra ruin, where various ancient remains have been excavated by the *fellâḥîn* from the neighborhood, and on the left bank the fields of al-Bêẓa. At seven o'clock the live green of a poplar grove at al-Berd appeared to the south-southwest. At 7.20 the already ripe grain on the beautiful field of ar-Rûmijje was surging in waves not unlike those of the sea; on the right bank at this point lie the farms of al-Mutreẓijje and Mišʿal. Once past ar-Rûmijje the Euphrates approaches very near to the cliffs, thus creating a defile (*muzîž*) remarkable for its row of poplars. At 7.35 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿErž, which starts at the well of Abu-l-Ḳâje on the Soḥbân plateau. At nine o'clock we ascended from the fields of Ṣamma to the upland of Beniğe. A strong wind, almost a gale, was blowing from the west. At 9.14 we crossed the small *šeʿîb* of ad-Drême and on the right bank sighted the large village of al-ʿObejdi. On the left bank hereabouts are situated the hamlets of ad-Drême, al-ʿEšš, ad-Derče, and al-Ḥamîẓa, all of which are known collectively as Rabaṭ. The road which we were now following is called Daččt ad-Derhem.

Our guide complained bitterly about the distress then prevailing at Râwa. As his two sons had had to join the army,

their wives and nine children were now dependent upon him for support, although his whole property consisted merely of a dilapidated hut and a garden patch only eight meters long by four meters wide, at the side of which we had camped. Both he and the whole family had to weave wool and were greatly pleased when they could earn one piaster ($4^1/_2$ cents) a day each. And yet the Government since November, 1914, had made him pay first six, then three, and finally another five *meğîdijjât* ($ 5.40, $ 2.70, $ 4.50). In order to pay the second and third levy, he had had to sell two copper kettles and a part of the wearing apparel of his daughters-in-law.

At ten o'clock the remnant of the tower of al-Ḳâjem came into view to the south-southwest. We were now traveling over the rocky plain of al-Ğaṣṣâṣ, where there are numerous subterranean caverns and cavities into which the rain water from the neighborhood accumulates. From 11.08 to 12.45 P. M. we dined in the small *šeʿîb* of ʿAjn al-Waḥme. After dinner, crossing the *šeʿîb* of Ummu-s-Sbaʿ, parts of which were covered with a salt crust, we ascended to a plateau bounded on the northeast by the terrace of al-Ženaʾ. At 2.05 we had the farm of al-Barûṯ on the west-southwest and southeast of it the hamlets of al-Marẓûḫa and al-Meḏneb. From 2.16 to 2.30 our camels grazed in the level plain of al-ʿOḳli and at 3.25 we reached the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥağğ, which begins at al-Ṛijâri and terminates in the alluvium of aš-Šiğle. At 3.43 we saw on the rocky spur of al-ʿErṣi to our left numerous remains of sepulchral mounds and towers called Abu Ğelâl, where earthen vessels containing human bones, copper jugs, various ornaments, and money have been found. Digging in a ruined building known as Ḳaṣr abu Zubbên, a Râwa *fellâḥ* once found more than fifty earthen pots containing remains of skeletons. Al-ʿErṣi was the necropolis of a large town, the ruins of which, now called aš-Šejḫ Ğâber, are situated on the right bank. On the northwestern edge of the burial grounds are the remains of an ancient fortress with three tolerably well preserved towers in which even the stairways inside are still intact.

At 4.20 we made camp in the alluvial plain of as-Sûse, which is known as Môzân in its northern part. Ahead of us rose the small ʿAntûd or aṭ-Ṭâwi ruin. The level plains of aš-Šiğle, Môzân, and al-Mesîle are quite swampy and overgrown with poplars and *ṭarfa*, the latter almost like brushwood.

AS-SÛSE TO AL-MERWÂNIJJE

On May 19, 1915, we set out at 4.41 A. M. through the fertile parts of the Euphrates flood plain of al-Werdijje, known as Šanšûle and aš-Šaʿfe, the last-named stretching as far south as the rocky spur of al-ʿErṣi. To the east the plain merges gradually into an easy slope, the several portions of which are called from south to north al-Ṛijâri, al-Bejâder, and ʿAčʿač. In the southern part of this slope there are several wells. Thus the *šeʿîb* of al-Mesîle comes from the Bîr aṣ-Ṣlubi; west of this lies the Bîr abu Šdêḥa; north of the *šeʿîb* of al-Mesârîn, which has no water, is the well of al-Ḳrejžîʿa; at Ab-aẓ-Ẓell are hollows (*ṯemâjel*) in the earth, which receive the ground water; finally in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥlêle, which ends opposite al-Bahasna, is the Želîb ʿAllôni.

Fig. 50—Zôr al-Kišme.

At 5.40 there appeared to the west-southwest on the right bank the isolated Tell Madḳûḳ cone with ruins on it; east of this *tell* we saw the extensive al-Ḥarîri ruin and still farther south that of Abu Sêbât. After 6.10 we observed on our right the ancient Dawrîn canal and thenceforth had to cross all its numerous branches which run off to the west. Dawrîn is said to end beneath the crag of al-ʿErṣi by the Abu Ṛaḳḳ ruins in the plain Ḥâwi al-Barûṯ. At 6.47 we had on our left a branch of the Euphrates called Sarât al-Kišme. *Sarât* signifies a branch leading off from a river into its flood plain. Such a plain is commonly called *ḥâwi* or, when covered with brush or trees, *zôr*. From 7.10 to 7.40 the camels were in pasture (Fig. 50). At 8.05 at the ruin mound of Zenḳîḥ we crossed a sand-filled branch of the Euphrates about fifty paces in width. To the south-southwest on the right bank of the river the Ummu Znâd ruins could be seen; west-northwest of these stretched the dark sand dunes Ṭuʿûs Šeʿbân and south of them to the

west of the Tell Madḳûḳ the sand hill Ṭe'es Rasûl. Nearly due west of us rose the dark hillock of al-Ǧaḥaš, in which various ancient remains have been excavated.

At 8.52 we rode past the Tell al-Bahasna ruin, which forms a hill about twenty meters high and two hundred meters long from northeast to southwest by one hundred meters wide, adjoined on the east by many small heaps of old brickwork. A canal, now half clogged up, formerly brought water from the Euphrates. The western part of the ruin has been washed away.[86]

On the opposite bank rises the long ruin mound of al-Ǧaḥaš, around which are grouped the huts of the settlement of ar-Rumâdi. At nine o'clock to the west-southwest the hamlet of ad-Demîm appeared on the right bank and on the left that of al-Mufaššaḳ. To the northeast no ruins of large dimensions were seen in the fertile flood plain. At 9.39 we had on our left al-Heǧîn and north of it the al-Ma'êṣre ruin, with a cemetery. At 9.53 to the west-southwest on the right bank appeared the hamlet of al-Ḫrejṭa and before us the dark mound of the al-Ṟorejṭi ruins, beyond which lay the farm of aṣ-Ṣafa' and farther north a roseate dome in the ač-Ča'âbi ruins. At 10.35 the trees of the hamlets of Kaṯṯûḥa could be seen to the southwest, with the farm of al-Baḥra' to the north of them, and to the west of us in the midst of the fields the aṣ-Ṣafa' ruins.[87] Al-Baḥra' lies opposite the gendarmerie station of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje.

From 11.30 to 12.46 P. M. we worked in the ač-Ča'âbi ruins. An extensive town enclosed by a wall on the north west, and south (Fig. 51) once lay to the east of a mighty fort.[88]

[86] In the ruin of al-Bahasna I locate the Assyrian Naḳarabani. In 878 B. C. its inhabitants brought to King Asurnazirpal (Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 23], col. 3, l. 10; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, [1902], p. 349) silver, gold, lead, utensils, cattle, and sheep.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 655 f., writes that Dejr Ḥanẓala lies near the east bank of the Euphrates below Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ between ad-Dâlija and al-Bahasna. 'Abdallâh ibn Muḥammad al-Emîn ibn ar-Rašîd, who once made a short stay there, sung of its beautiful situation.

[87] According to the records of the journey of Tukulti Enurta II, aṣ-Ṣafa' is the ancient Ṣupri (see below, p. 204).

In 879 B. C. Asurnazirpal (Annals [Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*], col. 3, ll. 9—10; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 349) received in Ṣupri, as his dues, silver, gold, lead, utensils, cattle, and sheep.

[88] Ač-Ča'âbi, according to Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), p. 248, Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 14, and Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 1 : 5, is identical with a suburb of Europus — or, as it was also called, the town of Nicanor (Nikanoros Polis) or Dura — and was founded by the Macedonians.

Polybius, *History*, V, 48, relates that Molon conquered (221 B. C.) Parapotamia, from Seleucia on the Tigris to Europus, and Mesopotamia as far as Dura. —

West of ač-Ča'âbi, on a rocky spur of the western Euphrates valley wall, stand the aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins. At one o'clock we reached a deserted channel of the Euphrates, the Sarât al-Mwêh; the present channel which passes aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje was,

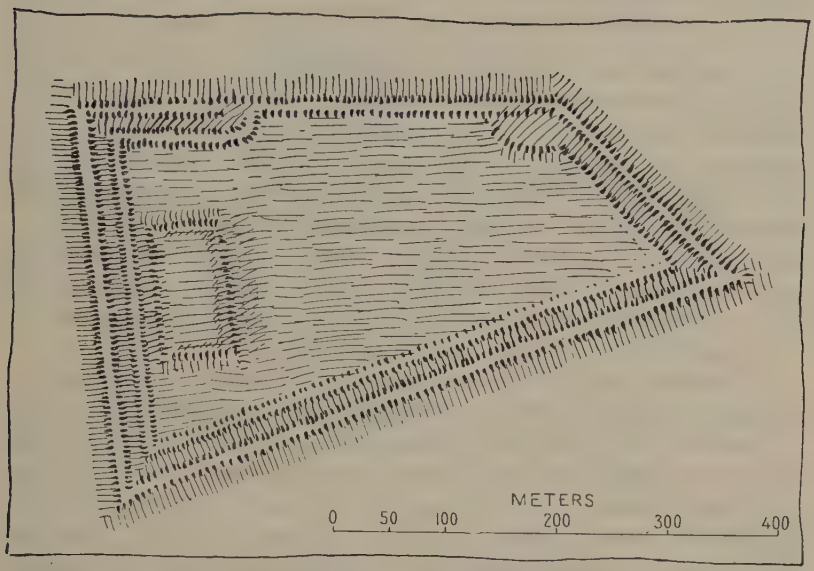

FIG. 51—Plan of ač-Ča'âbi ruins.

in all probability, originally a canal. At 1.50 we had on the west the hamlet of al-Ṛarânîž and numerous islets in the river. From 2.33 to 3.05 our camels grazed. At 3.38 we left the fields and at 3.52 struck a hard road, strewn with fine sand. The wind here blows the sand over the level flood plain and forms small, dark gray hillocks in which *ṭarfa* thrives well. Here and there long drifts accumulate, which greatly damage the fields. At 4.20 we came to an ancient channel of the Euphrates called Abu Ḥamâm. At 4.30 our guide showed us, at a distance of about eight kilometers to the east near Dawrîn,

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According to Polybius, *op. cit.*, V, 52, the town of Dura lay on the left bank of the Tigris and was liberated (220 B. C.) by Antiochus III on his expedition against Molon. We cannot therefore seek Parapotamia along the Tigris but must look for it along the Euphrates; the town of Europus may, then, be identical with the Macedonian colony of Europus or our ač-Ča'âbi.

The Potamia stretching on the Euphrates adjoined Arabia on its southern border (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 3 : 1).

In the first half of the fourth century of our era the town of Dura was deserted (Hoffmann, *Auszüge* [1880], pp. 28 f.).

the ruins of a small building, the monastery Dejr aṣ-Ṣwêwîne, as he said. At 4.53 we had on our right the Tell al-Maʿâdi ruins.

AL-MERWÂNIJJE TO AL-BSEJRA ON AL-ḤÂBÛR

Turning north, at 6.05 we reached the al-Merwânijje ruins (Fig. 52), now entirely fallen to pieces. The central part forms an oblong, 60 meters long from east to west by 30 meters wide. At every eighteen meters the ruin is rounded, suggesting that the fortification wall was strengthened by bastions or side towers. An oblong enclosure — a fortified camp, perhaps — surrounding the central part is adjoined on the east by a tall, roundish heap of stonework. The Dawrîn canal flows about one and a half kilometers to the northeast, but a side branch of it brought water as far as al-Merwânijje.[89]

Leaving at 6.20 in a north-northwesterly direction, we encamped at 6.40 at al-Ǧirdi, where we determined the latitude.

On May 20, 1915, we left our camp at 4.45 A. M. At five o'clock we had the small ruins and shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ḫâled about one kilometer to the south. At 5.45 we rode past the al-Mežtele ruins, which form four extensive heaps. On the right bank of the Euphrates we saw a hill about twenty meters high and consisting of ruins, the eastern side of which was washed by the Euphrates. On the summit was the settlement of al-ʿAšâra, where the Government had a representative before Dejr az-Zôr was restored. In and around al-ʿAšâra and among all the ruins as far as Dejr az-Zôr, the *fellâḥîn* spend much time excavating for antiquities, Tell Krâḥ on the left bank opposite al-Mijâḏîn being especially productive in that respect.

We were now traversing the fertile flood plain of Swêdân, which is bordered on the east by the fields of al-Ḥâmed. Our guide again gave vent to his spleen, uttering accusations against the chief, Tabbân eben Ḥefle, from the ʿAḳejdât tribe, who had taken camels and sheep from the *fellâḥîn* in the whole region from al-ʿErṣi to al-Ḫâbûr and then to aṣ-Ṣwar, the Government rewarding him with a decoration for this show of zeal. His father, Ḥefle eben ʿAbdallâh, is said to be known for his cruelty, for he had killed three of his nephews and a guest whom he had robbed.

[89] See below, Appendix XIV.

At 6.50 the little shrine of aš-Šejḫ ʿAmše appeared to the north on the eastern spur of Tell Ǧemma. From 7.00 to 7.35 the camels grazed opposite the hamlet of al-Ǧzejre on the right bank. On the left bank the fertile flood plain narrowed

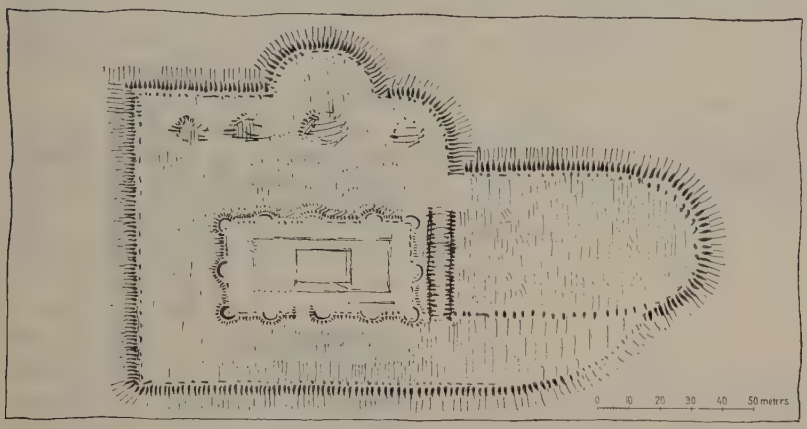

Fig. 52—Plan of al-Merwânijje ruins.

down considerably, being bounded on the east by the Sarât al-Ǧemma branch of the Euphrates, along which we were now riding. On the right bank rose a ruin mound about fifteen meters high, on which stood the large settlement of al-Ḳrejje or at-Tell. After eight o'clock the *ḥâwi* (flood plain) grew wider again. At 8.20 we reached another branch which leaves the Euphrates north of al-Ḳrejje.

From 8.31 to 9.04 we examined the large al-Msâjeḥ ruin (Fig. 53). This is enclosed by high but irregular walls. The eastern side is 480, the northern 532 meters long. The southern side bulges out and has a gate at about the center; the western changes its direction several times. The walls, more than five meters in thickness, are built of brick. The whole is covered with a deep layer of crumbled bricks, so that it was impossible to form any definite conclusions about its construction. To the west on the right bank lay the extensive al-Meḥkân ruins and to our left towards the northwest stood the hamlet and ruins of Tell Dambûḳ; beyond these are the ruins and settlement of aṭ-Ṭajjâne and to the north-northwest the Krâḥ ruins. Not until 9.22 did we see to the west-northwest beyond the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭajjâne the castle of ar-Rḥaba, stand-

ing out clearly on the horizon above the western bluffs. The castle itself shone dark red, while the hill on which it stands was a rose color in the middle and violet at the base. By its position the castle dominates the whole surrounding country and forms as it were a threat to the traveler, no matter from what direction he may be coming.

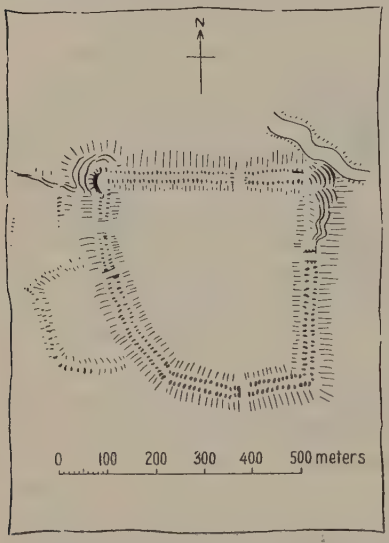

FIG. 53—Plan of al-Msâjeḥ ruin.

At 10.05 we had to the south-southwest the fields of Dîbân, to the north-northwest the Krâḥ ruins, and about three kilometers to the north, the Dawrîn canal. At 10.35 to the west of us on our side of the river lay the small hamlet of al-Ṛrejb and on the opposite side the town of al-Mijâdîn. At 10.55 we crossed a broad ditch issuing from the Dawrîn canal; at 11.45 we saw on the left the Ṭâmme ruins with the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Mḥammad and to the west the hamlet of al-Ḥawâjeğ. From 11.55 to 1.20 P. M. we rested before crossing the cultivated plain of aš-Šḫejl. At 2.15 we went through the Ḳrajet az-Zhejje ruin, which stretches from east to west; in its eastern part stands a large heap of brickwork not unlike the remains of a fortress. To the northwest a precipitous ridge extending from north to south, upon which stood the remains of the old fort of Ḳarḳîsija' and the huts of the new settlement of al-Bsejra, made a powerful impression upon us. The ruin mound of az-Zirr to the west projected above the fields of al-Môḫ; to the north was the river bank of al-Ḫâbûr, and to the northeast the remnants of the ancient buildings of the Ṭa'ô. At 2.50 we crossed an ancient irrigation ditch running out of al-Ḫâbûr. On the west, on the left bank of the Euphrates, the Ḳerjet az-Zirr ruins were visible. At 3.05 we rode through some old ruins, where, however, all the building material had been carried away and nothing was left but small pieces of bricks and shards.

At 3.40 we crossed al-Ḥâbûr by a new bridge which rests on eight stone pillars and is provided with a wooden railing. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages paid for its construction. The bridge toll amounts to two piasters (9 cents) for one camel with a load; for one camel without a load, one piaster; for one mule with a load, four metalliks (6 cents); for one mule without a load, two metalliks. Then we passed through a broad, open space dividing some ruins on a hillock from more ruins in a flat called al-Mitraṣ lying to the east; and at 3.50 we halted at the northeastern base of the hillock, where we had to wait until 4.45, when two new gendarmes replaced those who had accompanied us from Râwa. After their arrival we headed through the fields of al-Brâḥa and al-Flêwa to the northwest.

AL-BSEJRA

The settlement of al-Bsejra[90] is built in the southwestern quarter of the extensive ruins which cover the ridge overlooking the outlet of al-Ḥâbûr into the Euphrates. Its 130 houses are grouped in two quarters: al-Ǧôba, administered by Šibli al-Ḥsên as elder, and al-ʿAlje, administered by Ḫalaf an-Nâjef. Of the ancient buildings not a single one remains intact; there are only a few columns and hewn blocks to be seen. Evidently the better kind of building material has been carried away either to ar-Raḥba or ar-Raḳḳa. Most of the antiquities are obtained by the *fellâḥîn* in the quarter called al-Mitraṣ.

At 5.30 we saw to the east-northeast, at the southern foot of the height of ar-Raḳḳâʿa, the ruin mound Tell al-Ǧeben and at 5.40 we encamped near the shrine of aš-Šeḫ al-ʿAbbôni, where we determined the latitude.

[90] See below, Appendix XIII.

CHAPTER XII

AL-ḤÂBÛR TO BÂLIS BY WAY OF DEJR AZ-ZÔR

AL-BSEJRA TO DEJR AZ-ZÔR

On May 21, 1915, we set out at 5.02 A. M. through the level plain of al-Flêwa, which extends between the Euphrates and al-Ḫâbûr. Near the former we saw at 5.15 the ad-Dwâlîb ruin and to the northwest the volcanoes of al-Ḥžêfât.

At 5.20 we were in the margin of the flood plain of as-Sabḫa and at 6.12 passed through the fields of al-Ǧedîd past the little shrine of aš-Šejḫ Mḥammad al-Uejs (Fig. 54), which stands at the edge of a terrace that falls off about five meters to the alluvial flood plain (*ḥâwi*). It seems that the Euphrates here originally flowed close to the eastern slope of its valley, as it does even now between the shrine of Mḥammad al-Uejs and al-Bsejra. The terrace, which the road crosses, is a bare level without annuals or even perennials, except for an occasional patch of the sparse, dry annuals known as *ḥemri*. At 6.47 our guide pointed out to us to the west-southwest on the right bank of the river the saddle-shaped hillock of al-Hrejm, in which the *fellâḥîn* dig for ancient remains. At 7.33 the two hills of aš-Šrufijjât came into view on the northwest. From 7.40 to 8.09 our camels grazed on the banks of a creek branching out of the Euphrates, the Sarât al-Bu ʿAmr, near the al-Mžêbre ruins on the outskirts of the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭâbijje. At 8.20 the settlement of Umm Ḥasan was sighted to the west on the right bank. At 8.45 we rode past the sepulchral mound of aš-Šejḫ Mišref, erected in the center of a cemetery where branches and stems of the *ṭarfa* had been planted at the head of some of the graves (Fig. 55). At 8.50 we passed in an old dry channel of the Euphrates the blind branch Sarât al-Ḫšâm. At 9.15 we saw to our right on the right bank of the old channel the large al-Mâlḥa ruins. At 9.40 we entered the deep dry channel of as-Sabʿa and, passing through this, arrived at the as-Sinn ruins, where we halted from 10.50 to 12.06 P. M.

The ruin mound Tell as-Sinn (Fig. 56) is encircled on the east, south and west by ramparts and on the north by irrigation

ditches, the latter of which also served as a means of defense. In the northwest corner of the ruins stand a small shrine with two slender marble columns, slabs of marble, and a few fragments of column heads inside. There are more than fifty pits in the ruins, dug by people looking for antiquities. The road from Tell as-Sinn to ad-Dejr leads between the irrigated fields of Marrâd, al-Haṭla, and al-Ḥsênijje.

At 1.18 we reached the bridge connecting the town of ad-Dejr, which is situated on the west side of the river, with an islet and with the left bank. From this bank eleven finished pillars supporting the bridge run into the river; but the rest of the bridge rests on boats. As soon as we had crossed, I went to the government building to see the *mutaṣarref* (administrator of the district). He was asleep. Then I went to the gendarme station. Everybody was sleeping there. Having awakened the officer in command, I showed him my letters of recommendation and asked for two gendarmes to accompany me farther. He made the excuse that without the *mutaṣarref*'s consent he could not help me. To this I replied that I would wait for his gendarmes until three o'clock outside the town and that if they did not come, I should continue my journey. This worked: a little after two o'clock a rider came galloping after us, asking me to present myself at once to the *mutaṣarref*. My answer was that, as I had been there already, it was now his turn to visit me, since he had been asleep when I called. Not long afterwards the *mutaṣarref*'s secretary came with the request that I should at least send him my papers for inspection. I referred him to the gendarme commander, who had copied the most important passages in them. At 2.50, just when we were finishing our tea, we saw two gendarmes galloping towards us. They halted and reported themselves as the escort for which I had asked. Nâṣer gave them each a cup of tea.

DEJR AZ-ZÔR TO AṬ-ṬREJFÂWI

At 3.12 we left the place where we had rested. It was about two kilometers from the government building and one and a half from the town. At 3.30 the highroad on which we were riding crossed the small *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧûra to the left of the hamlet of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje. After four o'clock no more fields were to be seen on the right bank, as the rocky bluffs reach

right down to the water in these parts. On the left bank lay the huts of al-Ğnêne and al-Maʿejšijje among extensive cultivated fields. After 4.40 we rode between lava rocks and at 5.06 crossed at the hamlet of al-Bṛêlijje the small but deep *šeʿîb* of Abu Ṭnêṭîl (Father of a Small Conical Cap), named thus after a high pile of stones resembling a cap, above its left bank. This *šeʿîb* was joined on its left by a small tributary, the *šeʿîb* of al-Erḫâm. At 5.45 we had on our left a road branching off to the cultivated valleys of al-Maḥašš and al-Ḳṣejbe; at 5.55 we passed on our right the extinct volcanoes of al-Ḥžêfât; at 6.05 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ğumʿ, on the right-hand side of which gushes the vigorous spring of ʿAjjâš; at 6.10 we sighted on the left the aẓ-Ẓabi ruins standing on a crag, and then turned east into the cultivated level plain of al-Ḫrêṭa, where we observed a camp of the ʿAḳejdât. Our gendarmes had no barley for their horses. As the path which we took here turned to the east and became wetter at every step, and as the camp of the *fellâḥîn* was some distance away, I sent the younger gendarme thither for barley, while we set off northward through the alluvial plain. Before long we found ourselves on a spit of land surrounded by swamps. Unable to advance and not willing to go back, we made our camp at 7.15. There was nothing for the camels to graze on; and as we could not find any fuel with which to cook our supper, we lay down without it. Like our animals, we suffered much from the mosquitoes, which swarmed down upon us in thousands.

Fig. 54 - From aš-Šejḫ Mḥammad al-Uejs looking west.

On May 22, 1915, at 4.45 A. M. we were glad to leave the spot, where we had been unable to close an eye all night. Returning southwest, at 5.21 we struck the highroad which we had quitted the evening before. On the left bank of the river at this point is a group of hamlets, al-Mḥêmîde, Abu Sefîr, al-Ḥwâjeğ, az-Zṛajjer, and Saʿwa with some mounds of ruins standing at the last-named. At 5.45 we reached the alluvial plain of aš-Šmêṭijje, which is covered with a growth

of *ṭarfa* brush. In the Euphrates we saw the islets Ḥawâjeğ ad-Damm. At 6.50 we passed the bluff of Ṭâbûs, on which lies a small heap of old brickwork. From 6.10 to 6.38 our camels pastured in the level plain of aš-Šmêṭijje, which extends for fifteen kilometers in length and in some places is as much as ten kilometers wide. If the *ṭarfa* were cleared away and the plain partly irrigated, both rice and cotton could be raised there with success. At 7.40 we saw on the east-northeast the house of the *mudîr* of aš-Šmêṭijje and on the left bank, beyond the Ḥamâr fields, that of the *mudîr* of al-Kasra.

Fig. 55—*Ṭarfa* pole on a grave.

At 8.07 we crossed the *še'îb* of al-Ma'mûri, above the left bank of which there are said to be the remains of an ancient fortress. The bluffs of as-Sêkarân, along which the highroad leads, are about twenty-five meters high and are eroded out of clay in which are many small holes, the abode of countless pigeons and small ravens. At 8.20 we left the flood plain (*ḥâwi*) and from 8.32 to 8.50 halted on the southeastern borders of the jagged region of al-Faṣṣâjât.

AṬ-ṬREJFÂWI TO AL-MA'DÂN

At 9.03 we saw on the right the fields of al-Miṣrab and al-Mišrâḳa and on a rocky spur to the north the deserted hamlet of aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi or aṭ-Ṭrejf. Formerly a road led through this hamlet, but as this road sank in at several places, the present road was built leading around it, and the hamlet was abandoned. At 9.25 we sighted to the north-northwest the Ḥalebijje ruins and to the north-northeast the outlet of the ancient irrigation canal of al-Masrân, through which water was once led along the foot of the Ḥarmûšijje escarpment, which shut in the alluvial plain of al-Kebar on the east. At

9.40 we crossed the deep, wide *šeʿîb* of aṭ-Ṭrejf and at 10.18 passed the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi. At 10.22 we saw ahead of us the huge table-mountain of al-Ḥamme, which is cleft by the river and at the southeastern foot of which lies Ḥalebijje.[91]

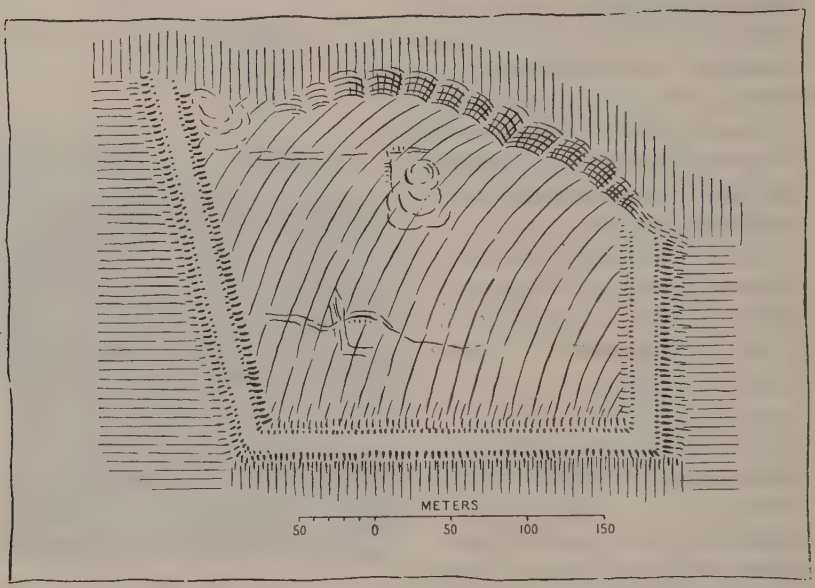

Fig. 56—Tell as-Sinn.

On the left bank south of the defile are the Zelebijje ruins, just below which the ancient canal of al-Masrân issued from the Euphrates and from which a patch of flood plain extends as far south as the outlet of this canal.

From 10.45 to 12.20 P. M. we let our camels graze at the end of the ravine Siḥel az-Zṛejjer in the large meadow of al-Ubêṭje before the gendarme station of at-Tibni. At 12.40 we crossed the deep valley of the Siḥel al-Eḳrêr; on its left bank a khan was just being built. The Siḥel al-Eḳrêr starts at the cone of al-ʿObêd, to the southwest of which lies the well of Čerlajûk and to the east of which runs the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿElêži coming from the Žetab al Bišri range. The latter *šeʿîb* joins al-Eḳrêr by the well of al-ʿElêži. Northeast of this junction the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥaramijje merges with al-Eḳrêr on the left. Al-Ḥaramijje (or Siḥel al-Čebîr) comes from the pyramidal

[91] See below, Appendix XII.

hill of Ṭerb and borders the ridge of as-Sirre on the south. In this *šeʿîb* lies the well of al-Ḥaramijje.

The station of at-Tibni lies on a bluff beyond the khan and about fifteen meters above the highway. At 1.18 we had on our left close to the highway the small aš-Šejḫât ruins, east of which rises the sepulchral mound of Mizâr aš-Šejḫ Mubârek; from some reeds stuck in the ground above this mound a few headcloths fluttered merrily in the breeze. At 1.40 the Ḥalebijje ruins were sighted almost due north. The level plain between them and the highway is called ad-Dečče and the slope northeast of the latter al-Wusâʿ. From Ḥalebijje to al-Ḳṣubi the footpath Drejb al-Wâwi leads along the river past the ʿAjn al-Muẓîẓ. North of Ḥalebijje on the left bank stands the little shrine of Abu-l-ʿAtîẓ, close to which rises the volcano of al-Ḳlejb on the left side of the *šeʿîb* of al-Murr. Farther west, also on the left bank and in the small *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥleḳe, are situated the hamlets of al-Ḫânûḳa[92] and Ḳerje Šâṭi.

[92] Al-Ḫânûḳa is same word as the Assyrian *ḫinḳi* and the Byzantine Annukas.

Asurnazirpal III (Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 24], col. 3, l. 30; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 354) penetrated in 877 B. C. to a defile [(*ḫinḳi*)] on the left bank of the Euphrates.

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 6 : 12, relates that beyond Circesium is situated an old fort called Annukas, the fortifications of which were in an advanced state of dilapidation. On learning this, the Emperor Justinian I had it restored so thoroughly that it equaled any town.

The Pseudo-Wâḳedi, *Futûḥ* (Ewald), pp. 4 f., relates that ʿEjâḍ (one of the commanders of the first Moslems conquering Mesopotamia) while preparing for the expedition against Râs al-ʿAjn, sent two troops against two forts, one of which lay on the right, the other on the left bank of the Euphrates. Leaving ʿEjâḍ's camp at Bulîl before evening, these troops arrived near al-Ḫânûḳa before daybreak at two o'clock. — The text gives the names of the forts as "RBa"' and "ZLa'." Correctly, the first should read Zabba', as it designates the residence of Queen Zabba', or the modern Ḥalebijje. For the second I read Zalabja or Zelebijje. At Bulîl, opposite the town of ar-Raḳḳa (Callinicus), was the best ford across the Euphrates, and therefore ʿEjâḍ must have encamped there, intending to set out afterwards along al-Baliḫ to the bridge at Râs al-ʿAjn. As the distance from Bulîl to al-Ḫânûḳa is eighty kilometers, the troops had to march at a rate of nearly eight kilometers an hour.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 139, says that al-Ḫânûḳa forms a halting place on the road about halfway between Ḳarḳîsija' and ar-Raḳḳa, and the starting point of a road which reaches the settlement of ʿArâbân on al-Ḫâbûr after four days' march. —

From Ḳarḳîsija' to al-Ḫânûḳa is almost one hundred kilometers, but from there to ar-Raḳḳa is only sixty kilometers. The road from al-Ḫânûḳa to ʿArâbân, a total distance of about one hundred kilometers, led past the watering place of Abu Ḳbara and the al-Mâlḥa ruins. One march between al-Ḫânûḳa and ʿArâbân would have been scarcely twenty-five kilometers long, or about the distance a heavily laden camel can cover in a day.

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 320, writes that al-Ḫânûḳa is a town built by Queen az-Zabba' on the bank of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia. When the water in the river became low the queen caused a dam to be built across and a strongly roofed passage constructed underneath it. After this the dam was removed so that the water flowed over the hidden passage. This enabled the queen when in danger to take refuge with her sister az-Zobejba. —

Al-Bekri in this instance confuses al-Ḫânûḳa with the fort of Ḥalebijje. Queen az-Zabba' resided on the right bank of the Euphrates, while al-Ḫânûḳa is on the left. According to the Pseudo-Wâḳedi the residence of az-Zabba' should be sought on the right bank opposite a similar fort on the left. This second fort must be identical with the town of her sister az-Zobejba. The hidden passage under the river must have led, therefore, from Ḥalebijje, the seat of Queen az-Zabba', to the residence of her sister, az-Zobejba, on the opposite shore.

Sibṭ ibn al-Ǧawzi records (Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *Ḏajl* [Amedroz], p. 116) that in 1063 the sons of Maḥmûd ibn ar-Rawḳalijje were given al-Ḫânûḳa, Ḳarḳîsija', and Duwejra, all of which then belonged to the administrative district of ar-Raḥba.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 145, calls Ḫânûḳa a very small town with a well frequented market place and active commerce.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 394; Vol. 4, pp. 560f., and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 3, p. 113, say that al-Ḫânûḳa is situated on the Euphrates, not far from

Opposite al-Ḳṣubi the flood plain to the left of the Euphrates begins to widen; the hamlets of Metlûleh and al-Ǧezra are situated on this part of the plain.

The fields on both sides of the Euphrates from at-Tibni to al-Kassâra (or al-Kasra) are owned by the Afâẓle subdivision of the Šaʿbân tribe, with the following clans:

al-Mûsa Ẓâher	(chief: Hwejdi eben Šlâš)
al-Ḥawwas	
Šibel	(chief: Mḥammad abu Ḥadîd)
al-Baḳḳâra	
az-Zijârât	(chief: Mḥammad Agha).
as-Sabḫa	

At 2.10 we crossed the small *šeʿîb* of as-Sḳûrijje. From 2.35 to 3.04 our camels grazed. The rugged district of al-Faṣṣâjât to the south of us forms a continuation of the mountain range of al-Bišri. The latter is divided by the Siḥel al-Čebîr ravine from the ridge of as-Sirre, a broad tract furrowed by deep gullies, which stretches northeastward. It ends on the northeast in the table-mountain of al-Ḥamme, which is covered with a stratum of lava a meter and a half thick. At 3.30 we reached the highest point of the gap dividing as-Sirre from al-Ḥamme. To the southwest we saw the range Žetab al-Bišri, with five low cones projecting above it. At 4.20 we passed the end of the lava stratum. The undulating slopes west of the ridge of as-Sirre are called al-Ǧhamaʾ and on the northwest al-Ḥaṣṣâṣ. At 5.15 we saw the saddle-shaped hillock of Ṭerb, with, to the north of it, the lower, similarly shaped Ṭrejb, below which is the well of al-Ḫnêfes. The undulating slopes here are without well defined watercourses, as the run-off flows into numerous subterranean caverns, dolines (*daḥl;* plural, *dḥûl*). From 6.14 to 6.39 our camels pastured on the slope of al-Miṭne. Beyond the Euphrates on the west-northwestern horizon the two volcanoes of al-Menâḫer and north of them the long ridge of al-Bêẓa came into view. To our left on the southern slope of the elevation of al-Ḥaṣṣâṣ was the ʿAḳlat ar-Raʿijje and to our right far below us lay the hamlet of al-Ḳṣubi. At this point converge all the numerous gullies which separate the various spurs forming

ar-Raḳḳa. Al-Maḍîḳ, the supposed location of Queen az-Zabba"s town, is sought by Jâḳût's informants between the districts of al-Ḫânûḳa and Ḳarḳîsija' on the Euphrates; Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, on the other hand, refers to al-Maḍîḳ as a place between the town of Queen az-Zabba' and the districts of al-Ḫânûḳa and Ḳarḳîsija'. —

Al-Maḍîḳ is the name of the narrow gorge which the Euphrates has dug for itself at al-Ḥamme through the lava-covered spurs of the ridge of al-Bišri. Al-Ḫânûḳa lies on the left bank about midway up this gorge, while the residence of az-Zabba', the Ḥalebijje of today, is situated on the right bank at the east end of the gorge.

the eastern edge of the plateau we were traversing. West of al-Ḳṣubi flows the spring of Metlûleh, and north of it extend the fields of al-Farwa. At eight o'clock we made camp beside the gendarme station of al-Maʿdân, where we determined the latitude.

AL-MAʿDÂN TO THE SÛRIJA RUINS

On May 23, 1915, we were on the road again at 4.45 A.M. As guide we had a deserter, a native of al-Farwa, which belongs to the Baḳḳâra clan of the Afâẓle. The gendarme accompanying us was to escort him to the next gendarme station. We were now going past the fields of as-Swêde and al-Ḫamîsije opposite the al-Baḳʿa and Daʿḳûr ruins on the left bank. At 5.10 we saw on the left bank the end of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥass and then rode through the fields of al-Mšêrfe and Zôr Šammar. From 6.54 to 7.15 our camels grazed in the fields of al-Moṛla. The upland to the south here descends by steep bluffs to the flood plain (*ḥâwi*), which is overgrown here and there with *ṭarfa* and in some places is cultivated. No bluffs were to be seen on the left bank, where the *hâwi* of al-Ḥass gradually merges into the rolling upland plain. On the left bank appeared the little shrine of Abu Saʿîd and west of it by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫfejjân the hamlet of al-Berjež; farther west are the ruin mounds of ad-Dûḫijje and al-Hadâwi, the hamlets of aš-Šaṛaʾ (or aš-Šaṛawle) and al-Ǧdejde, the as-Sulṭân ruins, and the fields of al-Fâdse and as-Smêri. At 8.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫarrâr, which cleaves the bluffs here to a great depth and also divides the fields of al-Ǧrajbe from the level plain of aš-Šerîde to the west. At 10.38 from aš-Šerîde we ascended the rocky spur of al-Mrûṭ, which falls off into the swamps of as-Sabʿa. At 10.53 we were on the *ḥâwi* of as-Sabḫa. The highway in these parts leads along the foot of a line of rocky bluffs. East of it stretches a strip of fields some hundred meters wide, and beyond them as far as the Euphrates extend swampy lands covered with *ṭarfa*. The small ponds were swarming with wild ducks, but there was no way of approaching them. At 11.32 we passed the mill of the as-Sabḫa *fellâḥîn*, who cultivate the flood plain between at-Tibni and al-Kassâra. From 11.45 to 1.45 P.M. we rested at ar-Ṛhabi.

At two o'clock we saw on a bluff to our left the remains of the medieval fortress of an-Nḫejla and at 2.30 on the left

the piles of brick of the Sennân ruins. We left the *ḫâwi* at the foot of the bluffs of al-Merwaze, but at 2.47 descended to the *ḫâwi* of ad-Dlaḥa. South of al-Merwaze is the basin of al-Bêt. From 3.14 to 3.44 our camels grazed.

We next rode through the defile Mazîž al-ʿAkerše (Fig. 57), which has been cut through the rocks to make a highway. At 4.15 we saw on the bluffs at our left the medieval fortress of Ṣaffîn and at 4.30 on the right some ruins, with the sepulchral mound of aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd. At five o'clock the bluff Ǧurf al-Ḥamar was reached; at 5.20 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Bîr, which leads from the well of al-ʿAmaʾ, and at six o'clock encamped at the western border of the Ǧurf al-Ḥamar not far from the camp of the Welde, the owners of the flood plain west of al-Kassâra. In the camp were about twenty deserters, waiting to be transported to Aleppo. They all had shackles on their hands. The gendarmes complained that soldiers of this sort will not stay in Aleppo longer than two weeks. After that time they will desert again. The *fellâḥîn* again cursed the Government, which they said first takes everything from them and then compels them to catch and feed deserters.

Beginning at al-ʿAššâš, north of al-Meskene, both sides of the Euphrates as far as at-Tibni are strewn with camps of the Šaʿbân tribe, which is subdivided into al-Welde and al-Afâẓle.

The Welde own the land from al-ʿAššâš to al-Kassâra, number about three thousand tents, and consist of the following clans:

al-Welde	(chief: Aḥmad al-Farağ ad-Dendel)
al-Wardât	(„ Ḥaṭṭâb eben ʿAbdallâh)
al-Bu Ṣallâḥ	
al-Bu Musarra	
al-Ḥafâğe	(„ Ḥalaf al-Ḥağği)
Mežâdme	(„ Mazḥi)
al-Bu Ḥasan	(„ Frejğ al-ʿAbdalžâder)
al-Ḥwewât	(„ ʿAmûd aṣ-Ṣabr)
al-Ǧrejjât	(„ Ḥamûd eben ʿAbdalʿâl)
aš-Šafrât	(„ Aḥmad al-Burṣân)
al-Marâdât	(„ Klâḫ)
al-Bu Ǧâber	(„ Mabrûk as-Saṭam)
al-ʿAžêl	(„ Ḥamri eben Mellâʿîsa)
al-ʿAli	(„ ʿAli an-Nâṣer)
al-Bu Ḥmêd	(„ Ibrâhîm aš-Šlâš)
al-Ǧaʿabât	(„ Mḥammad eben ʿAbdallâh)
al-Bu Ẓâher	(„ Slîmân eben Mellâli)
al-ʿÂmer	(„ Aḥmad al-ʿÎsa).

The high chief on the right bank of the Euphrates is Aḥmad al-Farağ ad-Dendel, on the left bank Aḥmad al-Burṣân.

On May 24, 1915, we set out at 4.33 A.M. From 4.40 on a cold wind was blowing from the west. Ahead of us the rocky spur of aẓ-Ẓejže was seen, on the left the two volcanoes of al-Menâḫer, the ruin mound of Zejdân, the towers of the old

Fig. 57—Maẓîž (defile of) al-ʿAkerše.

walls of the town of ar-Raḳḳa, as well as the chatelet of Heraḳla. The highway we rode on is built alongside an old canal and branch of the Euphrates, the Sarât aẓ-Ẓejže, a remnant of an ancient channel.[93] At 5.26 we were at the little shrine Mizâr aš-Šejḫ Asʿad. This consists of a small rectangular building with a pyramidal tower, a large hut, and a well near a long pile of ancient brickwork about ten meters high, together with a few smaller heaps of building materials. The bluffs to the south are called al-Ḳâṭer. At 6.21 we had on our right about two hundred meters from the highway two groups of ruins known as al-Maṛâmer; the one to the south, which extends from west to east, is apparently of later origin, whereas the

[93] On the part of the Euphrates valley between here and Abu Hrêra, see also pp. 93—96 above.

northern one is of larger dimensions and much older. Close to the ruins runs an ancient canal.

From 6.51 to 7.24 we waited for our gendarme, who should have been exchanged at the station Nuḳṭat al-Kassâra, or al-Kasra. On the left bank, west of the river al-Balîḫ, begins a range of hillocks which presents a steep face towards the Euphrates and is deeply gullied. At 8.30 we had on our right the island Ḥawîğet Ḥamdân. The Euphrates has here formed a new channel for itself; the abandoned channel was on our right at 8.51, with a heap of ruins above it and to the west a sand knoll. At nine o'clock we crossed the small *šeʿîb* of as-Siḥel, the first deep one after leaving al-Ḫarrâr. At 9.14 we rode through the *šeʿîb* of al-Fansa, at 9.18 crossed a smaller gully, at 9.25 sighted on the right some large ruins, at 9.50 again more ruins, and at 10.11, when past the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ḳbêʿ, reached the edge of plateau which spreads south of the Euphrates flood plain and is here covered with small knolls and intersected by narrow gullies. To the north the old channel of the river was now plainly visible.

After 10.50 we were able to overlook the whole region both to the west and northwest. The valley which the Euphrates has dug for itself in the plateau seemed deeper than it really is, and the numerous islets formed dark green spots on the yellowish surface of the great stream, just then violently agitated by a west wind which had free access to the water, as the river flows here from west to east. From 11.00 to 12.08 P. M. we rested in the small *šeʿîb* of Abu Habâṭa. At 12.30 the two cones of Ṯadejjên came into view, and at 12.55 we had on the right the ruins of the town of Sûrija, encircled by about two hundred tents of a Fedʿân clan.

SÛRIJA RUINS TO BÂLIS

The ruins of Sûrija[94] are about six hundred meters long from east to west, but they are of no great width. The western half is the oldest as well as the strongest part. At 1.10 we saw on our right by the highway the foundation walls of a building facing east and some fragments of sarcophagi lying close to it. South of the ruins the plateau was cleared of stones and changed into fields and gardens; a few tracts were under cultivation. West of Sûrija the upland, on which there lie heaps of ruins some three hundred meters long, slopes

[94] See below, Appendix X.

gradually down to the very channel of the Euphrates, in such a way that the river always has been easy of access at this point. On the opposite side solid ground likewise reaches to the water, with no swamp between it and the channel; hence it has been possible to build a pontoon bridge here.

At 1.50 we had on the right the station of al-Ḥammâm. Here our gendarme disappeared and his place was taken by a soldier of the line, an infantryman armed with his rifle, who announced that he would accompany us. He was a native of the town of Kilis, north of Aleppo, and planned to get a furlough in this way without having to ask for leave. At 2.06 we had on our right a small ruin, with finely hewn stone blocks lying about. From 2.12 to 2.32 we watered our camels. At 3.54 we passed on our left the two conical hills of Ṯa-dejjên. The al-Hnejda ruin lying west of these is of larger extent than that of Sûrija. West of al-Hnejda we descended through the small *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥulmi into the wide valley of as-Sêle, which affords easy access to the channel of the Euphrates. No swamps are visible anywhere on the right side; on the left the channel touches the peninsula of al-Ḳdêrân. At five o'clock we passed through the small gully of al-Ḳbûr. The west wind now raised a sandstorm which caused the usually smooth surface of the Euphrates to roll in mighty waves. We made camp at 6.08 south of the highway in a protected gully which joins the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šajba coming from the low hillocks of Ṭaraḳ Ambâğ.

On May 25, 1915, at 4.03 A. M. we took the highway in a westerly direction. The sandstorm had abated a little by now, but the cold wind was still blowing hard. At 5.26 we crossed the wide *šeʿîb* of aš-Šajba.[95]

At 6.15 we saw on the north-northwest, in the sand fog below us, the fort Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar and at 6.20 ahead of us the deep basin of an-Nfele, which is open to the north and has a row of white hillocks projecting from it. The basin is bounded on the east by the slope of the upland of al-Hôra and on the southwest by the spurs of the Ṭaraḳ al-ʿAṭfa, along which stretches the *šeʿîb* of al-Minṣef. The descent was quite difficult, the new highway having been dismantled and having sunken in at some places. Unable to get our benumbed fingers warm, we built a fire at 6.27, around which we sat until 7.55.

[95] Al-Aḫṭal, *Diwân* (Salhani), p. 100, mentions a Du Šajba. — The vicinity of the present *šeʿîb* of aš-Šajba was owned formerly by the Taṛleb tribe, of which al-Aḫṭal was a member.

At 8.10 we observed among old ruins on our right three Moslem mausoleums (two were well preserved but one had collapsed) called Banât abu Hrêra, and west of them a slender minaret. North of Banât abu Hrêra, on an isolated hill on the left bank of the Euphrates, stands the fort Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar and west of it on another hill the little shrine of as-Sulṭân. On the right bank the tents of the Fedʿân showed black. After 8.30 we followed an ancient canal and at 8.54 were riding between cultivated fields. At 9.25 we had on our right the three small houses of the gendarme station of Abu Hrêra. At 10.20 we reached the end of the cultivated area. On our left large herds of camels were grazing, made up not only of the slender, well-shaped animals of inner Arabia, but also of some belonging to the strong, bony breed of the regions farther north, a breed suitable for carrying heavy burdens. At 11.05 we passed through an old canal and from 11.05 to 1.07 P. M. rested on the edge of cultivated land. At two o'clock we rode by a few ruin mounds and past a large canal where our camels pastured from 2.10 to 2.28.

At 2.40 we sighted on our right east of the canal the ruins of the large settlement of al-Ḥwêra with a small cemetery. At 2.51 we reached the southeastern edge of the ad-Dibsi ruins, which consist of two parts, one lying on a flat-topped hillock overlooking the bluffs by the river and the other constituting the lower town at the foot of the hillock. At three o'clock we were at the southwest end of the town site and at 3.05 in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳṣejr, which is eroded deeply in white limestone. On its right bank stood two huts. We now proceeded through an undulating rocky plain across numerous small gullies and at 4.05 reached some small ruins standing close to cultivated ground. From 2.40 to 4.45 our camels grazed. At 5.06 we saw on the left about four hundred meters from the highway the remnants of the small square building of al-Fẖêẖe; we then descended into the deep *šeʿîb* of Umm Ḫarûm, which is shut in by limestone walls and from which we emerged at 5.38 on the level plain of ar-Radhe.

On reaching the river bank, from it we saw the Bâlis ruins with a tall minaret. South of the minaret rises a high tower and to the west two more remnants of pyramidal towers. From 5.44 to 6.00 o'clock we watered our camels in the Euphrates. This great river, as it seems, never flowed immediately past Bâlis, for nowhere could I find a trace of an old

channel. An irrigation canal ran about three hundred meters east of the ruins, south of which it followed the foot of a rocky bluff, on top of which rise the ad-Dibsi ruins; it then turned off into the flood plain, where at two o'clock we passed it. At some time in the Middle Ages the Euphrates broke into the middle of this canal, washing away the fertile flat beneath the bluffs of ad-Dibsi, and at that time both the upper and lower part of the canal dried up. The fields north of the canal could have been irrigated directly, but on the south the water had to be obtained by pumping. By the remains of a pump once used for this purpose we bivouacked at 6.37, having first determined the latitude.[96]

[96] On Bâlis, see below, Appendix VIII. The narrative of the completion of this journey from Bâlis to Damascus will be found in the author's forthcoming volume, *Palmyrena*, which will constitute No. 4 of the present series.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES IN THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The Middle Euphrates Valley

The desert river Euphrates has cut its valley about forty meters deep into the surrounding plateau. Although in places the valley is scarcely two hundred meters wide, in others it broadens to a width of as much as ten kilometers. At the level of the river on both banks there are flood plains of varying extent, which could be converted into luxurious gardens and fertile fields by irrigation. Against cold winds these flood plains are protected by the high bluffs and valley walls, but they have a great enemy in the river itself, which, constantly changing its course, washes away their fertile soil, forms and reforms islands and swamps, and makes new channels for itself. The land which receives regular rains and is therefore productive and suitable for permanent settlement on a large scale ends on the Euphrates at about latitude 36° north, near the point where the stream makes a great bend from a southward to an east-southeastward course, or about at the present ruins of Bâlis. The country north from here on either side of the river has been settled from early antiquity both to the west and to the east. Farther south, on the other hand, first on the right and later on the left bank extends a vast, treeless country with, now as ever before, only a few isolated settlements.

Close to the very channel of the river on both banks the flood plains form strips of land sufficiently wide and long for permanent settlement. Starting from the bend, the first important center in these flood plains is at the ruin of Bâlis; then follow Abu Hrêra on the right and ar-Raḳḳa on the left bank. From the station of al-Maʿdân as far as Zelebijje on the left and aṭ-Ṭrejf on the right bank, the rocky spurs of the al-Bišri range reach down to the very river bed and the fertile tracts disappear except in a few reaches. Southeast of Zelebijje the valley widens to from two to four kilometers, a width which it maintains as far as the mouth of the river al-Ḫâbûr, a distance of seventy-eight kilometers. Southeast of this river the valley for about ninety kilometers is from six to ten kilometers wide. From the modern settlement of Abu Čemâl (or Abu Kemâl) as far as the rocks of al-ʿOḳoba on the right bank and those of al-Aswad on the left, southeast of the town of Hît, the flood plains are but narrow and comparatively short, while southeast of the rocks the alluvial lands of Babylonia run up like a wedge.

The flood plains on the middle Euphrates are irrigated by canals. Arabic authors (al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], pp. 150f.) mention the quay of the town of Bâlis as facing a canal. During the Moslem rule this canal was restored, for it is certain that a canal had existed there before. Irrigation canals are also mentioned in the vicinity of ar-Raḳḳa (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 457). Isidore of Charax (*Mansiones parthicae* [Müller], p. 247) knew of an irrigation ditch dug

by Semiramis near Zelebijje. About thirteen kilometers northwest of the modern settlement of al-Bsejra (the ancient Circesium), the Sa'îd canal branched off from the right bank of the Euphrates.

From the river al-Ḫâbûr water was also led off through a canal to irrigate the fertile flood plain, here ninety kilometers long and in some places nearly six kilometers wide, on the left bank of the Euphrates. This canal, called Ḫabur-ibalbugaš, was constructed in the beginning of the se-second millennium before Christ by the Babylonian king Hammurabi (Thureau-Dangin, *Un contrat de Ḫana* [1909], pp. 149f.). Tukulti Enurta (Tukulti Ninip) II also mentions the Pal-gu ša (Nâr) Ḫâbûr (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 4], reverse, l. 14; Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

The Euphrates flood plains southeast of the rocks of al-'Oḳoba and al-Aswad on the border of Babylonia proper were likewise irrigated by canals, one of which, running along the right bank, is mentioned by the prefect Šamaš-rêš-uṣur at the end of the eighth century before Christ (Relief Inscription, pl. 3, col. 2, ll. 27—41; Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* [1903], p. 10).

Early Records

Both banks of the middle Euphrates were undoubtedly settled in remote antiquity. At the beginning of the second millennium before Christ the state of Ḫana ('Âna) was established there, with the city of Tirḳa for its capital. The site of this city is that of either the modern settlement of al-'Ašâra twenty-one kilometers southeast of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr or of the settlement of al-Ḳrejje about five kilometers northwest of al-'Ašâra. In both places tablets with cuneiform characters have been found. The oldest of these tablets, dating from the end of the twentieth century, records that Išar-lim, the king of Ḫana, presented someone with a house situated near his palace in the city of Tirḳa; and on another tablet are inscribed the terms of a contract of sale from the time of King Kaštiliašu, relating to some real estate in that city.

Hammurabi states that he opened the canal of Ḫabur-ibalbugaš. King Ammi-bail bestowed upon a servant of his a tract of land in Tirḳa. King Šamši-Adad had a temple built there in honor of the god Dagan (Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*; idem, *Lettres and contrats* [1910], Nos. 237 and 238).

The rulers of the Ḫana kingdom also made incursions into Semitic Babylonia, whence they brought away as spoils images of the gods Marduk and Ṣarpanit. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Ḫana kingdom became a part of Babylonia, and King Agumkakrime returned the stolen gods to their original temple (British Museum Tablet No. 96,152 [King, *Chronicles* (1907), p. 125], l. 10; King, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 119; Vol. 2, p. 22).

In the following centuries the Arameans, both settlers and nomads (*aḫlamê*), increased greatly in numbers on the middle Euphrates but soon settled down and mingled with the natives. In the reign of Arik-dên-ilu (1355—1320 B.C.) these *aḫlamê* gave much trouble to the Assyrians, who strove with the Babylonians for supremacy on the middle Euphrates (Adad-nirari I's Limestone Tablet [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 4, pl. 44], obverse, l. 20; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], p. 6; Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte* [1911], pl. 3). They revolted against Shal-

maneser I (1280—1260) (*ibid.*, pl. 15), and Tiglath Pileser I (1120—1100) met them in battle. The latter on the expedition against the Arameans reached the town of Dûr Katlimu, which may be identified with the Tell Fadṛami ruins on al-Ḫâbûr (The Broken Obelisk [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 4, no. 1], col. 3, l. 22; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 136). Before long Tiglath Pileser I arrived at the Euphrates itself (Cylinder Inscription from Ḳal'at Šerḳât [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 13], col. 5, ll. 44—66; *Annals* [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 5, no. 2], obverse, ll. 11f.; The Broken Obelisk [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 4, no. 1], col. 2, ll. 19—24; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 72—74, 118, 131). Aided by his lord, the god Ašur, he took chariots and warriors, and passing through the desert came right into the midst of the *aḫlamê* (nomads) and Arameans (settlers). He made a raid in one day from Sûḫi to the town of Carchemish in the land of Ḫatti, slew many of their troops, and carried away their gods and much property as spoil. The rest of their army fled across the Euphrates. In pursuit Tiglath Pileser crossed the river on skin bags and took, burned, and destroyed six of their towns at the foot of the Bišri range.—

This record is not very clear. It does not state which route Tiglath Pileser I took. Possibly he passed along al-Ḫâbûr down to its junction with the Euphrates and then had to cross the Euphrates twice, first on his way to Carchemish, which was situated on the right bank, and later in pursuit of the army. The record no longer calls the flood plain of the middle Euphrates Ḫana, but Sûḫi. From the borders of Sûḫi Tiglath Pileser came in one day to Carchemish, which lay at the present settlement of Ǧerâbîs, about eighty kilometers north of the Euphrates bend above the settlement of Bâlis and above the dividing line between the settled region and the desert. If Sûḫi extended as far as this line, then the Assyrian king might easily have reached Carchemish in one day with his chariots. He probably was making a swift raid, satisfying himself with such booty as happened to be in his way and returning without delaying to besiege any of the walled towns. Carchemish was the capital of a state, the natural frontier of which in all probability was formed by the desert to the south. We may therefore assume that Sûḫi extended to a point right above the modern settlement of Bâlis at the Euphrates bend. Tiglath Pileser I remained for some time near the Bišri range—the modern mountain of al-Bišri, which reaches the Euphrates—and gained possession of six towns at its foot. The location and the names of these towns are not known. The inscription on the Broken Obelisk (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 4, no. 1), col. 2, ll. 19—24 (Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 131), states that Tiglath Pileser I marched from al-Ḫâbûr through the land of Ḫarki to the town of Carchemish in the land of Ḫatti. According to this it seems that the proper name of that part of Sûḫi stretching northwest of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr was Ḫarki. Whether Tiglath Pileser I also went southeast of al-Ḫâbûr we do not know; there is no record of such an expedition.

The Route Of Tukulti Enurta II

For the study of the historical topography of the middle Euphrates the record of the march of the Assyrian king Tukulti Enurta (or Tukulti Ninip) II (889—884 B.C.) is of great importance. This march was not a

military campaign. There was no revolt on the middle Euphrates, but the Assyrian king went there to receive in person gifts and tribute and to strengthen his influence. He marched from Ashur (the modern Ḳal'at Šerḳât) in a southerly direction to the town of Sippar (the modern Abu Ḥabba); from there northwest on the left bank of the Euphrates almost to the mouth of al-Ḥâbûr and then along the left bank of the latter river northwards. He touched several towns, known and unknown, and had a record kept of the various camping places and settlements; thus we may fix with considerable accuracy the length of his daily marches and the location of the places on his route. The marches were usually twenty-three kilometers long and only in exceptional cases shorter or longer.

Details of Tukulti Enurta's Route

Tukulti Enurta II, according to the Annals (Scheil, *Annales* [1909], pll. 2—4), obverse, ll. 41—82, reverse, ll. 1—24 (Scheil, *op. cit.*, pp. 14—22), marched out of Ashur on the twenty-sixth day of Nîsân and encamped in the steppe (east of aṭ-Ṭarṭâr). Crossing the river Tartar he encamped again and drew water all night like a gardener. Next day he did not drink this bitter water at all. He passed through the desert and slept by the Tartar. Four days he marched along this river and slew nine wild bulls. At the mouth of the Tartar he encamped and, having obtained supplies of water, set out through the trackless plain of Ḥamate to the Margani fields, where he found irrigation ditches and plenty of food. There he camped one day and one night, for his army was drawing water. Arriving at the river Tigris and the settlements of the land of Utu'ate, he took the burial grounds on the Tigris, killed many inhabitants, carried off various goods, and then encamped in Aṣuṣi. Departing from here, he did not march along the road but forced his way through the brush and reached Dûr Kurigalzu, where he encamped. Continuing his journey, he crossed the canal of Patti Bêl, where he spent the night, and then came to Sippuru ša Šamaš. From here he went to the Euphrates and camped in Salate, opposite Dûr Balâṭi on the other side of the Euphrates; also in Raḥimme opposite Rapiḳu on the other side; in the fields of Kabsite by the Euphrates; in Dajašeti; by the bitumen spring opposite the town of Id, which was on the other side of the Euphrates. At Id there were the *ušmeta* stones, and great gods spoke there also. Leaving Id he camped opposite Ḥarbie; then in the meadows by the Euphrates, where the army drew water all night and all day. From there he turned into a desolate range of low hills, where there was neither food nor water. There he slept and then marched to the meadows of Ḥudubili by the Euphrates, where he again encamped. The next camp was pitched between Zadidâni and Sabirite, a settlement which lies in the middle of the Euphrates. From here he went to Sûri near Talbiš, which was also in the middle of the Euphrates. From Sûri he marched on Anat in the land of Sûḫi, where its prefect, Ilu-ibni, delivered to him various payments and dues. Continuing his march he camped in Mašḳite, opposite Ḫarada, in Kailite, and opposite Ḫindâni (or Ḫindânu). Amme-alaba, the head of the last-named town, brought him various dues. Leaving the Euphrates, he caused a road to be made through hilly country to the settlement of Nagiate, where he encamped, as well as in Aḳarbani, where Mudada from the land of Laḳê handed over to him

the tribute due. Marching farther, he halted in the settlement of Ṣupri to receive the dues from Ḫamatai of the land of Laḳê and encamped at Arbate, where Ḫarâni of the land of Laḳê paid him tribute. Beyond Arbate he camped in Kaṣi and then opposite the town of Sirḳi, where Mudada, the lord of Sirḳi, paid his dues and, for the second time, Ḫarâni from the land of Laḳê. Leaving Sirḳi, he passed through the Euphrates meadows and encamped by the Pal-gu ša (Nâr) Ḫâbûr (or canal leading from al-Ḫâbûr); before the settlement of Rummunidu; and by the settlement of Sûri, situated on the river al-Ḫâbûr and belonging to Ḫadippê, where Ḫamatai from the land of Laḳê rendered him, for the second time, the requisite dues. On his farther march he camped in Usalâ, where he received dues; and in Dûr Katlimmu, lying in Laḳê, etc.

Reconstruction of Tukulti Enurta's Route

The following is the probable reconstruction of Tukulti Enurta's route:

The first camp was pitched at the foot of the range of al-Makḫûl, perhaps near the spring of al-Mangûr.

The second camp was perhaps at the wells of al-Ḫdejbe. The king with his retinue crossed the shrinking channel of the river aṭ-Ṯartâr, which runs through a country where there is much crystallized gypsum and rock salt. As a result of this the water in the numerous shallow wells there is somewhat brackish and tart to the taste. It seems that for the first three days the king drank only the fresh water which he brought with him from the Tigris.

The third camp may have been at al-ʿArsa.

The fourth camp may have been at Umm Ṟurube.

The fifth camp may have been at an-Nḫejle.

The sixth camp may have been at al-Faras.

The seventh camp may have been near the outlet of the river aṭ-Ṯarṭâr into the salt lake of Umm Raḥal. In this region there are many shallow wells holding water all the year through. Somewhere near the present well of al-Ḫšejbi the king probably left aṭ-Ṯartâr and proceeded east through the land of Ḫamate; this name is preserved in Marḳab al-Ḫama.

The eighth camp I locate at the well of al-Ḫammâš.

In the Margani fields the king found irrigation canals. In view of the topography, these canals should not be looked for farther north than the alluvial land west of the modern village of Eṣtablât, about forty-five kilometers east of aṭ-Ṯartâr. There the ninth camp may well have been pitched. Margani means a sweet-smelling flower. The territory west of Eṣtablât is now called aš-Šnânât, likewise after a sweet-smelling plant, the *šnân*.

The tenth camp was in Aṣuṣi. The king approached the Tigris and plundered the settlements of the Utuʾate, which lay alongside the river. Aṣuṣi I locate near the present ʿAzîz Balad.

From Aṣuṣi, marching southward, he reached in three days the border fortress of Dûr Kurigalzu, the ʿAḳarḳûf of today. To do so in all probability he left the Tigris and proceeded along the foot of the upland of Redâjef, on the western edge of the alluvial region. Along the river he would have had to make his way through fields and across numerous irrigation

canals and ditches, while at the foot of Redâjef his road would have been free and only in some places would he have been compelled by the acacia bushes to turn aside.

The thirteenth camp was at Dûr Kurigalzu.

The fourteenth camp was by the canal of Patti Bêl, which he crossed while traveling in a southerly direction probably near the site of the modern settlement of al-Žerje. The fact that the Great King crossed this canal is a proof that it issued from the Euphrates and not from the Tigris, since the route from ʿAḳarḳûf to Abu Ḥabba, the site of the next camp, lies entirely on ground higher than the channel of the Tigris.

The fifteenth camp was at Sippuru ša Šamaš; this town may be identified with the Abu Ḥabba ruins. From ʿAḳarḳûf to Abu Ḥabba the distance is barely thirty-three kilometers, but the road led through cultivated lands over numerous ditches and canals which would make it impossible to cover the distance in a single day.

From Sippuru (Sippar) the king took a northwesterly course. Id (Hît) was reached in six days' march. We know that he proceeded along the Euphrates, the banks of which he did not leave. From Abu Ḥabba to Hît is 140 kilometers, to cover which distance in six days would require an average of 23 kilometers for each day's march. Some of the marches must have been a little shorter, others, again, longer, as it was necessary to procure supplies and the king desired to treat with the local chiefs on his route. Unfortunately, none of the ancient names have been preserved (with, perhaps, the sole exception of Kabsite, which I locate in Kawwašte); they would have been very useful in enabling us to determine more precisely the length of the daily marches. I regret this chiefly in connection with the town of Rapiḳu, a border fortress, the name of which we meet in the records so frequently. Wherever it is not stated that the camp was in the fields, remains of ancient settlements or ruins, even if small, are to be looked for. It is regrettable that not a single canal between Sippar and the northwestern extremity of the Babylonian alluvium was put on record, although Tukulti Enurta II had to cross various canals which, like the Patti Bêl, distributed water from the Euphrates.

From Sippuru ša Šamaš, or Abu Ḥabba, the king marched (*ana ŠAG*) to the Euphrates, probably not along its left bank, but along the left bank of a wide canal or branch of the main river, to his sixteenth camp, which was pitched at Salate, perhaps near the group of ruins now known as al-Maždam.

The seventeenth camp was opposite the fortress of Dûr Balâṭi on the right bank of the Euphrates. Perhaps the ruins of Uḥejmer 22 kilometers from al-Maždam mark the spot.

The eighteenth camp was at Raḥimme opposite the fort of Rapiḳu. If we count the daily marches as 23 kilometers each, then Raḥimme should be sought in the Mâḥûz ruin and Rapiḳu in the ar-Raḥâja ruins situated near a little shrine on a rocky hillock on the right bank of the Euphrates. I should prefer to identify Rapiḳu with the flourishing modern settlement of ar-Rumâdi, 17 kilometers west of ar-Raḥâja, but the king would have had to make at least 33 kilometers daily to come from Abu Ḥabba to the point opposite ar-Rumâdi in three marches, while from there to Id (Hît) the daily marches would have averaged only 16 kilometers. On the other hand, if the nineteenth instead of the eighteenth camp had been pitched

opposite Rapiḳu, the statements about the location or ar-Rumâdi would agree well enough.

The nineteenth camp was on the fields of Kabsite, which may be the fertile fields east of the Kawwašte ruins.

The twentieth camp at Dajašeti was, perhaps, where the al-Aswad ruin now lies, 22 kilometers from Kawwašte and between the Euphrates and an ancient canal.

The twenty-first camp was in the town of Id, or the modern Hît, 20 kilometers from al-Aswad.

The twenty-second camp was opposite Ḥarbie, on the ruins of which the present hamlet of al-Ḳoṭbijje probably stands. About ten kilometers northwest of there the fertile plain ends and steep bluffs approach the very river bed of the Euphrates, blocking the road in some places. As the river makes many bends in this region, the road leaves the Euphrates and leads across a rocky plain due northwest, not returning to the river until as-Slejmijje is reached, 54 kilometers from al-Ḳoṭbijje. The king proceeded along this road also and pitched the twenty-third camp in a desert where there was no water, probably in the *šeʿîb* of an-Nihel.

The twenty-fourth camp, on the meadows at Ḥudubili, may have been near where the modern as-Slejmijje lies. I found no ruins there, but opposite as-Slejmijje the Euphrates forms numerous islands; therefore Ḥudubili may have disappeared in its channel.

The twenty-fifth camp was between Zadidâni and the island of Sabirite. This islet I regard as the present islet of as-Sawwâri, while Zadidâni may be identical with the al-Mḥaddâde ruins.

The twenty-sixth camp was near Sûri opposite the island of Talbiš or Talmiš. The present Sûr ruins by the island of Telbes, 22 kilometers from as-Sawwâri or the ancient Sabirite, lie on the site of this camp.

The twenty-seventh camp was opposite the island of Anat in the land of Sûḫi. Anat is the modern ʿÂna, the fort and principal mosque of which are built on an island 16 kilometers from Sûr.

The twenty-eighth camp was at Mašḳite, probably the modern hamlet of Srejser.

The twenty-ninth camp was opposite the settlement of Ḫarada on the right bank. This is probably marked by the ad-Dînijje ruins.

The thirtieth camp was at Kailite, perhaps near the modern al-Ğaʿbrijje at the foot of the hillocks of al-Ṣijâri, in the name of which an echo of the pronunciation of the old name Kailite may be traced.

The thirty-first camp was opposite the town of Ḫindâni on the right bank. This town is undoubtedly marked by the extensive aš-Šejḫ Ğâber ruins of today. From Anat to Ḫindânu the king cannot have marched at a rate of more than twenty-three kilometers daily.

Opposite aš-Šejḫ Ğâber the bluffs reach the very river bank making marching alongside of it difficult and in time of flood quite impossible. For this reason the people prefer to travel at a distance from the river over a rough, rocky plain. This was done by the king also. He left the river bank and ordered a road to be built to the thirty-second camp at Nagiate, which may be represented by the ruin mound of aṭ-Ṭâwi. This lies at the southeast end of a strip of flood plain, here ninety kilometers long and in places as much as six kilometers wide, strewn with both small and large remains of old settlements.

The thirty-third camp of Aḳarbani or Naḳarabani I locate in the ruins of al-Bahasna, about twenty-three kilometers from aṭ-Ṭâwi.

The next day the king halted in the town of Ṣupri and had the thirty-fourth camp pitched at Arbate. Ṣupri is perhaps identical with the aṣ-Ṣafa' ruin, and Arbate with ač-Ča'âbi. That day's march I estimate at sixteen kilometers, as the king delayed in Ṣupri.

The thirty-fifth camp was in the Kaṣi fields. The road led through cultivated and irrigated tracts, so that hardly more than twenty kilometers were made that day, and the king's camp was probably in front of the site of the present al-Meẓtele ruin.

The thirty-sixth camp was opposite the town of Sirḳi, which lay on the right bank. If we insist on a regular day's march of twenty to twenty-three kilometers, we shall reach a point opposite the modern town of al-Mijâḍîn, which we might regard as the old Sirḳi. But the name Sirḳi reminds us of Tirḳa, the name of the capital of the state of Ḫana, which may be identified either with the modern al-'Ašâra or with al-Ḳrejje (see above, p. 198). The true location of Tirḳa could probably be ascertained by excavations, which might also make clear whether this town was or was not the same as Sirḳi.

At Sirḳi the king left the Euphrates and proceeded in a northerly direction along the western bank of the river al-Ḫâbûr to the thirty-seventh camp, by the settlement of Rummunidu, not far from the place where a canal issues from al-Ḫâbûr. From this river a single great canal, the Dawrîn, branches off below the small hamlet of as-Sičer, about twenty-one kilometers north of al-Mijâḍîn and the village of Ṭâmme, which lies opposite al-Mijâdîn on the right bank. If Sirḳi be identified with al-Ḳrejje, the shortest distance thence to the inlet of the Dawrîn would have been twenty-five kilometers. We might, therefore, locate the thirty-seventh camp at Rummunidu to the north of Pal-gu ša (Nâr) Ḫâbûr, or near the present Ḥeǧna ruins. According to the Assyrian record this camp was still in the "Euphrates meadows," an appellation which probably meant the fertile plain extending from the Euphrates as far as beyond as-Sičer. Scheil, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 f., locates Rummunidu close by the Euphrates and thinks that the king had to reach this point before he could proceed northward. But this would have been impossible, partly because of the mention of the Pal-gu ša (Nâr) Ḫâbûr, or starting point of the Dawrîn canal, and partly because of the distance thence to the thirty-eighth camp, which was at Sûri. This place, the modern aṣ-Ṣwar, was about forty kilometers from the Euphrates. If we take into consideration the fact that the king's army had to cross the canal coming out of al-Ḫâbûr and march through a cultivated country, we find that the distance from the Euphrates to Sûri could not possibly have been traversed in a single day's march. On the other hand, admitting the identity of Rummunidu with Ḥeǧna, we get the usual average, twenty-three kilometers.

Scheil (*op. cit.*, p. 49) writes that aṣ-Ṣwar lies ten hours, or forty kilometers, from the Euphrates and also takes this to be just one day's march, as is stated in the text. But here he contradicts not only his own location of the different places but the text itself; for marching at forty kilometers a day the king would have reached Rummunidu from Anat not in ten but in five marches.

From Sûri (aṣ-Ṣwar) the king marched along al-Ḫâbûr northward, returning home by the usual route.

The record of this expedition of Tukulti Enurta II makes possible not only a fairly accurate localization of the various settlements, but also reveals the political organization on the middle Euphrates. In the time of Tiglath Pileser I Sûḫi extended as far as the borders of Bît-Adini, or above the modern settlement of Bâlis, where the desert ends and the cultivated country begins. Under Tukulti Enurta II the proper name of that part of Sûḫi north of the rocky spur of al-ʿErṣi was Laḳê (Annals [Scheil, *op. cit.*, pl. 4], reverse, ll. 3, 5; *ibid.*, p. 20). Likewise, the towns of Sûri (aṣ-Ṣwar) (*ibid.*, ll. 15, 20; p. 22) and Dûr Katlime (the modern Tell Faḏrami on al-Ḫâbûr) (*ibid.*, ll. 22; p 22) belonged to the Laḳê region. Tiglath Pileser I (The Broken Obelisk [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 4, no. 1], col. 3, l. 22; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], p. 136) placed Dûr Katlime in Aramê, not then knowing Laḳê.

Both countries, Sûḫi as well as Laḳê, were divided into larger and smaller city states with lords of their own. The center of these states were the towns of Anat, with a lord named Ilu-ibni (Annals [Scheil, *op. cit.*, pl. 3], obverse, ll. 69, 70; *ibid.*, p. 18), Ḫindânu, with a lord named Amme-alaba (*ibid.*, ll. 76, 79; p. 18), and Sirḳi, with a lord named Mudada (*ibid.*, pl. 4, reverse, ll. 8, 10; p. 20). Ḫarâni of Laḳê, who rendered his payments in Sirḳi, was king of some realm not yet entered by Tukulti Enurta II, which therefore must have been situated northwest of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr (*ibid.*, l. 11; p. 20). The lord of Sûri was Ḫamatai (*ibid.*, l. 5; p. 20; ll. 15, 19; p. 22), and the territory of which this town was the capital was called after its inhabitants Ḫadippê or Bît-Ḫadippê (*var.*, Ḫalupê) (*ibid.*, ll. 15, 20; p. 22).

The Assyrian king always appointed some of the lords of the city states to be his representatives. In the time of Tukulti Enurta II Ilu-ibni, lord of Anat in Sûḫi, and Ḫamatai, lord of Sûri in Laḳê, were such representatives for their respective countries. Such a representative or prefect of the Assyrian king in Sûḫi or Laḳê had a very difficult position, because his subjects, especially when incited by their neighbors, often had political interests entirely different from those of his Assyrian overlord.

Asurnazirpal's Campaigns and Routes

Asurnazirpal III (884—859 B. C.) relates (Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pll. 18f.], col. 1, ll. 74—101; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 279—289) that soon after he ascended his throne he learned that the prefect Ḫamatai had been murdered by the inhabitants of the town of Sûru in the Bît-Ḫadippê country and replaced by one Aḫiababa from the land of Bît-Adini. Therefore the king marched from Commagene, where he then was, with his war chariots and troops against Sûru (or Sûri).

The realm of Bît-Adini adjoined Laḳê on the northwest. Its king was endeavoring to extend his power and gain allies against the great lord of Assyria and had therefore leagued himself with the dissatisfied party in Sûri, who had killed their lord, the Assyrian prefect Ḫamatai, and had given allegiance to the new lord (Aḫiababa by name) sent to them by the king of Bît-Adini. The Great King of Assyria meted out

a bloody punishment to the rebels and appointed as the new prefect of Laḳê one Azi-ilu, who, it seems, was king of the city state of Kipina situated on the Euphrates west of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr. The cruel punishment meted out to the town of Sûru and its rebels acted as a warning to the rest of the lords in the land of Laḳê, who at once began to overwhelm Asurnazirpal III with gifts. Ḫajâni, lord of the town of Ḫindâni (Annals [Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*], col. 1, ll. 96—99; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 287) also sent messengers with gifts to the Great King at Sûru. But the peace was not of long duration, for soon after the return of Asurnazirpal III to Nineveh, the prefect Ilu-ibni of Sûḫi came to him as a refugee seeking asylum. He had apparently remained faithful to his Assyrian sovereign and was therefore expelled by his countrymen, who preferred an alliance with the king of Babylon.

Details of Asurnazirpal's First Expedition

This supposition is confirmed by the report of Asurnazirpal's new expedition to Laḳê and Sûḫi, recorded in Annals (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pll. 23f.), col. 3, ll. 5—26; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 348—353.

The Great King marched from the town of Ḳatni to the town of Dûr Katlime, from there to the town of the land of Bît-Ḫadippê, and thence to the towns of Sirḳi, Ṣupri, and Naḳarabani, and encamped before the town of Ḫindâni (or Ḫindânu), situated on the right bank of the Euphrates. Having received many gifts, he proceeded farther, camped in the mountain range above the Euphrates, and halted in the land of Bît-Garbâja, opposite the town of Ḫaridu (or Ḫaridi) on the right bank of the Euphrates. Then he hastened to the town of Anat on an island in the middle of the Euphrates and at last arrived before the fort of Sûru (or Sûri), where Kuduru, the prefect of the land of Sûḫi, with the troops sent to his help by the Babylonian king Nabû-apal-iddin, offered resistance. Taking the fort by storm, Asurnazirpal captured Ṣabdânu (the brother of the Babylonian king), Bêl-apal-iddin (the commander of the auxiliary troops), three thousand men of the Babylonian army, and fifty mounted men. The prefect with seventy companions saved himself in the Euphrates. Sûri was then demolished and a monument extolling Asurnazirpal's victory placed in the ruins.

Reconstruction of Asurnazirpal's First Expedition

Dûr Katlime may be identified with the Tell Faḍrami, and the town of the land of Bît-Ḫadippê with Sûru, the modern aṣ-Ṣwar. From Dûr Katlime to Sûru the distance was about 48 kilometers. If Sirḳi was situated on the site of al-Mijâḍîn, its distance from Sûru would have been 45 kilometers; if on the site of al-ʿAšâra, the distance would have been 52 kilometers, a distance which Asurnazirpal's army could scarcely have covered in a single day. Ṣupri may have been where aṣ-Ṣafa' now stands. The site of Naḳarabani (or, as it is written in the records of the expedition of Tukulti Enurta II, Aḳarbani) is probably marked by the present al-Bahasna ruins. From al-Mijâḍîn to aṣ-Ṣafa' is 42 and from al-ʿAšâra to aṣ-Ṣafa' 37 kilometers, but from aṣ-Ṣafa' to al-Bahasna is only about 12 kilometers; and from here to the aš-Šejḫ Ǧâber ruins,

the ancient Ḫindânu, is 42 kilometers. Farther southwest the Great King camped first in the mountains and then in the land of Bît-Garbâja, opposite the town of Ḫaridu. Taking the report of Tukulti Enurta II's march as a guide, we have located this town at the site of the present ad-Dînijje ruins, 46 kilometers from aš-Šejḫ Ĝâber. As two marches were required to reach a point opposite it, we see that even Asurnazirpal III's march could have averaged only about twenty-three kilometers a day. This gives us a clue to the site of his camp between Ḫindânu (aš-Šejḫ Ĝâber) and Ḫaridu (ad-Dînijje). About 16 kilometers southeast of Ḫindânu the Euphrates makes three great bends. At this place the line of rocky bluffs almost reaches the water's edge and the road leads over the plateau, departing as much as ten kilometers from the river bank. This was the road the king had to take, and his camp most likely was about twenty-three kilometers southeast of Ḫindânu, near the present shrine of as-Sulṭân ʿAbdallâh. The region of the town of Ḫaridu was called Bît-Garbâja, just as the territory of the town of Sûru was named Bît-Ḫadippê.

The island town of Anat, the modern ʿÂna, lay 40 kilometers from Ḫaridu. The record does not mention where the Great King camped before he arrived at Anat. Thence to the fort of Sûru (the modern Sûr) by a direct route is no more than sixteen kilometers. Sûru was a fortress of the land of Sûḫi, where Kuduru, the prefect appointed by the Babylonians, took refuge together with his Babylonian auxiliaries. The fortress was unable to resist and was destroyed, the Babylonian auxiliary troops with their officers were made prisoners of war, and only the prefect Kuduru saved himself with about seventy men by flight to some of the islands in the Euphrates.

Although the Great King goes on to assert that he again strengthened his authority in the land of Sûḫi, extending his influence as far as the Babylonian borders, and that he made the inhabitants of the mountainous districts on both sides of the Euphrates fear him, he nevertheless did not on this occasion advance farther southeast and did not march past the fort of Dûr Kurigalzi to Assyria, but returned by nearly the same route by which he had come: that is, along the left bank of the Euphrates and up al-Ḫâbûr, whence he crossed to his residence at Kalaḫ.

Details of Asurnazirpal's Second Expedition

He had not yet reached home when he received a report that the inhabitants of the countries of Laḳê and Sûḫi had again revolted and crossed the Euphrates. So he set out against them, perhaps in 877 B. C. (Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 24], col. 3, ll. 27—50; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 353—361). First he proceeded to the town of Sûri in Bît-Ḫalupê, where he had boats made of wood and inflated hides. Even before they were ready he marched to the narrows (*ḫinḳi*) of the Euphrates, took some towns belonging to the lords Ḫenti-ilu and Azi-ilu of the land of Laḳê, captured their inhabitants, killing some, and carried away much booty. The towns were burned and demolished. Returning, he crossed al-Ḫâbûr at its mouth, marched through the land of Sûḫi as far as the town of Ṣibate, burning and destroying the towns of the lands of Laḳê and Sûḫi. He also killed 470 warriors and had twenty impaled.

On boats of wood and inflated hides at the town of Ḫaridu he passed

over to the right bank of the Euphrates, where he encountered the allied troops of Laḳê, Sûḫi, and the town of Ḫindânu—about six thousand men in all, both in chariots and on foot. The Great King defeated them and destroyed their chariots; sixty-five hundred (*sic*) of their warriors were slain, and the rest perished of thirst in the desert of the Euphrates. From the town of Ḫaridu in the land of Sûḫi as far as the town of Kipina he took the towns on the right bank belonging to the realm of Ḫindânu and to the other inhabitants of Laḳê; these towns he plundered, demolished, and burned.

Azi-ilu of the land of Laḳê fortified himself in the town of Kipina, but, unable to defend himself any longer, he fled; one thousand of his warriors were killed, many of his chariots destroyed, and his gods captured. Azi-ilu took refuge in the desolate range of Bisuru on the Euphrates. The Great King fought him for two days, killed many of his men, and then, pursuing him, reached the towns of Dummete and Asmu, which belonged to the people of Adini. These he took also, pillaged, demolished, and burned. Azi-ilu lost not only his horned cattle but his sheep as well; the Great King took them for his booty.

At that time Ilâ of the land of Laḳê, with his chariots and five hundred warriors, also fell into captivity.

The Great King reached the narrows (*ḫinḳi*) of the Euphrates, where he brought his expedition to an end. Azi-ilu fled before him. Ḫimti-ilu of the land of Laḳê was besieged in his town and begged for mercy. The Great King took all that was in his palace—silver, gold, lead, copper, copper utensils, colored textiles—and increased his tax. On the Euphrates he founded two towns. The town on the left bank was named Kâr-Ašur-nâṣirpal and that on the right bank, Nibarti-Ašur.

Reconstruction of Asurnazirpal's Second Expedition

The boats made in Sûri (aṣ-Ṣwar) were probably rafts fastened to inflated goatskins. The skins might have been obtained from both the settlers and nomads and the wood taken from poplars and tamarisks, trees which still grow abundantly on al-Ḫâbûr as well as on the Euphrates. From these woods boats were also built for the Roman emperor Septimius Severus in 198 A. D. (Cassius Dio, *Historiae*, LXXV, 2f.).

Asurnazirpal did not wait in Sûri until the boats were ready, but continued his conquest of the towns on the left bank of the Euphrates belonging to the lords Ḫenti-ilu and Azi-ilu. Azi-ilu was perhaps the prefect whom the king had appointed shortly after ascending his throne. The Great King came as far as the narrows of the Euphrates; that is, to the modern Zelebijje, where the Euphrates channel leaves the narrows seventy-five kilometers northwest of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr. At that point was probably the strongest town of the lord Ḫenti-ilu, the siege of which the Great King did not attempt at this time.

After his return from this raid to the junction of al-Ḫâbûr with the Euphrates Asurnazirpal marched along the left bank of the latter in a southeasterly direction, demolishing one town after another, and finally reached the town of Ṣibate. This undoubtedly lay southeast of Ḫaridu, or even southeast of the fort of Sûru, as otherwise it would not have been true that the king subjugated the whole land of Sûḫi. The brief

report is not of much assistance in defining the precise location of Ṣibate, but I believe it to have been identical with the island town of Sabirite mentioned in the records of the expedition of King Tukulti Enurta II. Instead of the correct Ḳu-ra-ṣi-ti, Ḳu-ṣi-ti is sometimes written (Rassam Cylinder [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, Part 1, pll. 1—10], col. 8, l. 121; British Museum Tablet K 2802 [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pll. 35—36], col. 6, l. 41; Streck, *Assurbanipal* [1916], Vol. 2, pp. 73, 206). On this analogy we may therefore assume that Ṣibate represents the correct Sabirite, which we have identified with the present island of as-Sawwâri, twenty kilometers southeast of the islet of Telbes. Of course, Sabirite is written with an *s*, Ṣibate with an *ṣ*. The Assyrians, however, did not differentiate the sound *ṣ* very distinctly from *s* in foreign names; for example, the Assyrian *s* as in Sûri, may signify both the Arabic *ṣ* as in Ṣwar, or the Arabic *s* as in Sûr.

Farther southeast than Ṣibate Asurnazirpal could not go, as he would have encountered the Babylonian army while the rebel warriors were assembling at Ḫaridu in his rear. Turning on the rebels he crossed the Euphrates at Ḫaridu (ad-Dînijje) and defeated the combined troops of Sûḫi, Laḳê, and the town of Ḫindânu. Their number is not given correctly. According to the Assyrian report the greater part of them fell in the battle, the rest perishing from thirst in the desert, as the Assyrians did not let them approach the Euphrates. The Great King then proceeded along the right bank to the northwest.

From Ḫaridu, which was still in Sûḫi, the king first pillaged the towns dependent on Ḫindânu and then the settlements of the inhabitants of Laḳê; finally he reached the town of Kipina, where Azi-ilu, the disloyal prefect from Laḳê, had taken refuge. Azi-ilu must have been a feudal ruler who resided not in the demolished fort of Sûri (aṣ-Ṣwar) in Bît-Ḫadippê but in his own realm, which I look for along both banks of the Euphrates northwest of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr. The towns on the left bank of the Euphrates were pillaged on the march from Sûri (aṣ-Ṣwar) to the Euphrates narrows, while the towns on the right bank suffered the same fate after the defeat at Ḫaridu. The Assyrian record fails to state whether the Great King also took and demolished the town of Kipina, a circumstance which leads us to the conclusion that Azi-ilu was defeated near, but not actually in, this town and with what remained of his army retreated into the range of Bisuru on the Euphrates. That this is the range of al-Bišri mentioned by Tiglath Pileser I (Cylinder Inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 13], col. 5, l. 59; Budge and King, *Annals*, p. 74), is attested by the whole course of the events. Azi-ilu defended himself in the mountains for two days, but, after losing great numbers of his faithful followers, he was compelled to flee again. It would appear from this that the town of Kipina is to be sought close by the al-Bišri range, perhaps near the present Dejr az-Zôr.

Reaching the northern foot of the al-Bišri range, the Great King pursued the prefect Azi-ilu as far as the settlements of Dummete and Asmu, which were in the land of Bît-Adini and hence beyond the modern settlement of Bâlis. (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* [1921], p. 26, notes 3, 4, locates Dummete southwest of Dejr az-Zôr and Asmu opposite the mouth of al-Balîḫ, but this does not agree with the Assyrian report.) The Great King plundered both of these settlements on the southern border of Bît-

Adini. After that he crossed over to the left bank of the Euphrates and returned southeast, pillaging on the way the settlements of Ilâ, king of Laḳê, to whom probably belonged both banks of the Euphrates west of the junction of the river al-Balîḫ. On the borders of this realm on the left bank in the environs of the present Zelebijje ruins was the kingdom of the lord Ḫimti-ilu, whose eastern settlements the Great King pillaged on his raid from Sûru and whose western settlements he pillaged on his return from Bît-Adini. As Ḫimti-ilu was unable to resist, he had to yield and pay a large tax.

Asurnazirpal does not call the inhabitants of the environs of al-Bišri *aḫlamê* as they are designated by Tiglath Pileser I, although he uses this expression often when mentioning the Aramean peasants (Monolith Inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 6], reverse, l. 4; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 240). He often boasts that he subjugated all Laḳê and Sûḫi, together with the town of Rapiḳi (Limestone Tablet [British Museum No. 92, 986], obverse, ll. 7—8; Standard Inscription [Layard, *Inscriptions*, pl. 1], l. 8; Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pll. 17ff.], col. 2, l. 128; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 216, 344). Since Rapiḳi and Dûr Kurigalzi were frontier strongholds of Assyria, Rapiḳi must have been on the southeastern boundary of the land of Sûḫi, which must then have extended beyond the modern settlement of ar-Rumâdi and probably as far as the ar-Raḥâja ruins on the south and to the rocks of al-ʿErṣi on the north.

Shalmaneser III (859—824 B. C.) received as the payment due to him from Marduk-aplu-uṣur of the land of Sûḫi silver, gold, ivory, and colored fabrics (Obelisk Relief [Layard, *op. cit.*, pl. 98], No. 4; Winckler in: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* [1889—1900], Vol. 1, p. 151). In 838 he probably made an expedition to the land of Sûḫi (Forrer, *Chronologie* [1915], p. 11).

The Province of Raṣappa

In the time of Šamši-Adad VII (824—811 B. C.) the land of Sûḫi belonged to the Assyrian empire (Obelisk Inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 29], col. 1, l. 13; Abel in: Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 179), for, together with Laḳê, it was converted into an Assyrian province, and the Assyrian governor (*šaknu*) resided at Raṣappa. A stele of the governor Urigallu-ereš, dated 805, tells how this province was divided and how far it extended (Relief Stele of Adadnirari IV [Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris III.*, pl. 2], ll. 23—25.; Unger, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 12). It consisted of the following administrative districts: the towns of Nimit-Ištar, Apku, and Mari; the territories of Raṣapi and Ḳatni; the town of Dûr Karpati, opposite the town of Kâr-Ašurnâṣirpal; the town of Sirḳu; the territories of Laḳê and Ḫindânu; the town of Anat; the territory of Sûḫi; and the town of Aššur-iṣbat.—

The districts referred to here show that the regions of the lower al-Ḫâbûr and middle Euphrates were a part of the province of Raṣappa. Ḳatni lay on al-Ḫâbûr near the modern Tell Ǧellâl, almost 105 kilometers from the junction of the rivers. Kâr-Ašurnâṣirpal, built by Asurnazirpal on his expedition in 877 (see above, p. 208), was situated on the left bank of the Euphrates. Opposite it, and therefore on the right bank, was Dûr Karpati. As Kâr-Ašurnâṣirpal lay in the range of al-Bišri

west of the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr, we may identify it with the present Zelebijje, and Dûr Karpati with Ḥalebijje. The position of both is very important, because they dominate not only the land but also the water routes. Dûr Karpati was possibly the native designation of the town which Asurnazirpal named Nibarti-Ašur, although this is not certain, for we should expect that the Assyrian governor would have inscribed on his stele the official designation and not the native name. Sirḳu, as we have seen, may be identified with either al-Mijâḍîn or the modern al-Ḳrejje or al-ʿAšâra. The land of Laḳê was the vicinity of Sûru (the present aṣ-Ṣwar), formerly the principal fort in Laḳê. The realm of Ḫindânu was the country around aš-Šejḫ Ǧâber of today. The town of Anat was to become the medieval ʿÂnât and the modern ʿÂna. The land of Sûḫi was the vicinity of Sûri (the modern Sûr), the principal fort of the ancient Sûḫi. The name of Aššur-iṣbat was not native; this town was situated still farther southeast in the fertile flood plain northwest of Rapiḳi (ar-Raḥâja), which marked the boundary of the land of Sûḫi.

Nimit-Ištar, Apku, and Mari are to be looked for at the site of the modern Bâlis and between that site and the range of al-Bišri; as the ancient Laḳê extended on the west as far as Bâlis, it would have been strange indeed if in the whole section from al-Bišri to Bâlis there should not be a single organized administrative district. Between al-Bišri and Bâlis are three stretches of flood plain of some extent, one near Bâlis, the second near Abu Hrêra, and the third near ar-Raḳḳa. Bâlis itself I regard as marking the position of Nimit-Ištar, Abu Hrêra as marking that of Apku, and ar-Raḳḳa that of Mari. Nimit-Ištar was undoubtedly differently named by the natives, but Apku and Mari were native designations. A modern rendering of the name Apku I have not yet found; but that of Mari has persisted in the name of the Mari canal, from which the lands of the town of Callinicus (the modern ar-Raḳḳa) were irrigated; Mari, or Marê, may therefore have been the original name of the town near which Seleucus Nicator built the Hellenic settlement of Nicephorium, later called Callinicus (see Appendix XI).

The territory of Raṣapi extended around the capital of the province of Raṣappa, which, as we have just seen, stretched from Nimit-Ištar (Bâlis) on the northwest to Aššur-iṣbat in the neighborhood of the modern ar-Rumâdi on the southeast, and to the north to include the land of Ḳatni in the environs of the modern Tell Ǧellâl.

Emil Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung* [1921], p. 15) would place the Assyrian Raṣappa on the ridge of Sinǧâr and identify it with the Beled Sinǧâr, the Roman Singara. But it seems to me that this conflicts with the existing records as well as with the position of the Beled Sinǧâr itself. All the administrative districts under discussion may be found on the lower Ḫâbûr and middle Euphrates, and the town of Raṣappa survived as ar-Reṣâfa, owing, no doubt, to the commercial importance of its position. The Beled Sinǧâr lies only one hundred kilometers west of the great capital, Nineveh, the routes leading to it were dominated by the Assyrians from time immemorial, and it is therefore hard to understand how an Assyrian *šaknu* residing at Singara could have governed and administered territories more than three hundred and fifty kilometers distant from his residence and separated from it by a desert.

Late Assyrian And Chaldean Records

From the end of the eighth century a few records have been preserved; these are dated by the term of office of a prefect of Sûḫi and Mari, whose name was Šamaš-rêš-uṣur (Relief Inscription No. 2 [Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (1903), pl. 2—5], col. 2, ll. 27—41; col. 3—5; Weissbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—11; Peiser, *Orientalische Altertumskunde* [1901], pp. 144f.). From them we learn that, as the ancient canal in Sûḫi was clogged up, Šamaš-rêš-uṣur ordered a new one to be dug, twenty-two ells wide and one thousand rods long. It was navigable and emptied itself again into the Euphrates at a point called Ê-SAL-A. The banks of the canal at the prefect's order were planted with trees to furnish timber for the ferry-boats. These trees grew so dense that they obstructed the approach to his palace. The people had to dig a canal from the town of Ḫarzê as far as the town of Iâbi'. Šamaš-rêš-uṣur had a palace in the town of Ribaniš. The gardens of this palace could be irrigated from the new canal, and the prefect had palms planted there like those in the extensive gardens of the palaces at Ra-ilu, Karnabu, Iâduru, and Ukalai. He also founded a new town, which he named Gabbari-KAK, where he had a temple built to the god Adad and his son Šala. At one time when Šamaš-rêš-uṣur was residing in the town of Baḳa four hundred warriors of the Tu'mânu tribe attacked Ribaniš. No sooner had he received a report of this than he crossed the Euphrates, overtook the tribe in the fields of Aradatu, slew three hundred and fifty of them, and made the rest prisoners. —

Neither the position of the canal in Sûḫi nor that of the several towns whose names have been preserved in these records can be fixed with any degree of accuracy. If the upper half of the ancient Sûḫi was called Laḳê as late as the end of the eighth century, we should locate the Sûḫi canal only to the southeast of the rocks of al-ʿOḳoba and al-Aswad, where the Euphrates flood plain merges into the Babylonian alluvium. The land of Laḳê (or Mari) probably extended southeast as far as the rocks of al-ʿErṣi and the small modern town of Abu Čemâl. Below this point in the region that once was the land of Sûḫi there is no stretch of flood plain long enough to render profitable the digging of an expensive canal for irrigation. Not until we are southeast of al-ʿOḳoba does the flood plain begin to widen. But we are also directed to the southern half of the land of Sûḫi by the date palms which Šamaš-rêš-uṣur had planted in many places. The northernmost point at which the date palm may be profitably grown in the Euphrates valley is ʿÂna. Hot southeast winds have free access up the valley as far as this settlement and the islet of al-Karâble; but farther north the valley turns abruptly west as one goes upstream and thus cuts off the warmer air from the southeast. The name of Baḳa, the town where Šamaš-rêš-uṣur was residing at the time of the incursion of the Tu'mânu warriors into Ribaniš, suggests the town of Baḳḳa which the Arabic authors locate southeast of Hît and which I identify with the small settlement of al-Baḳḳ, southeast of the latter town. As al-Baḳḳ lies on the left bank and the prefect was compelled to cross the Euphrates when he wanted to pursue the invaders, we may infer that the town of Ribaniš was situated on the right bank and that the new canal originated at the rock of al-ʿOḳoba and extended to the site of the present ar-Rumâdi. As I locate the town of Rapiḳi, which lay

on the border of the land of Sûḫi, either in the modern settlement of ar-Rumâdi or in the ar-Raḥâja ruins eighteen kilometers southeast from ar-Rumâdi, the town of Ribaniš ought to be sought between the latter and al-'Oḳoba.

During the final struggles between the Assyrians and Babylonians the middle Euphrates was visited by the armies of both. In the year 616 B.C. Nabopolassar, king of Babylonia, occupied Sûḫi and Ḫindânu without meeting any resistance; but three months later he was obliged to defend these districts against an Assyrian army based on the city of Ḳablinu. He vanquished the Assyrians, captured the city, sent a detachment of his army against the cities of Mani (or Mari), Saḫiru, and Baliḫu, and returned with great booty. On his return march he took many inhabitants of the city of Ḫindânu and its gods to Babylon. In the meantime the Assyrians concluded an alliance with Egypt, and the united armies again made camp at Ḳablinu. Nabopolassar hastened against them, but no fight ensued, and the inhabitants of Sûḫi endeavored to regain independence. Their efforts were stopped in 613 when Nabopolassar made an assault upon Raḫilu, a city which lay in the midst of the Euphrates. On the same day the city was captured. He encamped opposite the city of Anatu, brought up from the west siege engines near to the city wall, and made an assault upon the city, but did not capture it . . . since the Assyrian king came down and forced him to retire (British Museum, Tablet No. 21,901, ll. 1—11, 31—37; publ. and transl. in Gadd, *Fall of Nineveh* [1923], pp. 31—34).

Nebuchadnezzar (604—561) mentions, among the gifts offered to the god Marduk, wine from the mountain range of Ḫi-il-bu-nim and Su-u-ḫa-am (Grotefend Inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1., pll. 65f.], col. 1, ll. 23—24; Inscription A from Wâdi Brîsa [Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II* (1906), pl. 12], col. 4, ll. 50—52; Langdon, *Building Inscriptions* [1905], pp. 82, 158; Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Winckler in: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* [1889—1900], Vol. 3, p. 33).— Ḫi-il-bu-nim is identical with the volcanic territory around Ḥelbân, northeast of Ḥama'. Su-u-ḫa-am is the land of Sûḫi on the middle Euphrates, where the wine made in the environs of 'Âna has been celebrated in song and verse by the Arabic authors.

APPENDIX II

XENOPHON ON THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

Of the classical authors, Xenophon, Isidore of Charax, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus give the most detailed reports about the left bank of the middle Euphrates.

Xenophon's Account of the Route of the Ten Thousand

Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 4: 6—10, describes the march of the Greek mercenaries led by Cyrus, son of Darius II, against his brother, Artaxerxes II, through northern Syria and along the left bank of the middle

Euphrates in the spring of 401 B. C. From Myriandrus, a town inhabited by the Phoenicians, after four marches (i. e. 20 parasangs) Cyrus reached the river Chalus, one *plethrum* wide and full of large tame fish. From here he hastened in five marches (30 parasangs) to the sources of the river Dardas, also one *plethrum* wide. There, in a fine large garden, where the fruits of all the seasons flourished, stood the manor of Belesis, the satrap of Syria. Cyrus had the garden destroyed and the manor burned.

From the Dardas in three marches (15 parasangs) he reached (*ibid.*, I, 4: 11) the river Euphrates, which was four stades wide and by which lay the large, flourishing town of Thapsacus. Then Cyrus crossed the river and the whole army followed his example. The water reached no man's breast. The inhabitants of Thapsacus asserted that nobody ever crossed the river afoot, but always in boats; these had been recently burned by the order of Abrocomas, Artaxerxes' general, to prevent Cyrus from passing over.

After nine marches (50 parasangs) the army came to the river Araxes, where they found numerous settlements and abundant supplies of wine and corn (*ibid.*, I, 4: 19).

Cyrus proceeded farther through Arabia on the left side of the Euphrates and made 35 parasangs in five marches through a desolate country. The district he passed through was as level as the sea and thickly overgrown with wormwood. There were no trees to be seen far and wide, but, instead, many animals, chiefly wild asses and ostriches, and also bustards and gazelles. The bustards were easily caught when anyone went quickly after them, as they could not fly far and soon tired. Their flesh tasted very good. Passing this country Cyrus reached the river Mascas, one *plethrum* in width, which flows all around the ruined town of Corsote (*ibid.*, I, 5: 1—4).

The next thirteen marches (90 parasangs) were made through desolate countries on the left of the Euphrates to Pylae, where many of the draft animals died of hunger, the whole land far around being bare, without grass or bushes. Often the marches were difficult, particularly when the army wanted to reach water or pasture. Once the chariots sank in a swampy hollow and could not proceed any farther ... Across the Euphrates (*ibid.*, I, 5: 5—10) in the direction of the desert lay the flourishing town of Charmande ... Marching still farther, they found the tracks of about two thousand horses, whose riders had ridden ahead, devastating and burning everything in their way (*ibid.*, I, 6: 1).

From Pylae Cyrus hastened in three marches (12 parasangs) through Babylonia and on the third day at midnight inspected both the Hellenes and his Barbarians in a plain (*ibid.*, I, 7: 1). Then he advanced one day (3 parasangs) in battle array, thinking that the Great King would engage him in battle on the same day, as he found in the middle of the march a ditch three fathoms deep and five fathoms wide dug by the Great King as a defence against the invader and stretching across the plain for twelve parasangs as far as the Median Wall. (A gloss here adds that in the same district he found four other ditches running from the Tigris. These were one *plethrum* wide and deep enough for ships laden with corn. They emptied into the Euphrates at a distance of one parasang from each other and could be crossed on bridges.) On the bank of the Euphrates between the river and the ditch which the Great King had dug was a

narrow passage about twenty feet wide. Cyrus passed through this narrow opening, thus putting the ditch behind him. Meeting with no resistance, he and the others thought that as yet it was not the Great King's intention to fight; therefore on the next day (the fifth from Pylae) they went ahead less cautiously (*ibid.*, I, 7: 14—19).

On the third day (of their marching in battle array; the sixth from Pylae) Cyrus drove in a chariot; with him were only a few soldiers prepared to fight, while the greater part of the army marched without any set formation ... (*ibid.*, I, 7: 20). The sun was already high in the heavens, and the place where they meant to encamp was not far off, when the Persian Patetygias suddenly announced that the Great King was approaching in battle array with a big army ... Cyrus jumped from the chariot and ordered all to arm themselves and take their places. This was done with great speed. Clearchus posted his right wing with the Euphrates in his rear ... (*ibid.*, I, 8: 1—4). It was already noon and still the enemy did not appear. But after noon a cloud of white dust was sighted ... (*ibid.*, I, 8: 8), and a battle ensued, in which Cyrus fell (*ibid.*, I, 8: 27). Clearchus with his Hellenes would not withdraw the right wing from the river, but Ariaeus with the Barbarian troops on the left wing was unable to resist the Persians and fled through the camp to the place from which they had marched out in the morning, which was said to be four parasangs distant (*ibid.*, I, 10: 1). Pursuing Ariaeus, the Great King plundered the camp (*loc. cit.*) and then turned against the Hellenes of Clearchus ... but his Barbarians began to flee ... and the Hellenes pursued them as far as some settlement. There they halted, for beyond rose a hillock on the top of which the royal riders rallied again ... (*ibid.*, I, 10: 4—12). When the Hellenes advanced, the riders left the hillock ..., below which Clearchus halted with his men shortly before sunset. After that he returned to the plundered camp, where he remained all night and the following day (*ibid.*, I, 10: 17—19; II, 1: 2).

Towards the evening the Hellenes, led by Clearchus, began to retire and reached at midnight their former camping ground, where they met Ariaeus (*ibid.*, II, 2: 8). At daybreak they set out again in such a way that the sun was on their right, being of the opinion that by sunset they would reach the villages of Babylonia. In the afternoon a few thought they saw the enemy's cavalry in the distance ..., but this did not make Clearchus deviate from his route ...; he followed a straight course ahead, until he reached the first villages just at sunset with the advance guard (*ibid.*, II, 2: 13—16). Early the next morning the Hellenes were ordered by Clearchus to proceed on their march in battle array ... (*ibid.*, II, 2: 18—21). The following day after sunrise the royal heralds made their appearance, offering an armistice. Clearchus declared after a while that he would agree to a truce, but demanded to be led to a place where supplies could be had (*ibid.*, II, 3: 1—5). When this was done, Clearchus marched out to conclude the armistice. The army advanced in battle array, while he protected the rear guard. Across the numerous ditches and canals filled with water, which it was impossible to cross without bridges, the Hellenes placed palm trees which were already lying there or had first to be cut down... In this manner they came to the villages, where their leaders gave them food (*ibid.*, II, 3: 10—14).

After a halt of three days they were visited by Tissaphernes (*ibid.*,

II, 3: 17), who had been sent to them with other Persians by the Great King and who, after negotiating with Clearchus, returned the same day to the king. The next day he did not show himself . . . but on the third day he came (*ibid.*, II, 3: 25) to conclude a treaty with the Hellenes and then again returned to the Great King. Following this the Hellenes waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days (*ibid.*, II, 4: 1), after which they resumed their march under his guidance (*ibid.*, II, 4: 8—9). After three days they reached the so-called Median Wall and then crossed the area enclosed by it. This wall, built of bricks joined by bitumen, measured twenty feet in width and one hundred in height, was about twenty parasangs long, and was not far distant from Babylon (*ibid.*, II, 4: 12).

From here they made two marches (8 parasangs), crossing two canals, one by a permanent bridge, the other by a bridge formed of seven boats. These canals ran out of the Tigris . . ., which they also finally reached at a point about fifteen stades from the large inhabited town of Sittace, where they encamped (*ibid.*, II, 4: 13—14).

Clearchus asked a messenger who came to him about the extent of the territory between the Tigris and the (second) canal and was answered that it was a big country with many settlements and numerous towns of considerable size. The Barbarians feared lest the Hellenes should destroy the Tigris bridge and remain in this country, which formed an island shut in by the Tigris and the canal; here they would be sure of plenty of food as well as of workers to cultivate the soil (*ibid.*, II, 4: 21—22).

With the daybreak the Hellenes began very cautiously to cross the bridge over the Tigris, which was supported on 37 boats, and came after four marches (20 parasangs) to the river Physcus, one *plethrum* wide and provided with a bridge, where the large town of Opis was situated (*ibid.*, II, 4: 24—25). From here they marched through Media, finally reaching in six marches (30 parasangs) through wild regions the settlements belonging to Parysatis, mother of both Cyrus and the Great King . . . (*ibid.*, II, 4: 27), where they found grain, fruit, and other supplies. From there, with the Tigris on their left, in four marches (20 parasangs) through a rugged district they reached the river Zapatas, four *plethra* wide (*ibid.*, II, 4: 28; II, 5: 1).

Reconstruction of the Route of the Ten Thousand

The part of the route described by Xenophon which is of interest to us is that which leads from the harbor of Myriandrus on the Mediterranean to the town of Thapsacus on the Euphrates and along the left bank of this river as far as the place where Cyrus the Younger lost both the battle and his life. Not far from this point the route leaves the Euphrates, crosses the Tigris at Sittace, and on the left bank of the latter stream at the town of Opis reaches its tributary, the Physcus.

To state more exactly what route the army followed is not easy if we have to depend on Xenophon's notes alone. The direction is given by him only once and he mentions only a few places, the positions of which he indicates very superficially. The distances he defines by daily marches and parasangs. If these had been determined with precision and the records preserved to us, it would be safe to follow them, but it seems that the marches were not measured by the Greek foot-soldiers, but merely estimated

roughly; furthermore, it is also probable that the original figures have suffered many changes in transcription. Xenophon quotes five day's marches at four parasangs each; seven at five; nine at five and one-half; five at six; and eighteen at seven. Of the last eighteen, thirteen were through a rough and nearly impassable region where neither man nor beast could possibly have proceeded for thirteen days at a rate of seven parasangs a day.

As Xenophon (*ibid.*, II, 2: 6; V, 5: 4) counts thirty stades to a parasang, the distance between Thapsacus and the settlement near which Cyrus was killed would be 5940 stades. Plutarch, *Artoxerxes*, 8, calls this place Cunaxa and states that it lies 500 stades from Babylon. This would make Thapsacus 6440 stades from Babylon. Eratosthenes, however, placed it at only 4800 stades from Babylon.

Of much greater service to us than the parasangs in determining the positions on the march of the Ten Thousand are the daily marches. From Pylae, which may be located with accuracy from physiographic features, to the river Araxes — which could only be al-Ḫâbûr — the distance is 355 kilometers. Xenophon fixes this distance at 128 parasangs and says that the army made it in eighteen marches. One march would therefore amount to about twenty kilometers, or seven parasangs; and one parasang would measure only three kilometers. This, however, according to other authorities, is incorrect. On the other hand, the same agreement in the relation of the daily marches with the actual distances and the same discrepancy in regard to the length of the parasang is also found in other passages in Xenophon.

Position of Thapsacus

The starting point of Xenophon's route was the harbor of Myriandrus, the ruins of which lie 13 kilometers southwest of Alexandretta; its first goal was the Euphrates at the town of Thapsacus. The shortest line between Myriandrus and the Euphrates is 210 kilometers long, to the bend where the river leaves its south-southwesterly course and turns southeast. It would be futile to look for Thapsacus south or north of this bend, as Xenophon would then have had to march for some distance along the right bank of the river. His whole narrative makes it appear that he did not reach the Euphrates before reaching Thapsacus. He did not swerve northeast, inland, because then he would have had to return along the left bank, and it would have been equally impossible for him to have turned southeast, as the salina of Ǧabbûl with the surrounding marshes, as well as the barren, waterless country between the marshes and the river compels all caravans coming from the west or northwest to go directly to the Euphrates at the bend.

Moreover, we are almost compelled to look for the ford of Thapsacus in the immediate neighborhood of the Euphrates bend, when we compare two statements of Strabo. In the *Geography*, XI, 12: 3; XI, 14: 2, Strabo writes: "When the Euphrates leaves the mountains and enters Syria, it turns southeast as far as Babylon . . ." The second passage (*ibid.*, XVI, 1: 13) runs thus: "Then the Euphrates breaks through the Taurus, runs as far as Thapsacus . . ., and then it rolls on, dividing lower Syria from Mesopotamia, as far as Babylon."

To the same bend we are brought by Arrian (*Anabasis*, III, 7), who writes: "Alexander crossed with his army to the other side and from there, with the Euphrates and the Armenian mountains on his left, he marched still farther inland and through Mesopotamia to the Tigris." The words "with the Euphrates on his left" become true if Alexander crossed the Euphrates at the bend and then turned northeast, for thus he would have seen the Euphrates on his left for three days, while the reach of the river on his right would have been lost to his view on the first day. If he had crossed the river farther to the north or south of the bend, he would have seen it on either the one or the other side for about the same time.

The location of Thapsacus at this bend is further emphasized by Strabo, where he writes (*op. cit.*, XVI, 1 : 21f.) that the distance between the Euphrates and Tigris is the greatest at the foot of the mountain range and that this may be the very distance of 2400 stades fixed by Eratosthenes as the distance from Thapsacus, where there was once a bridge across the Euphrates, to the ford on the Tigris which Alexander crossed. A single glance at the map shows us that the greatest width of Mesopotamia is between the great bend of the Euphrates and the Tigris below Ğezîret ibn ʿOmar along the base of the Taurus mountains. The stade of Eratosthenes, as we may infer from Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 14 : 53, was 157.5 meters or at most 159.75 meters long; hence the 2400 stades would equal about 378 or 383 kilometers, a distance which agrees essentially with the distance from the bend (Thapsacus) to the Tigris ford (about 400 kilometers).

According to Strabo (*op. cit.*, II, 1 : 21, 26f., 36), Eratosthenes determined the distance between Thapsacus and Babylon along the Euphrates as 4800 stades, the equivalent of 756 or 766.8 kilometers. If we measure the road used to this day along the left bank of the Euphrates we arrive, at 765 kilometers upstream from Babylon, at the Samûma ruin in the very bend under consideration. This road was so much frequented in the time of both Alexander and the first Seleucids that it might well have been measured accurately. Thus the figure of 4800 stades may have become traditional. This, therefore, justifies us in referring to this coincidence and in locating the Thapsacus ford at the Samûma ruin.

Strabo (*op. cit.*, II, 1 : 26) cites Eratosthenes to the effect that the measured distance north from Thapsacus to the Armenian Gates was said to be 1100 stades. In a straight line 1100 stades, or approximately 173 kilometers, north from Samûma as the crow flies brings us near the ancient ford of Zeugma near Samosata in Commagene, actually 166 kilometers north of Samûma. It seems, therefore, that this Zeugma must have formed the farthest point of a direct survey from Thapsacus northward, for elsewhere Strabo gives the distance thither along the Euphrates as "not less than two thousand stades" (*ibid.*, XVI, 1 : 22). This latter, however, is a merely superficial statement and, as is evident from the context, is quite misleading, the actual distance from Samûma to Samsât along the river being, not 315 kilometers or 2000 stades, but 240 kilometers or 1500 stades. Therefore the word οὐκ (not) should be struck out of the text, which should read "less than two thousand stades."

The argument for the position of Thapsacus at the Euphrates bend, whence the distance to the Mediterranean is shorter than from other points, is also supported by Aristobulus' story (Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 19;

Strabo, *op. cit.*, XVI, 1 : 11) that Alexander had boats made in Phoenicia and on the island of Cyprus and transported in sections to Thapsacus, seven stages (*stathmoi*) distant, where they were joined together and floated downstream to Babylon. If these boats were made at Myriandrus, which belonged to the Phoenicians, or in Cyprus, and from there delivered at the site of Alexandretta, they could have been carried on wagons or pack animals to Thapsacus in seven days. The whole distance, if we follow the present road, amounts to 210 kilometers, which if made in seven days would necessitate a speed of thirty kilometers daily for a pack caravan. But this distance could be shortened if the boats were unloaded on the river Orontes at the site of the later Antioch. Thirty kilometers a day is the maximum speed of a heavily laden caravan on a journey of considerable duration.

The position of Thapsacus at the bend is likewise indirectly confirmed by Ptolemy, when we compare his statements with those of the Arabic authors and modern natives. According to Ptolemy (*Geography*, V, 15: 7), Thapsacus lay on the borders of Syria and Arabia; according to the Arabic writers, the settlement of Bâlis, situated in the Euphrates bend six kilometers from Samûma, also marked the border between Arabia and Syria.

Ernst Herzfeld (Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise* [1911], Vol. 1, pp. 143ff.) locates Thapsacus at the Tell Ṯadejjên, 66 kilometers east of Samûma and not far from ar-Raḳḳa, on the site of the ancient Nicephorium. The length of the present road from Alexandretta by way of Aleppo to the Tell Ṯadejjên he determines as 327.5 kilometers and writes (*ibid.*, p. 145) that it now takes a caravan only seven days to make this journey. This, however, is incorrect, as no caravan with a heavy load could do the requisite forty-seven kilometers a day, especially in a mountainous and rolling country like that between Alexandretta and Aleppo or between Ḫân aš-Šaʿar and Tell Ṯadejjên.

Herzfeld (*ibid.*) furthermore argues on the following grounds that Thapsacus must have been near Nicephorium. He refers to Pliny (*op. cit.*, VI, 119) who says that not far from the Euphrates lies Nicephorium, which was built by Alexander's order on account of its advantageous site. He also cites Isidore of Charax, who relates that Alexander marched by way of Nicephorium (ar-Raḳḳa). As Alexander crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, Herzfeld concludes that Thapsacus must have been near Nicephorium, since Alexander founded towns solely in positions he had himself visited. Before admitting this, however, it would be necessary to prove that Alexander really did found all the towns which made that claim for themselves, and that he also visited them in person. It is likewise certain that not only Alexander but other rulers as well were credited with the founding of Nicephorium. Therefore this argument for the position of Thapsacus loses all weight. Pliny (*op. cit.*, XXXIV, 150) himself remarks that Alexander crossed the river Euphrates by the bridge at Zeugma; this point, however, is far distant both from Nicephorium and from Tell Ṯadejjên, where Herzfeld locates his Thapsacus. Furthermore, according to Herzfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 153), who accepts the identity of Xenophon's and Ptolemy's Thapsacus, Ptolemy constantly used the scientific material accumulated during Alexander's marches, and for this reason his locating of Thapsacus in relation to Alexander's route and to Nicephorium should be decisive for the true position of Thapsacus. And yet Ptolemy places

the town not northeast but far to the southeast of Nicephorium, thus excluding the possibility of Alexander's having marched from Thapsacus through the latter town.

Samûma is situated on the southeastern boundary of the settled country and forms an important junction of roads leading from the Euphrates to fertile Syria and Mesopotamia. The caravans arriving from Babylonia or Mesopotamia left the Euphrates at Thapsacus (Samûma) and proceeded through a cultivated and settled region either west to Chalcis or northwest to Beroea and north to Bambyce (Hierapolis). As the flood plain at Samûma is fairly wide, the passage to the channel is here easy on both sides; and, since the river itself is also of considerable width, the crossing is not difficult; to this day the ford is used by commercial caravans as well as by migrating tribes. Opposite Samûma on the left bank of the Euphrates the road terminates which leads northeast to Ḥarrân (Carrhae), past which Alexander the Great probably advanced.

The town of Thapsacus flourished as long as Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Syria obeyed one sovereign and perished when these countries separated. This was the natural consequence of its position on the southeastern border of Syria proper. Palmyra, as soon as it gained a certain independence, strove for and gained control of the commercial routes from Babylonia and from southern and central Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. Thus the importance of the ford at Thapsacus was irreparably diminished. In this policy Palmyra was aided not only by the small native rulers but by their overlords, the great Parthian kings, who, if for no other reason, from political motives alone liked to see the strengthening of the buffer state of Palmyra. When the Parthians made Nicephorium their commercial center, the commercial transport from Egypt and from southern and central Syria came to pass through Palmyra, and the Euphrates was crossed near Nicephorium. If, then, the ancient Thapsacus were identical with Ṯadejjên, being on this line of trade, it would have flourished in this period also and its inhabitants would have had no reason to leave it and build the town of Sura, seven kilometers farther east. The land around Ṯadejjên is just as productive as the neighborhood of Sûrija, while the Ṯadejjên ford is much easier than the one at the latter town. But if Thapsacus was situated at the bend at Samûma, its decay under the changed political conditions is easy to understand. Nicephorium and Sura concentrated in themselves the whole commerce of the Parthian empire and Palmyrene states; the crumbling empire of the Seleucids to the northwest and northeast had Seleucia and Apamea for its mercantile centers; thus it came about that the ancient ford of Thapsacus on the frontier between these not overfriendly states was gradually avoided by the caravans. For this reason no classical author has given us the correct position of the town, the brickwork of which was probably used in building the town of Barbalissus, three kilometers to the southeast. (For a further discussion of Thapsacus, see below, Appendix VIII.)

Myriandrus to Thapsacus

To return to Xenophon, we note that it took the army twelve days to cover the distance from Myriandrus to Thapsacus (Samûma). After the first four days it reached the river Chalus. This must have been the

river ʿAfrîn; Chalus may also have been the name of a settlement on its banks. In all probability the army crossed this stream where the modern Marata Köi is situated. The distance from Myriandrus by way of the Bajlân Pass and the necessary detour through the marshy valley to Marata Köi is 65 kilometers, requiring a speed of sixteen kilometers a day for the Hellenic troops, a creditable performance considering the hundreds of meters they had to ascend and descend again.

From the Chalus they arrived in five days at the sources of the river Dardas. As Xenophon says that the width of this river was one *plethrum*, it is evident that he exaggerates and that the army could not have been at the source proper, but perhaps at the junction of two creeks which combine to form the river. In this case we could look for Xenophon's "sources of the Dardas" at the point where two creeks actually do combine to form the river Ḏahab. On the western creek there lies a village now called Abu Ṭalṭal, but in medieval times Ṭarṭar (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 529); this name might be regarded as the Greek Dardas (or Dardar, according to some manuscripts). The distance from the Chalus (Marata Köi) to the Dardas (Ḏahab) would then be about ninety kilometers, involving a march of eighteen kilometers daily through a hilly region, almost impassable in some places.

From the Dardas the army reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus in three days. The beginning of the Nahr aḍ-Ḏahab being only 55 kilometers from Samûma, a day's march would here have amounted to nineteen kilometers; we may, however, assume that the last march was much shorter than the others, just as was the case before the Chalus and Dardas were reached. On the day of arrival the march is always counted as a whole one.

Thapsacus to Pylae

At Thapsacus the army forded the Euphrates, here four stades (about 640 meters) wide, and proceeded along its left bank as far as the river Araxes, which was reached in nine days. According to Xenophon, this river marked the boundary between Syria and Arabia and had numerous wealthy settlements along its banks. It is evident that Xenophon's Araxes is the river Chaboras, or al-Ḫâbûr, which forms the dividing line between the settled country and that of the nomads. The name "Araxes" itself was probably derived from the Arabic designation for the canal bringing water from al-Ḫâbûr to the ancient town of Corsote. This canal, already known to the Assyrian king Tukulti Enurta II, was called in the Middle Ages, as it is today, Dawrîn and emptied into the Euphrates at the foot of the rocks of al-ʿArṣi or al-ʿErṣi. "Araxes" is the Greek transliteration of the Arabic ʿAraṣi (ʿArṣi or ʿErṣi in dialect), just as the Greek name of the river Axios is identical with the Arabic ʿÂṣi. Hence Xenophon transferred the Arabic designation of the canal which issues from al-Ḫâbûr and which he followed for five days to the river al-Ḫâbûr itself, which the army crossed. Now, as the distance from Thapsacus (Samûma) along the Euphrates to the Araxes (al-Ḫâbûr) is 240 kilometers, the army must have marched twenty-six kilometers daily, an unusual feat indeed. No army could have continued marching twenty-six kilometers a day for any length of time.

Both banks of the lower Ḫâbûr as well as the right bank of the Dawrîn canal are covered with ruins and are very fertile to this day. From al-Ḫâbûr Cyrus marched on the left bank of the Euphrates for five days to the ruins of the town of Corsote, which were encircled by the river Mascas.— "Korsote" (Corsote) is the old Aramaic form of the Arabic "'Araṣi" (Araxes), a name which stuck to the town once inhabited by the Arameans. That in Xenophon's time the country people appear to have pronounced the Aramaic "Korsote" in the Arabic way, "'Araṣi," is proved by the use of this designation in the form "Araxes" as applied to the canal.

As the context shows, the town of Corsote was situated at the southeastern extremity of a fertile plain; we must therefore look for it at the foot of the steep rocks of al-'Erṣi. On the left bank of the Euphrates between al-Ḫâbûr and al-'Erṣi extends a flat flood plain from which project ruin mounds, the remains of numerous towns. Through the eastern half of this plain winds the Dawrîn (Araxes) canal, now completely dried up. The western half is furrowed by innumerable old and new irrigation ditches leading from the Euphrates and Dawrîn (Araxes), a great hindrance both to marching and transport. Owing to this the commercial route follows the left bank of the canal, to which Cyrus' army also kept. This strip of the plain could fairly be described as desolate, especially if the Persian cavalry had clogged up the Araxes canal at its very beginning in such a way that no water could flow into it.

The "river," or rather the irrigation canal, of Mascas did not branch off from the Araxes, which to all appearances was dry, but from the Euphrates and encircled the ruined town of Corsote. The description of this town answers to that of the aṭ-Ṭâwi ruins at the foot of the rocks of al-'Erṣi, all around which runs an old ditch filled with water only in time of flood. Here the road leaves the flood plain and leads through the rugged hills along the river bank. From the point where Cyrus reached the Araxes (al-Ḫâbûr) to Corsote (aṭ-Ṭâwi) the distance is 90 kilometers, which would have meant eighteen kilometers for a day's march, if we do not take into consideration the possibilities that the last day's march may have been shorter than the others, that the army must already have been tired, and that the crossing of al-Ḫâbûr also must have taken some time.

From Corsote the army marched in thirteen days to Pylae ("The Gates"). This leads us to where the Tertiary formation ends and the alluvial plain of Babylonia begins at a point marked on the right bank of the Euphrates by the rocky spur of al-'Oḳoba and on the left bank by the rocks of al-Aswad. We may therefore look for the Pylae of Xenophon at the pass at the eastern foot of the latter crag.

Xenophon's picture of this part of the Euphrates valley is true to nature. The banks thereabout are formed by porous rocky bluffs containing much crystallized gypsum and dissected by innumerable short, deep gullies. In some places for a distance of many kilometers the Euphrates washes the foot of steep rocks on the left bank, leaving no room for the road, which has to follow a course far from the river over rocky ground and through gullies. Where some of the gullies run down to the Euphrates marshy and often impassable bays are formed. In a territory of this character the daily marches could not have been of equal length because the army must have taken care to reach, if not every day, then

at least every other day, a fairly large bay where it could obtain water and pasture.

It is evident from the context that the town of Charmande must have been located near Pylae. This is confirmed by Sophaenetes, who took part in Cyrus' expedition and described it (Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* [Meineke], p. 689). To me the name seems to be composed of *karm* and *Ande*. *Karm* is the Aramaic *karma'* and Arabic *karm*, meaning vineyard; *Ande* the original name of the town. Ptolemy (*Geography*, V, 18: 7) records in almost the same territory a town of Addaea, the doubled *d* of which may replace the original *nd*. Southwest of the crag of al-Aswad on the right bank of the Euphrates lies the huge ʿAdde ruin, which in its name as well as in its position corresponds with Xenophon's Charmande. Opposite this ruin on the left bank the remains of a strongly fortified building are visible; on the rocky slopes there are terrace sand piles of stones from the ancient vineyards. It is highly probable that both the building and the vineyards belonged to the town of Ande and that on the map of Mesopotamia which Ptolemy copied the settlement of Addaea was marked on the left bank of the Euphrates. Even today every large settlement on the right bank has some kind of suburb opposite on the left bank, and the natives do not differentiate between the right and left banks when speaking of such settlements.

From Corsote (aṭ-Ṭâwi) to Pylae (al-Aswad) is 265 kilometers, which involved a march of a little over twenty kilometers a day for Cyrus' army, though, for reasons already given, these marches were not always of equal length.

Pylae to Cunaxa

From Pylae the army went along the left bank of the Euphrates as far as the battle ground which, according to Plutarch, extended around the settlement of Cunaxa, at a distance of five hundred stades from Babylon. Five hundred stades, or eighty kilometers, from Babylon along the left bank of the Euphrates brings us to the al-Ḳnejṣe ruin, about four kilometers from the river. Ḳunajṣa, or Ḳnejṣe in the dialect, is the diminutive of Ḳunaṣa, and this again is the Arabic form of the Greek "Kunaxa," *ṣ* being the Greek *x*. Following Xenophon also we reach the immediate environs of al-Ḳnejṣe. From al-Aswad (Pylae) to al-Ḳnejṣe is 90 kilometers, a stretch which the army required six days to cover, at a rate of fifteen kilometers a day. We must not lose sight of the fact that the march led in its second half through an irrigated alluvial plain over numerous old and new ditches, and also that four large canals had to be crossed. The marches were longer on the first three than on the following days, especially the fourth, when the army was in full battle array and had to go through a passage barely twenty feet wide between the Euphrates and the ditch dug by the Persians to hinder the enemy's progress.

Beyond al-Aswad (Pylae) the alluvial plain was, and still is, intersected by numerous ditches, but during the first three day's marches it was not necessary to cross them. The road followed the foot of the Tertiary bluffs. Admitting that on the first three marches from Pylae (al-Aswad) the army made eighteen kilometers a day — more than that they surely could not have covered, as they had to be prepared for a

sudden attack, the tracks of the enemy's cavalry being visible — they must have had to rest at the end of the third march near al-Waššâš in the depression of al-Ḥûr. This depression, which is six kilometers wide, slopes to the east, and through it flows al-Waššâš, also known as al-Ḳarma. Al-Waššâš is not properly a canal but a natural branch of the Euphrates, from which it receives its water by two channels. South of the depression of al-Ḥûr above the left bank of the Euphrates rises another Tertiary upland, rather difficult to irrigate or cultivate. On the fourth day the army probably had to cross what is now the northern channel of al-Waššâš by a bridge and then to pass through the narrow opening between the Euphrates and the newly dug ditch. Being in battle array they could not have covered a great distance; as Xenophon himself estimates the fourth day's march from Pylae at no more than three parasangs, we are therefore justified in believing that it did not exceed ten kilometers.

The ditch three fathoms (5 m.) deep and five fathoms (8 m.) wide reached by the army at about the middle of the fourth march may have been what is now the southern channel of al-Waššâš, which, according to Xenophon, shortly before Cyrus' arrival had either been freshly excavated or perhaps dredged, undoubtedly not merely as a defense against the invaders but also for irrigation purposes. It had not, however, as yet been connected with the Euphrates and consequently contained no water. Cyrus' army could then pass over the strip of earth remaining between the ditch and the Euphrates. Xenophon estimates the length of the ditch at twelve parasangs, or about three marches.

According to our estimate of the probable rate of march, the army must have encamped after the fourth day from Pylae (al-Aswad) at about the inlet of the present al-Azraḳijje canal, and after the fifth march just east of the inlet of the Daffâr (al-ʿEjsâwi) canal. We may assume, therefore, that the Greeks covered about 16 kilometers on the fifth march (the length of which Xenophon does not specify) and 14 on the sixth (the length of which Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 10: 1, asserts, was said to have been 4 parasangs). This sixth march brought them nearly to the place where they had meant to encamp (*ibid.*, I, 8: 1), but the battle ensued in the afternoon. The battle line must have been drawn up to the east of this intended camping ground, for the Persian army in its pursuit of Ariaeus swept through the Greek camp there, plundering the baggage which had been left there when the troops went into battle (*ibid.*, I, 10: 1, 5). This position would also seem to be the camp by way of which Clearchus retired after the battle (*ibid.*, I, 10: 17).

Our estimate of the total length of the six marches from Pylae (al-Aswad) to Cunaxa as given by Xenophon brings us to the al-Ḳnejṣe ruin. Since Clearchus after the battle pursued the Persians as far as a "certain village" (Cunaxa) lying beside a hill (*ibid.*, I, 10: 11—12), we may assume that the Greek battle position with its right wing on the Euphrates must have been about five kilometers southwest of Cunaxa.

Cunaxa to the Zapatas

From Cunaxa (al-Ḳnejṣe) the Greeks returned to the camping place at the inlet of the Daffâr (al-ʿEjsâwi) canal and from there started back — either to the north or northeast, because at sunrise they had the sun on

the right — in search of some as yet unplundered Babylonian settlements which could only be north of the Euphrates. These they reached towards evening.

In agreement with our placing of the Greek camping ground close to the Daffâr canal is not only Xenophon's narrative of the march but the topography of the country as well. About four kilometers north of the Daffâr begins the barren Tertiary upland. As all the villages on the Euphrates had been completely plundered by the Great King's cavalry, the Greeks could have found no provisions in the fertile strip about four kilometers wide along the river here, nor any villages on the adjacent upland. The villages were situated about seventeen kilometers farther off, in the depression of al-Ḥûr by the present ruin mound of al-Ašhâbi. In this depression, now cultivated and productive, as well as between the site of al-Ašhâbi and the Umm Ḳetîme ruin at the Median Wall, were rich Babylonian villages, where the Greeks laid in a stock of provisions.

As far as this point we have been able to follow the march described by Xenophon with accuracy, as we have had the guidance not only of Xenophon but also of the Euphrates. North of the camping ground at the Daffâr, however, Xenophon left the river without mentioning either the direction or the distance covered by the army before it reached the Median Wall on the fourth march from the Babylonian villages.

In the two marches from the Median Wall to the vicinity of Sittace the Greeks did not make much headway, as they had to cross two canals; the second march, judging from the context, was very short. The marching was then, and still is, very difficult, as the ground in that region is intersected by countless old and new ditches.

It is remarkable that Xenophon, whose description of the country generally agrees with the facts, could make all the Babylonian canals rise in the Tigris, when all the canals he had to cross probably took their water from the Euphrates and led into the Tigris, as did the canal of Patti Bêl (see above, p. 202).

He writes (*Anabasis*, II, 4: 13) that beyond the Median Wall the Greeks crossed two canals issuing from the Tigris. The lay of the land, however, renders it almost impossible for two such canals to issue from the Tigris in this region at the present time, and the same was undoubtedly true in Xenophon's time. It is just barely possible that the upper or second canal might have issued from the Tigris at least ninety kilometers north of the point where the Greeks presumably crossed it in the vicinity of the mouth of the river Physcus; but in this case its left bank would have had to have been reinforced by a large dike to prevent its waters rejoining the Tigris somewhere near the site of the modern Bagdad. We may therefore assume that both of the canals which Xenophon crossed beyond the Median Wall actually issued from the Euphrates and that the first one was probably identical with the Naarmalcha (Royal River, or the present Nahr al-Malek) and the second with the Nahr Ṣarṣar of the early Arabian writers.

It is no less remarkable that he should write that the ditch dug by Artaxerxes' order runs through a plain for a distance of twelve parasangs to the Median Wall and yet should not mention it again. Had it reached the Median Wall he would have had to pass it twice, first on his march from Cunaxa northward and then on that from the Median Wall south-

eastward toward Sittace. The length of the Median Wall he states as twenty parasangs, a little too much. According to Eratosthenes (Strabo, *Geography*, II, 1: 26), Queen Semiramis had a wall built at the point where the Euphrates and Tigris are only two hundred stades distant from each other. This can be no other than the Median Wall spoken of by Xenophon. By the wall of Semiramis, where the two rivers are closest together, Eratosthenes locates the town of Opis (*ibid.*). Xenophon erroneously, as we shall explain below, places Opis at the junction of the river Physcus with the Tigris.

In order to determine this part of Xenophon's route we must ascertain as precisely as possible the points passed by him on the left bank of the Tigris. Here the two rivers named by him, the Zapatas (four *plethra* [over 120 m] wide) and the Physcus, or the frontier river (one *plethrum* [31 m] wide) dividing Babylonia from Media, are the factors. The Zapatas we might identify with the Great Zab: its very name as well as the given width indicate this. The Physcus could not have been a canal running out from the Tigris, for no such canals have ever diverged for a sufficient distance from the middle Tigris to have formed a boundary. The Physcus must therefore have been a river of some length, probably al-Adhem of today. In Xenophon's time the Dijâla to the south had already been diverted into innumerable irrigation canals and could not possibly have been one *plethrum* wide.

The journey from the Physcus to the Zapatas is divided by Xenophon into two parts: from the Physcus to the settlements of Parysatis, six marches; and from there as far as the Zapatas, four marches. The distance between the rivers al-Adhem and Zab along the Tigris is 260 kilometers. Six marches from the Physcus (al-Adhem) led through a wilderness, and not until the sixth march did the army reach the fertile region of the settlements of Parysatis, which had grain, fruit, and other provisions in abundance. Nearly 160 kilometers north of al-Adhem extends the fertile basin of the Little Zab, which could have been reached in six day's marches of twenty-seven kilometers each. For this reason we may locate the settlements of Parysatis there. Thence to the mouth of the Great Zab is ninety-six kilometers, a distance that could have been covered in four days at a rate of nearly twenty-four kilometers a day, the last march probably being shorter than the others.

We see that the Hellenic army went from the Physcus to the settlements of Parysatis at a speed which had previously been kept up on the march from Thapsacus to the Araxes. If we admit that the Greeks had proceededat the same rate after crossing the Tigris near Sittace, reckoning backward four marches of twenty-five kilometers from al-Adhem (Physcus) along the Tigris brings us to the confines of the later town of Seleucia as a probable site of Sittace. Twenty-five kilometers a day would have been a notable speed, considering that it was necessary to pass over all the canals of the Dijâla river. Accordingly, the Greeks must have crossed the Tigris near the present Tell ʿOmar ruins somewhat to the north of the site of Seleucia. The Median Wall must therefore be looked for at more than two day's marches northwest from there, and the Babylonian villages at more than three short day's marches north-northwest from the Median Wall.

APPENDIX III

ISIDORE OF CHARAX ON THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

Isidore's Schoenus

Isidore of Charax describes in his *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), pp. 247—249, the Parthian highway from Nicephorium along the banks of the Euphrates to Seleucia and records the halting places which were best known in the first century of our era. His statements are very valuable, as he gives the distances between the several stations in *schoeni* and also the totals of these *schoeni* from the station of Phaliga, situated on the river Aburas (al-Ḫâbûr), to Seleucia. His work would provide us with an excellent basis for defining the location of the different halting places if his original figures had been correctly preserved. But even a passing glance over his *Mansiones* shows that the present numbers cannot be correct. In the total the distance from Phaliga to Seleucia is given as 100 *schoeni*; but, if the distances between the stations are added up, the result is 118 *schoeni*. Since it is more likely that the total, one single figure, has been preserved intact than that the several distances consisting of many figures have remained unaltered by copyists, we may assume that the number 100 is correct. We desire, however, to prove this.

In the present discussion of Isidore's data and in those that will follow of certain Arabic itineraries, it is of great importance for us in each case to adopt a working figure for the lengths of the various units of measurement. By a "working figure" we mean one which represents the ratio between the actual distance between two known points as expressed in kilometers and the same distance as given by our authorities in stades, *schoeni*, parasangs, Arabic miles, etc. Such a working figure, it is true, may not represent the length of the stade, *schoenus*, parasang, or mile as conceived by the Greek or Arabic writers. On the other hand, for any study of the relative accuracy of the various distances given by them and as an aid in determining doubtful positions in relation to known positions the working figure is obviously of greater value than the theoretical figure.

Let us determine a working figure for the length of Isidore's *schoenus*. For this purpose we have chosen the following distances as given by him between certain points the positions of which are known:

From Phaliga to Dura: 10 *schoeni*; in reality 47 kilometers; therefore 1 *schoenus* = 4.7 km.

From Dura to Giddan: 10 *schoeni*; in reality 47 kilometers; therefore 1 *schoenus* = 4.7 km.

From Giddan to Anatha: 17 *schoeni*; in reality 80 kilometers; therefore 1 *schoenus* = 4.7 km.

From Anatha to Thilabus: 2 *schoeni*; in reality 14 kilometers.

In the last case one *schoenus* would equal 7 kilometers; but if the figure 2 has been erroneously transcribed for 3, we get one *schoenus* = 4.7 km.

From Thilabus to Izan: 12 *schoeni*; in reality 58 kilometers; therefore one *schoenus* = 4.8 km.

From Izan to Is: 22 *schoeni*; in reality 57 kilometers; in this instance one *schoenus* would be only 2.6 kilometers. If the figure 22, however, has been erroneously transcribed for 12, we have an average of 4.75 kilometers for one *schoenus*.

We may therefore accept as our working figure for the length of one *schoenus* as used by Isidore approximately 4.7 kilometers and thus locate the next two stations, the positions of which are not as certain as those of the previous ones.

From Is to Besechana is given as 12 *schoeni* (56.5 km.). Fifty-five kilometers from Is, which corresponded to the modern town of Hît, lies the prosperous settlement of ar-Rumâdi, which I believe marks the site of the station of Besechana.

A road led from Besechana also along the right bank of the Euphrates as far as the station of Neapolis, whence it turned across the river and across the Royal Canal to Seleucia. From here (Neapolis) to Seleucia was 9 *schoeni*, or about 42 kilometers, the actual distance from the site of Seleucia to the Euphrates in a westerly and southwesterly direction.

If we add up the figures in *schoeni* so far given and corrected as I have suggested (that is 10, 10, 17, 3, 12, 12, 12, 9), we get 85, or 15 less than the total of 100 given by Isidore. If, however, as we shall explain below, the distance between Besechana and Neapolis should be 15 and not 22 *schoeni* as stated in the text, the total would become 100. At 15 *schoeni*, or about 70 kilometers, from ar-Rumâdi (Besechana) along the right bank of the Euphrates, we reach the Bitra ruins, directly west of Seleucia, which may, therefore, be identical with the ancient station of Neapolis.

Reconstruction of Isidore's Itinerary

Nicephorium to Phaliga

Having thus determined a working figure for the length of the *schoenus* as used by Isidore and the total of the distances between Phaliga and Seleucia, we may turn our attention to the identification of the different stations.

Adding up the various distances between Nicephorium and Phaliga, we get a total of 30 *schoeni*, or 141 kilometers; but in reality the distance is 165 kilometers, or 35 *schoeni*. Isidore's statements here, however, have not been accurately preserved. In order to find the source of the mistake, we may first divide up the whole distance into two parts, from Nicephorium to the "Ditch of Semiramis" and from there to Phaliga. The "Ditch of Semiramis" we can locate only at the present Zelebijje ruin, where the Euphrates leaves the narrows and below which a fertile alluvial plain spreads along its left bank. There only would it have been possible to confine the current and divert the waters into a "ditch" or canal. Near Zelebijje we actually find the remains of an old irrigation canal now called al-Maṣrân. According to Isidore, it is 16 *schoeni* from Nicephorium to the "Ditch of Semiramis;" but the actual distance from the site of Nicephorium to the canal with which we identify the "ditch" is 90 kilometers, equaling 19 *schoeni*.

From Zelebijje to the site of Phaliga on al-Ḫâbûr is 75 kilometers, or 16 *schoeni*, whereas from the "Ditch of Semiramis" to Phaliga Isidore gives as only 14 *schoeni*.

To consider now the data provided by Isidore in reverse order from the "Ditch of Semiramis" back to Nicephorium: at 33 kilometers northwest of Zelebijje we reach the group of Tell Maṭabb ruins, which we regard as the royal station Thillada Mirrada, 7 *schoeni* distant from the "Ditch of Semiramis." Seven *schoeni* equal 33 kilometers. From the Tell Maṭabb to the west there are no large ruins except al-Hadâwi at 19 kilometers, a place we might identify with the settlement of Chumbane, four *schoeni* from Thillada Mirrada.

Isidore states that from Chumbane to the nearest station, the deserted settlement of Galabatha, it was only one *schoenus*. At this distance from al-Hadâwi are situated the Tell as-Sulṭân ruins.

From Galabatha to Nicephorium it was 4 *schoeni* according to Isidore; but in reality it is 33 kilometers, or 7 *schoeni*, from the Tell as-Sulṭân to the site of Nicephorium.

If we add up these several actual distances between the "Ditch of Semiramis" and Nicephorium, the total will be 19 *schoeni*, not 16 as according to Isidore, the error probably lying in an erroneous transcription of the distance from Nicephorium to Galabatha, where by the figure 7 may have been changed to 4.

From Zelebijje along the Euphrates to al-Ḫâbûr we know of only two ruins of any significance. The first, Saʿwa, stands on an escarpment above the flood plain, while the second, as-Sinn, with a shrine renowned throughout the neighborhood, forms a small knoll in the alluvium. Isidore likewise knew of only two stations in this stretch: Allan and Beonan, in the latter of which he mentions a temple of Artemis. From Zelebijje to Saʿwa is 25 kilometers, or 5 *schoeni*; from Saʿwa to as-Sinn 28 kilometers, or 6 *schoeni;* from as-Sinn to al-Ḫâbûr 25 kilometers, or 5 *schoeni*. Isidore gives the distance from the "Ditch of Semiramis" to Allan as 6 *schoeni*, from Allan to Beonan as 4 *schoeni*, and from Beonan to Phaliga also as 4 *schoeni*, making a total of 14, or 2 short of our total of 16 from Zelebijje to al-Ḫâbûr. Erroneous transcriptions of Isidore's text, however, are so easily conceivable that we may safely identify the little town of Allan with the Saʿwa ruins, and Beonan with its temple of Artemis as corresponding to the large ruin mound of as-Sinn and its shrine.

Phaliga to Is

The settlement of Phaliga, the name of which Isidore (*op. cit.*, p. 248) translates as "half-way," was identical with a section of the later Circesium. Close to it, according to Isidore, was situated the little town of Nabagath on the river Aburas, a tributary of the Euphrates. Troops sent to the Roman territory beyond the Euphrates used to pass through this town.

From Phaliga to the settlement of Asicha Isidore gives as 4 *schoeni*, or 18 kilometers. This distance from al-Ḫâbûr leads us to the present al-Msâjeḥ ruins. The root of the word "Msâjeḥ" contains the same consonants as Isidore's "Asicha".

The next station, Dura — which Isidore describes as the ancient town of Nicanor, built by the Macedonians and called Europus by the Greeks — lay at a distance of 6 *schoeni*, or about 28 kilometers. Twenty-nine kilometers from al-Msâjeḥ are the extensive ruins of the fortified town of ač-Ča'âbi, which we may identify with a suburb of the Macedonian colony of Dura or Eurcpus, the modern aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje.

According to Isidore, from Dura to the fortress of Merran was 5 *schoeni*, or 23.5 kilometers. At 23.5 kilometers from ač-Ča'âbi we arrive at some swamps, now deeply cut into by the Euphrates, which may also have carried away the remains of the fortress of Merran. Along both banks of the Euphrates settlements often disappear, as the channel constantly changes. If Merran has not been lost altogether, it might possibly be located at the al-Kišme ruins not far from the *še'îb* of al-Mesârîn. The original word from which Mesrân (the singular of Mesârîn) was derived was perhaps changed into the form Merran. But if al-Kišme be identified with Mesrân, it actually lies 29 kilometers, or 6 *schoeni*, from the site of Dura and not 5 *schoeni* as Isidore would have it, the distance thence to Isidore's next station, the town of Giddan, should be 4 *schoeni* and not 5 as Isidore states it.

Giddan is identical with the large aš-Šejḫ Ĝâber ruins, which extend on both banks of the Euphrates 23.5 kilometers from the swamps and 17.5 kilometers from al-Kišme, figures which agree with our definition of 5 or 4 *schoeni* from the two possible sites of Merran.

The distance between Giddan and Belesi Biblada is stated by Isidore as 7 *schoeni*, or 33 kilometers. Exactly at that distance on the rocky left bank of the Euphrates rise the ruins with the small fortress of Ertâğe, important for their position, as the Euphrates forms a deep cove right below them, where river boats find a safe harbor.

From Ertâğe to the islet of Srejser is 31 kilometers; according to Isidore the distance from Belesi Biblada to the unnamed islet where the Parthian king Phraates had his treasures was 6 *schoeni*. We may therefore identify Srejser with Phraates' islet. On this little island, according to Isidore (*op. cit.*, p. 249), Phraates killed his wives when the banished Tiridates returned. This was Phraates IV, against whom Tiridates II revolted in 32 B. C. After his banishment to Syria Tiridates had returned to the Euphrates and suddenly attacked Phraates.

From Srejser to 'Âna is 18 kilometers; according to Isidore, from Phraates' island to the island of Anatha was 4 *schoeni*, which exactly agrees.

As the next station beyond the island of Anatha Isidore names the island of Thilabus, distant only 2 *schoeni*, or 9.5 kilometers. Thilabus may be identified with the island of Telbes; but this lies 15 kilometers, or 3 *schoeni*, from 'Âna.

From the island of Thilabus to the island town of Izan was 12 *schoeni*; from Telbes to the island of al-Eḫzâne is 58 kilometers, or 12 *schoeni*, in a direct line.

From Izan to the town of Is, with the naphtha springs, was, according to Isidore, 22 *schoeni*, or 103 kilometers; but in reality from al-Eḫzâne to Hît is barely 60 kilometers, or 12 *schoeni*. As we have already suggested, the 22 is probably due to a misreading of 12.

Is to Seleucia

Beyond Is (Hît) a highroad also led along the right bank of the Euphrates. At what point this road passed from the left bank to the right—whether at Is or seven Roman miles above this town, where Julian's army crossed (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 2: 3), we do not know. The right-bank road was preferred in order to avoid the innumerable canals and ditches, both large and small, which a few kilometers below Is branched off from the left side of the Euphrates to irrigate the fertile alluvium. Although Isidore does not say clearly that the road described by him followed the right bank, his statement makes it evident that travelers using the road from Neapolis had to cross both the Euphrates and the Royal Canal before Seleucia was reached.

The distance from Is to Besechana, where the temple of Atargatis was located, is given by Isidore as 12 *schoeni*, or 55 kilometers, which would bring us to the environs of ar-Rumâdi. In the Orient local tradition dies hard, and it is possible, even almost certain, that the ancient temple of Atargatis survived under a different name in the Christian as well as the Moslem eras. The Moslem authors knew of a settlement of Ṣandawda near ar-Rumâdi and mention a shrine there in which the memory of ʿAli was honored, east of which the first big canal runs out of the Euphrates. Isidore's Besechana might also be identified with the Massicen of Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, V, 90), as Massicen or Masken is the Arabic form of the Aramaic Besechana.

From Besechana to Neapolis according to Isidore was 22 *schoeni*, and from Neapolis to Seleucia 9 *schoeni*. The sum of the distances between the stations from Phaliga (on al-Ḥâbûr) to Besechana, after the probable errors in transcription have been eliminated, amounts to 76 *schoeni*. If we add to this the 9 *schoeni* from Neapolis to Seleucia, as we have already seen (p. 228), 15 *schoeni* would be lacking of Isidore's total of 100 *schoeni* from Phaliga to Seleucia. These 15 *schoeni* should then represent the distance from Besechana to Neapolis. The present version of Isidore, however, gives this as 22 *schoeni*. The latter distance from ar-Rumâdi, the site of Besechana, would lead us to the little modern town of al-Msajjeb, situated almost due south-southeast of the site of Seleucia; but there is no reason why travelers should have gone so far out of their way. We should expect that the highroad turned east at a point where it attained the latitude of Seleucia, somewhere between the Bitra ruins and the inlet of the present al-Maḥmûdijje canal. Just beyond the town of Bithra (according to Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 19) in 363 A.D. the Romans under the Emperor Julian, in all probability marching along the highroad, left the Euphrates and turned aside to Ctesiphon, which lay on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Seleucia. Fifteen *schoeni*, or about 70 kilometers, from ar-Rumâdi brings us to the Bitra ruins, which are identical with the town of Bithra of Zosimus. We may therefore assume that Bithra was the native name of the Greek town of Neapolis.

From Neapolis to Seleucia according to Isidore was 9 *schoeni*, or about 42 kilometers, which corresponds to the actual distance from the Bitra ruins to the ruins of Seleucia.

The highroad must have led across a bridge from the right bank

of the Euphrates to the left and then continued on the right bank of the Royal Canal, or Naarmalcha, which it crossed shortly before reaching Seleucia.

At Neapolis we may locate a bridge destroyed by the Persians in 580 A. D. when the Roman army, commanded by Maurice and accompanied by the phylarch and patrician al-Mundir ibn al-Ḥâreṯ with the Arab auxiliaries was approaching. John of Ephesus (*Ecclesiastical History*, III, 40; VI, 16f.) writes explicitly that this bridge of boats had been built across the Euphrates in Bêth Aramâje' near the Persian capital. Bêt Aramâje' was the Syriac name for the northwestern part of Babylonia proper. Its capital was Ctesiphon, situated due east of Neapolis (or Bitra). The Romans under Maurice also had boats in which they carried their provisions and military equipment. No report makes it clear whether they had marched along the left or right bank of the Euphrates or along both banks. If they had marched on the left bank, they must have crossed in their own boats to the right bank above the present Hît, for southeast of Hît the alluvium begins, intersected on the left of the Euphrates by innumerable canals and irrigation ditches. There is no doubt that the Persians, aware of the advance of the Roman army, were carefully guarding the borders of the Babylonian alluvium. That they would have destroyed the bridge at Neapolis was evident; therefore it is hard to understand why some Greek records blame al-Mundir for the check which the Romans encountered here. Perhaps they would imply that he should have remained on the left bank of the Euphrates, outflanked the Persians, attacked them in the rear, and pressed them back from the destroyed bridge. If he had done this, the Romans could have bridged the river anew with their boats and, protected by al-Mundir's Arabs, have passed over to the left bank. But it seems that al-Mundir could not make up his mind to attempt such a stroke, and consequently Maurice was unable to build a bridge for himself and his army.

APPENDIX IV

THE MARCH OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN IN 363 A. D.

The march of the Emperor Julian along the middle Euphrates was described by the eyewitnesses Magnus of Carrhae, Eutychianus of Cappadocia, and Ammianus Marcellinus. The report of the last-named alone has been preserved intact. Of the others, we know of only a few fragments, published by C. Müller in the fourth volume of his *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris, 1851), pp. 4—6. Much, however, was taken from Magnus of Carrhae by Zosimus, a contemporary of the Emperor Zeno, and included in Zosimus' Roman history, which we still have.

Julian's March According to Ammianus Marcellinus

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, on March 26, 363 A. D., Julian arrived with his army on the river Belias at the strongly fortified com-

mercial center, Callinicus. With the dawn of the next day he set off along the left bank of the Euphrates. At some halting place homage was paid to him by Saracen chiefs, who presented him with a golden crown and offered him auxiliary troops, both of which he gladly accepted. While he was still treating with the chiefs, a fleet consisting of one thousand freight boats, fifty troop transport boats, and an equal number of pontoons arrived. (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIII, 3: 7—9.)

Accompanied by the Saracen auxiliaries, he now accelerated his march and on the first of April entered Cercusium (Circesium), a strongly built fortress, the walls of which were encircled by the rivers Abora (al-Ḫâbûr) and Euphrates, making the space inside look like an island. This fortress was originally but small and had afforded little protection until Diocletian, at the time when he was regulating the *limes interior* on the barbarian frontier, had it enclosed by walls and high towers to keep the Persians from making raids into Syria and causing much damage in the provinces, as they had done in the time of the Emperor Gallienus. (*Ibid.*, XXIII, 5: 1—3.)

Julian waited at Cercusium until the army and all who accompanied him had safely passed the pontoon bridge across the Abora. Then, crossing the river himself, he had the bridge removed in order to discourage deserters. From the Abora they reached a place called Zaitha, this name meaning "Olive Tree," where stood a monument to the Emperor Gordian, visible from afar. After paying honors to his predecessor, Julian hastened toward the deserted town of Dura. On the way his soldiers captured a large lion. (*Ibid.*, XXIII, 5: 4—8.)

Marching along the river Euphrates, they reached Dura in two days. There they sighted several herds of deer, the greater part of which swam the river and escaped into the desert. After four more easy marches the emperor in the evening sent boats with a thousand armed men commanded by Lucillian to take the fort of Anatha, situated like many others on an island in the Euphrates. The armed boats made a night attack, but without success. At dawn the inhabitants begged for mercy, driving before them a garlanded bull, which with these people signified a desire for peace. The fort was then given over to the flames, its commander Pusaeus appointed a tribune, and the inhabitants with all their property sent to the Syrian town of Chalcis. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 1: 5—9.)

The next day there broke out a storm of such violence that many tents were torn down; the raging river overthrew the dam protecting the boats, and some of those which were laden with grain sank. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 1: 11.)

When the army had been supplied with food, the emperor had the standing grain as well as all the huts set on fire, thus causing damage to the enemy, who were watching his actions from the opposite bank. When a drunken soldier crossed to the other side of the river, he was captured and killed before the eyes of his comrades. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 1: 14—16.)

Following the river, they reached the fort of Thilutha, which projected from the middle of the stream like a gigantic hill and was fortified by nature as well as by man. Fearing the taunts of the enemy in case of defeat, they did not try to take the fort but merely asked the inhabitants

to surrender; the latter answered that they would join the Romans only if the Romans were victorious and got possession of the kingdom, and they then inactively watched the Roman boats floating by. A like refusal was given to the Romans by another island fort, Achaiachala, to pass which was very difficult. The next day the Romans set fire to a fort which had been deserted by its garrison owing to its weak fortifications. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 2: 1—2.)

Having marched two hundred stades during the following two days, they reached a place called Baraxmalcha, where they crossed the river and attacked the town of Diacira, seven miles away, a place which had been deserted by its inhabitants but contained large stores of grain and pure salt. There they saw a temple built in a fort on a high hill. Having burned the town and killed a few women there, they marched by a naphtha spring and occupied the town of Ozogardana, the terrified inhabitants of which had also fled. There the judgment seat (*tribunal*) of the Emperor Trajan was shown. After resting there for two days, they proceeded to the village of Macepracta, where they found remains of half-demolished ramparts, which stretched to a great distance. These were said to have protected Assyria against foreign invaders in ancient times. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 2: 3—6.)

At this point the Euphrates divides, one branch of the river flowing to inner Babylonia, thus benefiting not a little the surrounding fields and towns; the other branch, called Naarmalcha, which signifies "Kings' River," flowing towards Ctesifon (*sic.*). At the inlet of the latter rises a tall tower resembling the Pharos (lighthouse at Alexandria). All the foot soldiery passed over the bridges which the Romans had carefully built and soon reached the large and populous town of Pirisaboras, fortified like an island town. Riding around the town, the emperor examined its position closely with the object of filling the inhabitants with fear of a coming siege; he also attempted both by promises and threats to make them yield. All this being without avail, he encircled the town with a threefold ring of armed men, had missiles thrown into it day and night, and then, at night time, brought up the war engines and ordered the moats to be filled. When the corner tower was demolished by the Romans, the defenders left the double walls of the town and occupied a castle built on a high isolated hill within the fortifications. This castle rose in its center to a great height and on the northern side fell off steeply to the Euphrates; it was built of burned bricks mortared with pitch. Finally the defenders yielded. There were only 2500 in all; the rest in small boats had fled in time to the other side of the river. The Romans found in the castle great quantities of arms and provisions and took from them what they needed, burning the rest and the town as well. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 2: 7—22.)

After marching about fourteen miles from there, they reached fields which were naturally swampy and had been entirely flooded by the Persians, and there they rested the next day. Meanwhile the emperor had many bridges made from hides and pontoons as well as from palm branches, on which he brought the army over with great difficulty. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 3: 10—11.)

Having passed several islands and repulsed a treacherous attack of the enemy's bowmen, they came to a region where the Euphrates almost

disappeared by supplying water to several ditches and canals. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 3: 14.)

Here the soldiers burned a settlement enclosed with rather low walls; the inhabitants were Jews, but they had fled. Proceeding farther, the emperor ordered a camp to be built near the large, strongly walled town of Maiozamalcha and, posting guards all around against a sudden attack of the Persian cavalry, he besieged and took the town. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 4: 1—26.)

Having taken Maiozamalcha, Julian started with his army to cross on pontoon bridges constructed by his soldiers over numerous ditches to a double line of fortifications, where the son of the Persian king attempted to oppose him with an army from Ctesifon. Terrified, however, by the sight of the Romans, the Persians fled without a fight. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 4: 31.)

Marching on, they came to a royal castle built in the Roman style and then reached an extensive, circular royal game preserve full of wild animals, beyond which the Roman army encamped inside fortifications not far from Coche, also called Seleucia. From here Julian went to see the town (of Seleucia), which had been demolished by the Emperor Verus; close by, a copious spring gushes out, the waters of which soon enter the Tigris. Setting out again after two days, the Romans had to repel continuous sallies of the town garrison as well as attacks on their rear from the Persian army on the left bank of the river. Exasperated by all this, Julian decided to possess himself of a high and powerful fort situated near Ctesifon. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 5: 1—6.)

During the siege of this fort the army suffered not only from the sorties of the garrison but also from the sudden attacks from the left side of the river. Nevertheless, the fort was taken and burned and the camp secured by deep trenches and a stout rampart against the unceasing attacks from Ctesifon. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 5: 9—12.)

The army reached the channel of the river Naarmalcha, which at the time was dry. This "river" was properly a canal which had been deepened by the orders of the Emperor Trajan and later by Severus to make it navigable for boats from the Euphrates to the Tigris. The Persians had had it filled with stones in places for fear of a hostile attack. By Julian's order the canal was cleared and the boats entered the Tigris, which was only thirty stades distant. The army then crossed the canal on pontoon bridges and approached Coche. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 6: 1—2.)

The ferrying of the army across to the left bank of the Tigris was to be carried out on the stouter boats. When this had been partly completed and a portion of the army landed, the other boats came to their aid, beating back the enemy and thus making the passage secure. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 6: 4—7.)

The army now advanced on the left bank of the Tigris almost as far as Ctesifon, fighting all the way. (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 6: 12).

Julian's March According to Zosimus

Zosimus, describing the campaign of Julian, relates that the emperor marched from Carrhae to Callinicus and from there to Circesium; that he crossed the Asbora (al-Ḥâbûr) and then sailed by boat down the Euphrates. (Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 13.)

Once past the Persian frontier he posted cavalry on the left wing and infantry on the right on the very bank of the river. Behind this advance guard the provisions were transported, the bulk of the army following at a distance of seventy (*var.*, eighty) stades (John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XIII, 18). After sixty stades the settlement of Zautha was reached and then the demolished town of Dura, with Gordian's mausoleum. From Dura after four stations (*stathmoi*) the army came to the settlement of Phathusa, opposite a fort on a densely populated island; this was besieged by an advance detachment which had remained all night unobserved. (*Ibid.*, III, 14.)

After this they reached another island fort, but so formidable that they passed it by, as they did several more. After advancing some stations farther, they entirely destroyed the town of Dacira on the right bank. On the other side of the Euphrates from Dacira a strong naphtha spring flowed out. From here the army came to Sitha, Megia, and finally to Zaragardia, where a high stone seat, ascribed by the natives to Trajan, could be seen. The town was plundered and burned. Julian sent his lieutenant, Hormisdas, ahead with a troop to find the enemy, who had secreted themselves behind a canal branching off the Euphrates. If the enemy could have forded there easily, they would have attacked Hormisdas. As it was, Hormisdas, making a detour, put them to flight. (*Ibid.*, III, 15.)

Julian next reached a canal running out of the Euphrates through the plain toward Assyria and the Tigris. The canal was deep, clogged with mud, and formed many swamps, and consequently was not easy to cross, especially as its right bank was occupied by the enemy. Therefore the emperor sent out 1500 men who crossed the canal at a distance and attacked the enemy in the rear. At the same time help was brought to this detachment by the commander, Victor, who, leaving the main army at night unperceived, crossed the canal, joined the 1500, and drove off the enemy (*ibid.*, III, 16). This maneuver made it possible for the cavalry to be ferried over in Roman vessels and the infantry in captured boats (*ibid.*, III, 17). They marched to Bersabora (Pirisaboras), a town enclosed by two circular walls and with a round castle in its center. The castle could be reached from the town only by a steep road, difficult of ascent. From the west and south the town was entered by a gate with a zigzag passage, while on the north it was encircled by a wide branch of the river, which supplied the inhabitants with water. It was protected on the east by a deep moat fortified by palisades and strong towers at the bottom built of bricks and bitumen and at the top of mud bricks and gypsum (*ibid.*, III, 17—18). The capture of this town, after Ctesiphon the largest in Assyria, was accomplished by Julian in two days; then he hastened along the Euphrates to the town of Phissenia, around which ran a deep ditch, filled by the Persians with water from the near-by canal called Royal River (Basileos Potamos). His army passed through this town and then reached a district inundated by the Persians from the Royal River as well as with water direct from the Euphrates. Crossing this with great difficulty, they occupied the town of Bithra, where they found a royal palace and extensive buildings (*ibid.*, III, 19). Pressing on, they arrived at a large palm grove and a stout fort near the town of Besuchis. The fort, built on a hillock, had a double wall with sixteen large towers and a moat full of water all around. It too was besieged and taken (*ibid.*, III, 20). The

time spent by the emperor in conquering the castle was also employed by the army in building a highroad to Ctesiphon, ninety stades distant (*ibid.*, III, 21).

Continuing his march, Julian came to a walled game preserve, where the Persian kings kept various animals; also to a building in the Roman style, and finally to the town of Meinas Sabatha (*var.*, Minas), about thirty stades from a town formerly called Zochase but in Julian's time known as Seleucia. The town of Meinas Sabatha was taken by assault. (*Ibid.*, III, 23.)

In the meanwhile the Roman army was being molested by the Persians from the other side of the river (Tigris). The Romans, however, finally reached a canal dug according to the natives by the orders of Trajan, through which the canal called Naarmalcha (Royal River) emptied into the Tigris. Julian had this canal cleaned and thus prepared a passage to the Tigris for his boats, where they could be used for building bridges for the army to cross. (*Ibid.*, III, 24.) The royal game preserve extended as far as this canal, by which the army crossed the Tigris. (*Ibid.*, III, 25.)

Reconstruction of Julian's Route

The two records of Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus are complementary and add greatly to our knowledge of the local topography of Mesopotamia in antiquity.

The Roman army marched with the Emperor Julian from Callinicus along the left bank of the Euphrates to the frontier stronghold of Circesium. How many marches were needed to arrive there it is impossible to state, as we do not know how long it took the emperor to negotiate with the kings (chiefs) of the Saracens, or how long he waited for the boats which had to accompany him. It is strange that not a single settlement between Callinicus and Circesium is mentioned. Near Circesium, where now stands the modern village of al-Bsejra, a bridge of boats was thrown across the river Abora (al-Ḫâbûr) for the army to enter the Persian Empire. Beyond this point, as before reaching it, the left wing of the advance guard was formed by cavalry and the right by a detachment of the infantry, behind which came the baggage train, and last of all the main army.

It seems, according to Zosimus, as if the bulk of the army followed at seventy (or eighty) stades in the rear of the two advance wings. The cavalry was assigned to the left wing because the surprise attacks of the enemy's cavalry were generally expected from that side. Fifty transport boats and as many pontoons always accompanied the army. The emperor proceeded either by boat or, in some places, on horseback. When the main body had covered a distance of sixty stades from the Abora (al-Ḫâbûr), it reached the settlement of Zaitha (Olive Tree), where a mausoleum had been erected in honor of the Emperor Gordian.

Eutropius, *Breviarium*, IX, 2, writes that this mausoleum was at a distance of twenty miles from Circesium. — The settlement of Zaitha may be identified with the modern al-Merwânijje, 29 kilometers or about twenty Roman miles southeast of al-Bsejra (Circesium); therefore Zosimus' sixty stades (8.6 miles) cannot be accepted as representing the actual distance between Circesium and Zaitha. It seems as if Zosimus must have

made an error in copying and as if seventy (or eighty) stades which he mentions as the distance separating the advance guard from the main body of the army actually should have been added to the sixty, for (60+80=) 140 Philetaeric stades equal 29.4 kilometers, or approximately twenty Roman miles. That Gordian's mausoleum was erected at Zaitha and not at Dura, as Zosimus states, is confirmed by several writers. From Zaitha the army proceeded to the ruined town of Dura, reaching it in two marches from Circesium.

The ruins of Dura on the left bank of the Euphrates are now called aǧ-Ča'âbi and are 50 kilometers from al-Bsejra (Circesium), i. e. two day's marches of 25 kilometers each.

From Dura to the place from which the emperor sent the boats with a thousand armed men against the island fort of Anatha the army marched in four days. If they could not march more than twenty-five kilometers a day in a plain like the one between Circesium and Dura, we cannot expect greater speed in the rough hillocks east of Dura. Four marches from aǧ-Ča'âbi (Dura) bring us at a distance of ninety kilometers to the Ertâğe ruin, below which the Euphrates boats find a safe harbor in modern times. If the Roman war vessels started from this harbor after three o'clock in the afternoon — or, as Ammianus Marcellinus (*Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 1 : 6) writes, towards the evening — and were propelled by oars and carrried by the current, they could have arrived at the fort of Anatha (the present 'Âna) before five in the morning — that is, at dawn. It would not have been difficult for them to have sailed downstream the necessary 55 kilometers (allowing for the curves in the river between Ertâğe and 'Âna) in fourteen hours.

Where Zosimus writes that the Romans came in four marches from Dura to the settlement of Phathusas, which lies opposite an island fort (Anatha), he only proves that here also he copied incorrectly. The distance from aǧ-Ča'âbi (Dura) to the point opposite 'Âna is 130 kilometers, quite two-thirds of which led through a rocky and rough territory where no army could have marched continuously at the rate of 32.5 kilometers that would be necessary if this distance were covered in four marches. To fix the position of Phathusas is not an easy task. If we give credence to Zosimus' statement that the Roman army reached it in four marches, we must look for it at Ertâğe; but if we consider the phrase in his text which places Phathusas opposite the islet of 'Âna, then it would have to be identified with the present settlement of Râwa. The narrow passage between the Euphrates and the crag on top of which Râwa proper is built is now called al-Fatḥ, a name suggesting Phathusas, though it is also possible that this name may be a corruption of Bethauna ('Âna).

Apparently the inhabitants of the island fort of Anatha were in collusion with the Romans and surrendered without much resistance. Only thus can we explain why its commander received a reward and why the inhabitants were removed to the town of Chalcis (Ḳinnesrîn), southwest of the present Aleppo.

Near Anatha some Roman grain boats were wrecked, because the raging river overthrew the dam behind which they had sought protection. The dam might have been a stone wall connected with an arcade to the outer end of which was attached a flush wheel. Such walls or dams have long been very common in the vicinity of 'Âna, and the grain boats might

easily have been wrecked by striking one of them. Both the islands and the banks around Anatha were well cultivated, and thus the army was able to lay in a supply of grain and wine. The enemy watched them from the right bank and killed a soldier whom they captured.

Southeast of Anatha the emperor sighted another island stronghold called Thilutha, which was so strongly fortified that he dared not besiege it. This Thilutha could only have been the rocky island of Telbes, which had been fortified in the earliest times and is situated 14 kilometers southeast of Âna. The *u* in Thilutha (for Thiluutha) probably corresponds with *b*; hence: Thilbutha=Telbes.

From Thilutha the Roman army reached the fort of Achaiachala, which was encircled by the river and thus very difficult to approach. We may assume that this town lay on the right bank, separated from the mainland by a narrow canal or branch of the Euphrates, for Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 2 : 2) does not say that it was built in the middle of the river, as is usual when islands are spoken of. His description agrees with the position of the present settlement of al-Ḥadîṭa, which is likewise separated from the mainland by a narrow artificial ditch filled by the Euphrates. The name al-Ḥadîṭa (The New) is of later origin. Possibly in Achaiachala (or Achalachala) originated the local name Laʿal, now applied to a crag on the opposite side. Our location for Achaiachala agrees with the following statements of Ammianus Marcellinus.

From Achaiachala (al-Ḥadîṭa) the army on the next day reached a small, deserted fort, which they burned. We should look for this on the left bank; and, in fact, at 20 kilometers east-southeast of al-Ḥadîṭa we find the Sifle ruin, which is perhaps identical with the fort in question. From here the army marched two hundred stades in two days and came to the ford of Baraxmalcha, seven miles from the town of Diacira. "Diakira," or "Dakira" (from *du ḳîr*, meaning "giving bitumen"), was an ancient appellation of the town of Hît. Seven Roman miles, or about ten kilometers, upstream from Hît, there lie on the left bank the al-ʿAwîra ruins, whence a good ford leads by the island of al-Flêwi to the right bank. This might justify us in identifying ʿAwîre with Baraxmalcha. The distance from Sifle to ʿAwîre is 43 kilometers, almost equal to two hundred Philetaeric stades.

"Barax" may be a corruption of the Arabic root *faraḍ* or *faraz* (to ford), "Baraxmalcha" hence meaning "the Royal Ford." In dialect *z* resembles *ṣ* in pronunciation and was often transliterated by the Greeks with an *x*.

The "Bitumen-Giving" (Diacira) town (Hît) was situated on two hills, of which the higher slopes steeply down to the river. On the left bank, opposite the present town, numerous naphtha springs gush out. Right by the roadside northeast of the settlement flows the spring of ʿAṭʿâṭ, and to the southeast that of an-Naffâṭa. The naphtha spring referred to by Ammianus Marcellinus probably was the latter.

Having destroyed Diacira, the army continued its march along the left bank. According to Zosimus, the army passed through the settlements of Sitha, Megia, and Zaragardia, but it is not certain whether Sitha and Megia should be located before or beyond the naphtha spring. Ammianus Marcellinus seems to place Ozogardana, which is identical with the Zaragardia mentioned by Zosimus, immediately beyond the spring. Possibly we may locate the settlement of Sitha in the al-Aswad ruins on the edge

of the plain of az-Zwejje, Megia in the small ruins west of the an-Naffâṭa spring, and Zaragardia in Ṣâri al-Ḥadd. Southeast from the last-named ruin extends a wide plain with a few short irrigation ditches, behind one of which the Persian and Arabian troops might have concealed themselves, as Zosimus indicates.

The settlement of Macepracta is easier to find, because, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 2 : 6), it lay near the remains of a rampart which in ancient times protected the Assyrian empire against hostile attacks, and also because not far from there the first broad canal ran out from the Euphrates. The rampart beginning at the Ummu-r-Rûs ruins and stretching from the left bank of the Euphrates northward as far as the Tigris we may regard as the remains of the rampart in question. Furthermore, the first big canal or branch of the Euphrates as one goes downstream — al-Ḳarma, a canal which has been artificially deepened only in its first part and which winds for more than four-fifths of its length through the depression of al-Ḥûr — also begins near Ummu-r-Rûs. We may hence identify this ruined settlement with Macepracta. The canal of al-Ḳarma, however, was not formerly called Naarmalcha, as Ammianus Marcellinus states, because, as we know from other sources, the Naarmalcha branched off from the Euphrates much farther to the southeast. The banks of al-Ḳarma while yet near the Euphrates are very steep and the canal itself filled deeply with mud, which renders it very difficult to cross; but farther east, where the banks become low, the passage is easy. Here, perhaps near the present al-Ašhâbi ruins, the troops sent over by Julian to the south bank could ford unperceived and attack the Persians from the cover of low hillocks. After this the Romans crossed the canal and laid siege to the fort of Pirisaboras, the al-Ambâr of today, which they captured in two days.

From Pirisaboras Julian marched (*ibid.*, XXIV, 3 : 10) fourteen miles and reached a place where it was necessary to traverse both natural and artificially flooded swamps; among these, according to Zosimus, was situated the town of Phissenia, enclosed by a deep moat filled with water from the "Royal River" near by, which had been made to overflow the swamps. The context makes it evident that both authors are describing the same swamps.

Fourteen miles from al-Ambâr (Pirisaboras) brings us to the inlet of the present Daffâr canal. The low plain to the southeast is even now occasionally flooded by the Euphrates, forming a lake or slough over fifteen kilometers long and one kilometer wide.

The town of Phissenia, the moat of which Zosimus says was not filled directly from the Euphrates but from the "Royal River" (Basileos Potamos, or Naarmalcha), was probably identical with the small ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli ruin, lying about two kilometers from the Euphrates on the left bank of an ancient canal.

We may infer from Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 3 : 14) that the army kept on marching on the left bank of the Euphrates, passed numerous islands, and finally came to a region where the great river almost disappeared by filling a multitude of irrigation ditches and canals. Yet he says nothing of the length of this march, nor when the army left the Euphrates again. Here Zosimus (*op. cit.*, III, 19) comes, in a way, to our aid, by recording a town occupied by the Romans. This was "Bithra,"

the name of which is preserved to this day in a group of ruins (Bitra) stretching over a distance of six kilometers from 22 to 28 kilometers southeast of ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli (Phissenia) on both the right and left banks of the Euphrates. The majority of the ancient Euphrates towns were situated on both banks, and the environs were called after them; we may therefore locate the town of Bithra mentioned by Zosimus in the Bitra ruins by the shrine of Ibrâhîm al-Ḫalîl. On the north side of these ruins the great ancient canal Naarmalcha (Royal River; the Regium Flumen of Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 120; the Nahr al-Malek of the Arabs) branched off from the left bank of the Euphrates; and the ʿAlḳami canal, the successor of the Marsares of antiquity, similarly diverged from the right bank near the ruins. Other smaller canals and ditches in this vicinity also diverted water from the main stream in such a way that it grew continually narrower and in places almost disappeared.

Zosimus' Bithra, with a royal palace and extensive buildings, does not seem to have been the same as the town deserted by its Jewish inhabitants on account of its vulnerable condition of which Ammianus Marcellinus writes (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 4 : 1). About the position of the latter we are still in doubt, whether it lay on the Euphrates or farther inland.

Immediately beyond Bithra the Roman army left the Euphrates. The vessels probably sailed on the Naarmalcha, the army proceeding along its right bank. From Bithra to the Tigris at Ctesiphon the distance was forty-three kilometers. The army marched in an easterly direction as far as the fort of Maiozamalcha. According to Zosimus (*op. cit.*, III, 20), who does not mention its name, this fort lay by the town of Besuchis, ninety stades from Ctesiphon. Maiozamalcha in Aramaic means "King's, or Royal, Fort." We may assume that it was called thus because it was situated on the Naarmalcha. Ninety stades, or about eighteen kilometers, west of Ctesiphon we find a ruin mound at the present Ḫân az-Zâd, situated on the left bank of the ancient Naarmalcha.

Leaving Maiozamalcha the Romans went in the direction of Ctesiphon past a stately building in the Roman style and through a game preserve, which was enclosed by a high wall and which belonged to the Persian kings and extended as far as the Naarmalcha canal. This game preserve is undoubtedly identical with the park mentioned by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, II, 4 : 14) on a great canal near the town of Sittace.

Once past the game preserve the Romans encamped near a town with a high, strong fort, the name of which is not given by Ammianus Marcellinus. According to Zosimus (*op. cit.*, III, 23) it was called Meinas Sabatha (*var.*, Minas) and was distant about thirty stades, or six kilometers, from Zochase, a part of the ruined city of Seleucia. Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 5 : 3), on the other hand, places the fort near Coche, also a part of Seleucia. After an obstinate resistance the fort of Sabatha was taken and given over to the flames. It is probable that the Roman boats sailed on the Naarmalcha to beyond Sabatha, the present al-Munejjir ruin. At this point the ancient Naarmalcha turns southwards almost at right angles, flows around the ruins of Seleucia, and disappears in innumerable branches there. Ammianus Marcellinus does not assert that Trajan and Severus had the whole Naarmalcha from the Euphrates to the Tigris dug or that the Persians had the whole of it obstructed with boulders. He probably refers only to a connecting branch about six

kilometers long leading from Sabatha east straight into the Tigris. This was the branch that gave the Roman flotilla free access not only to the Tigris but to Seleucia and Ctesiphon as well. Trajan and Severus had had it deepened, but the Persians had blocked it by a large dam. By destroying this dam Julian would enable his boats to reach the Tigris without hindrance; thus the crossing of his army to the left bank of the Tigris and its farther march to Ctesiphon near by would be facilitated. By blocking the branch connecting the canal and the river the Persians had probably wished not only to prevent the enemy's boats from entering the Tigris but also to preserve the water of the Naarmalcha for the vicinity to the west of Seleucia.

At Julian's command the rock obstruction was removed and water from the Naarmalcha poured in, enabling the Roman boats to reach the Tigris. The army posted on the right bank of the Naarmalcha then crossed it on bridges and also proceeded to the Tigris, keeping north of the neighboring town of Coche. This town, which the Romans did not enter, was on the left bank of the Naarmalcha opposite Ctesiphon and about thirty stades, or six kilometers, from Sabatha.

Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, VI, 132) knew of the town of Sabata (*var.*, Sabdata) but fails to give its exact position.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il (*Marâṣid* [Juynboll], Vol. 2, p. 1) writes that the settlement of Sâbâṭ Kisra lies near al-Madâ'in by the bridge over the Nahr al-Malek. From this bridge the settlement got the name al-Ḳanṭara (a crossing, connection, link = *sâbât*). The position of Sâbâṭ Kisra agrees fully with the position of our town of Sabatha. Sabatha too lay not far from al-Madâ'in (i. e. ancient Seleucia and Ctesiphon) on the Nahr al-Malek (the ancient Naarmalcha), and, as it appears from the statements of Zosimus and Ammianus Marcellinus, on the right bank of this canal thirty stades, or six kilometers, from Coche, which formed a part of al-Madâ'in. According to Hoffmann, *Auszüge* (1880), p. 110, the martyr Gîwargîs was sent to Mâḥôze' and imprisoned in a castle called Akra'dh Khôkhe'. — Mâḥôze' means in Aramaic the same as the Arabic Madâ'in, and Khôkhe' is the classical Coche. Sabatha I locate in the present al-Munejjir ruins, about five kilometers northwest of the Tell ʿOmar (the ancient Coche) and five and a half kilometers from the Tigris.

APPENDIX V

HIGHROADS ON THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES ACCORDING TO THE ARABIC AUTHORITIES

Roads from Bagdad to al-Kûfa

The road from Bagdad to al-Kûfa was of great importance in the Arabian period. Forming a part of the great Pilgrim Road to al-Medîna and Mecca, it has often been described; and yet the statements of the different authors agree neither with each other nor with the facts.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 125, reckons the distance from Bagdad to al-Kûfa as 31 parasangs; as the real distance is 146 kilometers, we might adopt 4.7 kilometers as our working figure (see above, p. 227) for the length of Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's parasang; in other instances, however, a comparison of the known distances with those given by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh would give us at least 5 kilometers per parasang (see below, p. 248). On the latter basis we should expect no more than 28 or 29 parasangs between the two cities. In the discussion which follows we have adopted 5 kilometers as our working length for the parasang, except where otherwise explained.

The distance from Bagdad to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra is given by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh as twelve parasangs. The latter town I locate in the ruins by the little shrine of as-Sajjed Ibrâhîm 62 kilometers, or approximately twelve parasangs, south of Bagdad.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), pp. 308 f., has 30 parasangs as the distance from Bagdad to al-Kûfa; hence one parasang according to him would be about 4.9 kilometers; to Ḳaṣr Ibn Ḥubejra he says is 12 parasangs.

According to Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 174, the distance from Bagdad to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra is 12 parasangs and from there to al-Kûfa 20 parasangs; yet in reality from Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra to al-Kûfa would be no more than 16 parasangs.

Elsewhere Ibn Roste (*op. cit.*, p. 182) gives the distances in miles (3 per parasang): from Bagdad to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 36 miles, or 12 parasangs; from there to al-Kûfa, 57 miles, or 19 parasangs, which is also too much.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 185, states that the distance from Bagdad to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra is 12 parasangs, but from there to al-Kûfa is only 17; altogether, 29 parasangs; this agrees better with the reality.

Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 183, records from Bagdad to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra 36 miles, or 12 parasangs, and from there to al-Kûfa only 46 miles, or 15 parasangs plus 1 mile; altogether, 27 parasangs and 1 mile. Al-Hamdâni's statements would seem to be more correct than those of the other records.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *loc. cit.*, writes that from Bagdad to Ǧisr Kûṯaʾ (the Boat Bridge of Kûṯaʾ) is 7 parasangs; thence to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 5 parasangs; thence to Sûḳ Asad, 7 parasangs; thence to Šâhi, 7 parasangs; and thence to al-Kûfa, 5 parasangs; altogether, 31 parasangs. — Ǧisr Kûṯaʾ I locate in the Ammu Sfûʿ ruins, 37 kilometers from Bagdad, a distance which corresponds with 7 parasangs if we measure from the outer gate of ancient Bagdad. The huge embankments of the Kûṯaʾ canal can be traced from Ammu Sfûʿ for a long distance. From there to the shrine of as-Sajjed Ibrâhîm, or Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, is 25 kilometers, or 5 parasangs. From this place to al-Kûfa is 80 kilometers, or only 16 parasangs, not 19, Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's total. Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's statements, however, make it hard for us to decide which of the distances combining to make this total are correct and which are incorrect; nor can we be certain where the halting places of Sûḳ Asad and Šâhi were situated. Other Arabic authors locate Šâhi on the left bank of the Euphrates by the ford and boat bridge of the modern settlement of Čifil, 25 kilometers north of al-Kûfa.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *loc. cit.*, estimates the number of parasangs from Bagdad

to al-Kûfa as thirty and divides this stretch into three marches. The first march was as far as the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 12 parasangs from Bagdad and only about two miles from the Euphrates proper. Here a boat bridge, called Ǧisr Sûra', led across the river. Thence the second march led to a town called Sûḳ Asad west of the Euphrates in the administrative district of al-Fallûǧa. The third march was from Sûḳ Asad to al-Kûfa. — The branch flowing by Bâbil and al-Ḥilla al-Ja'ḳûbi takes for the Euphrates proper. He does not give the lengths of the second and third marches.

These are the detailed figures given by Ibn Roste, *op. cit.*, p. 174: from Bagdad to the Boat Bridge of Kûṭa', 7 parasangs; thence to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 5 parasangs; thence to Sûḳ Asad, 6 parasangs; thence to Šâhi, 7 parasangs; thence to al-Kûfa, 7 parasangs. — Ibn Roste's distances between the stations south of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra differ from those of Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh.

Further details regarding this road are recorded by Ibn Roste in the second passage to which we have referred (*ibid.*, p. 182): from Bagdad to the Ǧisr Nahr Ṣarṣar, 10 miles; thence to Nahr al-Malek, 7 miles; thence to Nahr Kûṭa', 4 miles; thence to Bazîḳija', 6 miles; thence to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 9 miles; thence to Ǧisr Sûrân, 2 miles; thence to Ḏamâd (or Ḏamâr), 9 miles; thence to Sûḳ Asad, 7 miles; thence to al-Ja'ḳûbijje, 4 miles; thence to al-Ḳanâṭer, 7 miles; thence to Šâhi, 10 miles; thence to al-Kûfa, 18 miles. — The distance from Bagdad to the Ǧisr Nahr Ṣarṣar, or Boat Bridge across the Ṣarṣar canal (Tell al-Abjaẓ), is 10 miles, or approximately 17 kilometers. The next two figures, those for the distances from the Ṣarṣar bridge to the Nahr al-Malek (7 miles) and thence to the Nahr Kûṭa' (4 miles), have been transposed. From the Ǧisr Ṣarṣar (al-Abjaẓ) to the Nahr al-Malek by the ruins of ad-Dêr is about 8 kilometers, which would correspond roughly with 5 miles. Thence to the Nahr Kûṭa' by the Ammu Sfû' ruins is 13 kilometers, or approximately 7 miles. Six miles, or 10 kilometers, from Ammu Sfû' would bring us to the present farm of al-Hrâwi, which we identify with Bazîḳija'; from there 9 miles, or approximately 15 kilometers, leads us to the extensive ruins by the little shrine of as-Sajjed Ibrâhîm, where the former Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra was situated. The Boat Bridge of Sûrân, 2 miles distant, is to be looked for on the left side near the inlet of the present canal of al-Maḥâwîl. The Euphrates takes a big bend there, though apparently this bend is of no great age. To locate any more stations from Ibn Roste's records alone is impossible.

Ḳodâma (*loc. cit.*) gives the following details: from Bagdad to the Ǧisr Kûṭa' on the Nahr al-Malek, 7 parasangs; thence to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 5 parasangs; thence to Sûḳ Asad, 7 parasangs; thence to Šâhi, 5 parasangs; thence to al-Kûfa, 5 parasangs. — It is not true that the Ǧisr Kûṭa', or Bridge of Kûṭa', led across the Nahr al-Malek. The words *'ala nahri-l-malaki* came into the text perhaps from a marginal note referring to some other stations. Seven parasangs, or almost 35 kilometers, from Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra (the modern as-Sajjed Ibrâhîm) would bring us east of the modern settlement of Ṛaẓabân, where the station Sûḳ Asad may have been situated. The distance of 5 parasangs, or 25 kilometers, thence to Šâhi makes it probable that Šâhi is to be sought near the settlement of Čifil, 25 kilometers, or 5 parasangs, from al-Kûfa.

Al-Hamdâni, *loc. cit.*, gives the latitude of Bagdad as 33° 9′ and the distance thence to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, which is at latitude 32° 30′, as 36 miles; he further gives the distance from Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra to al-Ḳanâṭer (at latitude 32° 10′) as 24 miles and the distance thence to al-Kûfa as 22 miles. — Translating these distances into parasangs we get: from Bagdad to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, 12 parasangs; thence to al-Ḳanâṭer, 8 parasangs; and thence to al-Kûfa, 7 parasangs plus 1 mile. That al-Ḳanâṭer is to be located in the al-Biris ruins is confirmed by other records. Al-Hamdâni's distances, supported by the given latitudes, correspond to a total of 27 parasangs plus 1 mile, or 82 miles. As the actual distance is 146 kilometers, assuming that al-Hamdâni made no error in his total, we might adopt 1.79 kilometers as a working length for al-Hamdâni's mile and 5.37 kilometers for his parasang.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 166, relates that between the towns of Bagdad and al-Kûfa extend wide cultivated tracts irrigated by numerous canals from the Euphrates. Nearest the Tigris the canal Nahr Ṣarṣar, which cuts the highroad to al-Kûfa, is navigable for large boats and is crossed by a bridge of boats at the town of Ṣarṣar, only 3 parasangs from Bagdad. From there it is 2 parasangs to the canal Nahr al-Malek, through which passes twice as much water as through the Ṣarṣar canal and which also has a boat bridge. The road continues to the largest place between Bagdad and al-Kûfa, the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, situated close to the main channel of the Euphrates. Numerous canals issuing from this channel surround the town on both sides. Thence the road leads to the flourishing town of Sûra' and to the canal of the same name, the largest of the canals flowing out of the Euphrates. —

The town of Ṣarṣar, lying about three parasangs from Bagdad, is probably identical with the al-Abjaẓ ruins. The point where the Nahr al-Malek was crossed on the boat bridge not more than two parasangs from Ṣarṣar is to be looked for at the Nîšân ad-Dêr.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 134, gives these details: from Bagdad to the Nahr al-Malek, one march; thence to al-Ḳaṣr, one march; thence to Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar, one march; thence to al-Kûfa, one march. — The first day's march from Bagdad to the Nahr al-Malek was of about twenty-five kilometers. The subsequent marches, as we shall see below, were each of about forty kilometers. This record is very important, as it enables us to determine the position of Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar and at the same time the direction in which flowed the Nars canal, which branched off at the modern town of al-Ḥilla. The station Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar lay on the highroad between al-Ḳaṣr (surely Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra) and al-Kûfa, a road which certainly made no great bends. We shall probably not be far wrong in locating Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar about midway between Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra and al-Kûfa and to the south or southwest of al-Ḥilla. In support of the position to the southwest rather than to the south of al-Ḥilla we may mention the distances of one march from Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar both to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra and to al-Kûfa. The boat bridge across the Nahr al-Malek was one march from al-Ḳaṣr, from which it actually lay about forty kilometers to the north. From al-Ḳaṣr to al-Kûfa was two marches; as this distance was actually 82 kilometers, one march in this case also would have been about forty kilometers. Measuring, therefore, forty kilometers from al-Ḳaṣr, we are brought to

the al-Biris ruins southwest of al-Ḥilla. This determines the position of Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar well enough and shows the course of the Nars canal, which, according to Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâ'ib*, (British Museum MS), fol. 34r.f., (Le Strange), pp. 16f., issued from the Lower Sûraʾ — or, according to others, from the Euphrates — at the ancient al-Ǧâmiʿajn, the modern al-Ḥilla, and passed Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar. The station of Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar is undoubtedly identical with the station of al-Ḳanâṭer (The Bridges) of Ibn Roste and al-Hamdâni. Bridges built of brick probably spanned the Nars canal and some of its branches below Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, IV, 6, repeats with but few changes Ibn Ḥawḳal's statements. From Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra to Bagdad he makes three light marches, that is marches of about twenty-one kilometers each, or as much as a heavily laden camel can cover in a day.

Ibn Ǧubejr (*Riḥla* [De Goeje], pp. 212f.) left al-Kûfa with a pilgrim caravan early in the morning and came shortly before noon to a canal issuing from the Euphrates, which flowed about half a parasang east of al-Kûfa. Continuing their journey, they spent the night near the town of al-Ḥilla, which they entered in the morning. Al-Ḥilla was situated on the west bank of the Euphrates; they crossed by a bridge of boats and then encamped about one parasang from the town. Resuming their journey about nine o'clock, they marched across a boat bridge over the canal of an-Nîl, which branched off the Euphrates, and at almost every mile came to brick bridges spanning various irrigation canals. Before sunset they encamped in the settlement of al-Ḳanṭara, or, as it was also called, Ḥoṣn Bašîr. Then they reached the settlement of al-Firâš and in the evening the settlement of Zurejrân, the eastern part of which was irrigated by the Tigris and the western by the Euphrates. Opposite, on the east, rose the Îwân Kisra. —

Ibn Ǧubejr did not inquire into details about the names of the different settlements and canals, and he is therefore difficult to follow. From early morning until almost noon on the first day the pilgrim caravan surely must have made twenty-five kilometers, thus arriving at the settlement of Čifil. The canal issuing from the Euphrates, along which, as it seems, the caravan proceeded to al-Ḥilla, is probably identical with the Nars canal. Ibn Ǧubejr calls by the name Euphrates not only the branch flowing near al-Kûfa but also the one near al-Ḥilla. From al-Ḥilla the road most likely followed a straight course to Îwân Kisra, the old Ctesiphon. As Bâbil (Babylon) is not mentioned by Ibn Ǧubejr at all, he evidently kept to the east of it.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 2, pp. 96—100, went from al-Kûfa through Bîr Mellâḥa, a pretty town almost hidden among palm groves, to al-Ḥilla. Here the inhabitants were divided into two hostile groups, the Kurds and the inhabitants of al-Ǧâmiʿajn. A boat bridge led across the Euphrates. From al-Ḥilla Ibn Baṭṭûṭa visited Kerbela and not until afterwards did he go to Bagdad. — The little town of Bîr Mellâḥa was situated on the highroad from al-Kûfa to al-Ḥilla, but it is hard to define its position correctly. Al-Ǧâmiʿajn, the original name of the modern al-Ḥilla, must have been a name used as late as the middle of the fourteenth century. It is a pity that Ibn Baṭṭûṭa did not describe in greater detail his journey from al-Kûfa to al-Ḥilla, or from this place to Kerbela.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 470, says that the road from Bagdad to an-Neǧef leads past the Tell Ṣarṣar, the Tell Farâšer, the Šaṭṭ an-Nîl, and al-Kûfa. — By the end of the seventeenth century a pilgrim road led through this region almost in the same direction as today. The Tell Farâšer (or, better, al-Firâš) is to be looked for north of the Šaṭṭ an-Nîl, which branched off the Euphrates, or Lower Sûra', at Babylon.

Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung* (Copenhagen, 1774–1837), Vol. 2, p. 291, relates that on January 5, 1766, he rode out from Helle to Bagdad in an almost due northerly direction. In four hours he reached M'havîe; thence it took him four hours to Scanderîe; thence three hours to Bîr u nus; thence three hours to Chân assad; and thence four hours to Bagdad. In each of these settlements was a big caravansery. East of M'havîe lay a settlement of the same name and between Bîr u nus and Chân assad the village of Mahamûdi, founded only a few years earlier by Adile Chatûn, the wife of Soleiman Pasha. The rest of the region was absolutely desolate. —

M'havîe is erroneously transcribed from Maḥâwîl. Scanderîe is the modern Ḫân al-Iskandrijje, and Chân assad the modern Ḫân az-Zâd. The distances are at best approximately correct. Ḫân al-Maḥâwîl lies almost midway between al-Ḥilla and Ḫân al-Iskandrijje, twenty-seven kilometers from each. From Ḫân az-Zâd to Bagdad is twenty-three kilometers. Bîr u nus can be identified only with the deserted Ḫân al-Bîẓ, midway between Ḫân al-Iskandrijje and Ḫân az-Zâd, its distance from each being twelve kilometers, although Niebuhr makes it three hours, thus reckoning now seven and now four kilometers to an hour. Mahamûdi (al-Maḥmûdijje) is situated on the canal of the same name between Ḫân az-Zâd and Ḫân al-Bîẓ.

Roads from Bagdad to Syria

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 2075, calls the road leading along the right and left banks of the Euphrates from al-Kûfa to Syria Ṭarîḳ al-Firâḍ (Road of the Fords), perhaps because it connected the various fords and crossings over the Euphrates. Its other names were Ṭarîḳ aš-Šâm and Ṭarîḳ al-Furât (*ibid.*, Ser. 3, pp. 2237f., 2278).

After the battle at Ṣiffîn, 657 A.D., ʿAli's army (*ibid.*, Ser. 1, p. 3345) marched, not along the left bank as it had come, but through the desert and along the right bank of the Euphrates to Hît and from there via Ṣandawda' and an-Nuḫejla to al-Kûfa. — This road probably led from Ṣiffîn (Abu Hrêra) via ar-Reṣâfa, Ab-al-Žîr, and al-Kawâṭel to al-Furḍa (aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje) and from here along the Euphrates via Hît and Ṣandawda' (the modern al-Mšêhed or ar-Rumâdi) direct through the desert to an-Nuḫejla (the modern Ḫân eben Nḫejle), after which the tents and houses of al-Kûfa soon appeared.

In the days of the Abbassides the highroad leading from Bagdad by way of Hît to ar-Raḳḳa and farther on to Syria was accurately surveyed and provided with halting places. The oldest of the extant Arabic geographers, al-Ḫawârizmi, *Sûrat al-arḍ* (Codex strassburgensis), fol. 42 v., records these settlements on the Euphrates: Ḳarḳîsija', ʿÂnât in the middle of the river, Ḥadîṯat ʿÂnât, an-Nâ'ûsa, Âlûsa, Hît, and al-Anbâr.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh on the Road from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 72f., enumerates not only the individual stations but the distances as well. From Bagdad to as-Sajlaḥûn, 4 parasangs; thence to al-Anbâr, 8 parasangs; thence to ar-Rabb, 7 parasangs; thence to Hît, 12 parasangs; thence to an-Nâʾûsa, 7 parasangs; thence to Âlûsa, 7 parasangs; thence to al-Fuḥejma, 6 parasangs; thence to an-Nehijje, 12 parasangs through the desert; thence to ad-Dâzeḳi, 6 parasangs; thence to al-Furḍa, 6 parasangs; thence to Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ, 6 parasangs; thence to Ḫalîǧ Beni Ǧumejʿ, 5 parasangs; thence to al-Fâš opposite Ḳarḳîsijaʾ, 7 parasangs; thence to Nahr Saʿîd, 8 parasangs; thence to al-Ǧardân, 14 parasangs; thence to al-Mubârek, 11 parasangs; and thence to ar-Raḳḳa, called by the Greeks Ḳâlâniḳûs, 8 parasangs. —

What may we adopt as a working figure (see above, p. 243) for the length of Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's parasang? From Bagdad to al-Anbâr he reckons it twelve parasangs; in reality it is 62 kilometers; therefore one parasang in this case would equal a little over five kilometers. This ratio would seem to be fairly well applicable to all Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's figures, as we may see from the following detailed examination of the data furnished by him; here the parasang, except where otherwise stated, is reckoned as 5 kilometers.

From Bagdad to as-Sajlaḥûn (the modern Sâlḥijjîn) he reckons it 4 parasangs; I measure it 26 kilometers, or at least 5 parasangs.

From as-Sajlaḥûn to al-Anbâr he reckons it 8 parasangs; it is actually 36 kilometers, or about 7 parasangs.

From al-Anbâr to ar-Rabb (the modern aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd opposite ar-Rumâdi) he reckons it 7 parasangs; I count it 36 kilometers, which agrees.

From ar-Rabb to Hît he reckons it 12 parasangs; it is actually 50 kilometers, or at most 10 parasangs. Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh does not state whether the road from ar-Rabb led along the right or left bank of the Euphrates.

From Hît to an-Nâʾûsa he reckons it 7 parasangs. The station or halting place of an-Nâʾûsa lies on an island in a bend of the Euphrates, its distance from Hît along the right bank being 35 kilometers, or 7 parasangs. Along the left bank it would be at least 45 kilometers, which would not agree with Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's distance. In my opinion the road as one goes toward Syria crossed to the right bank somewhere above Hît, perhaps at the ancient ford by the present islet of al-Flêwi; below Hît it kept to the left bank in order to avoid the difficult ascent of al-ʿOḳoba.

From an-Nâʾûsa to Âlûsa (the modern Âlûs) Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh reckons it 7 parasangs; it is actually only 28 kilometers along the Euphrates and 25 kilometers in a straight line, or 6 parasangs at most.

From Âlûsa to al-Fuḥejma he reckons it 6 parasangs; it is actually 35 kilometers, or 7 parasangs. Probably this distance has been transposed with the preceding one. Along the left bank from Âlûs to the modern al-Fḥejmi it would be at least 54 kilometers, or 11 parasangs — another proof that the highroad here followed the right bank.

In Codex B at Oxford (see Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 72, note *k*) a note has been added between "Âlûsa" and "al-Fuḥejma" reading "to ad-Dâri, six parasangs." This remark has absolutely nothing to do with

the immediate context and probably arose from a wrong transcription of "ad-Dâzeḳi," or of whatever name was applied to the station beyond an-Nehijje. This is the first intimation we get in this connection that the text of Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh has not survived in its original form.

From al-Fuḥejma through the desert to an-Nehijje Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh gives as 12 parasangs; 60 kilometers (12 parasangs) is the actual distance to an-Nehijje along the Euphrates by way of ʿAna, whereas by a direct road through the desert the distance is only 50 kilometers, or 10 parasangs. It seems, however, that travelers used to go along the Euphrates and not through the desert and that between al-Fuḥejma and an-Nehijje one station was omitted. Proof of this omission seems to be furnished by the insertion of the reference to the 6 parasangs "to ad-Dâri" in Codex B, which probably represents the distance which should have been given as that from al-Fuḥejma to the present settlement of ʿÂna.

From an-Nehijje to "ad-Dâzeḳi" Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh gives as 6 parasangs. The correct name of this station we do not know. Codex B (*ibid.*, p. 73, note *c*) gives "ad-Dâri;" Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 216, gives "ad-Dawâḳi" or "ad-Dawâmi;" al-Idrîsi, *op. cit.*, IV, 6, gives "aḏ-Ḏarâfi;" or as translated by Jaubert (Vol. 2, p. 145) "Dawraḳi." The stations enumerated so far should make it evident that travelers in Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's time stopped for the most part exactly where they stop today. We may therefore locate the station of ad-Dâzeḳi, or whatever it may have been called, at the present halting place of al-Ḳâjem; this, however, is 35 kilometers, or 7 (not 6) parasangs, from an-Nehijje.

From ad-Dâzeḳi to al-Furḍa Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh gives as 6 parasangs. The name of the station of al-Furḍa is mentioned frequently by the older authors, yet neither Jâḳût nor Abu-l-Faḍâ'il give it. The name itself signifies "The Ford" — but there are many fords on the Euphrates, and we therefore require a closer definition. Some older authors record a Furḍat an-Nuʿm, identifying it with the later town of ar-Raḥba. This might explain why the later writers did not know of the name al-Furḍa as applying to a different place. In any case Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's al-Furḍa cannot have been the same as Furḍat an-Nuʿm and ar-Raḥba. We should probably look for his al-Furḍa in the little town of ad-Dâlija, which is marked by the present aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins. As is frequently done by the Arabic geographers, Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh has probably here confused the order of the names of the halting places. It would seem that al-Furḍa should have been placed at 5 parasangs beyond Ḫalîǧ Beni Ǧumejʿ rather than at 6 parasangs beyond ad-Dâzeḳi. The order of stations and distances would then run thus: ad-Dâzeḳi to Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ, 6 parasangs; thence to Ḫalîǧ Beni Ǧumejʿ, 6 parasangs; thence to al-Furḍa, 5 parasangs.

With this change in mind, we may resume our detailed examination of Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's data.

From ad-Dâzeḳi (al-Ḳâjem) to Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ he would reckon it 6 parasangs; although the distance from al-Ḳâjem to Abu Čemâl near the *šeʿîb* of ar-Raṭḳa is only 25 kilometers, or 5 parasangs, we should probably associate Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ with Abu Čemâl rather than with the present *šeʿîb* of Ammu-s-Sbaʿ on the left bank of the Euphrates east of Abu Čemâl, inasmuch as Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh makes no mention of the highroad crossing to the left bank.

From Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ to Ḫalîǧ Beni Ǧumejʿ he would probably reckon

it 6 parasangs, not 5 as it is actually given in the printed text because of the misplacing of al-Furḍa (though in Codex B it is given as 6). At 20 kilometers, or only 4 parasangs, northwest of Abu Čemâl are the ruin mounds of Šeʿbân, which we may associate with Ḫalîğ Beni Ğumejʿ and near which an old channel (*ḫalîğ*) of the Euphrates may be recognized. Ḳodâma recorded this stretch not as 6 but as 5 parasangs; it is evident, however, that the figures have not been correctly preserved in either case. It is questionable whether beyond an-Nehijje Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh meant to record 6 parasangs three times in succession, or, according to Codex B, as many as four times.

From Ḫalîğ Beni Ğumejʿ to al-Furḍa, if our correction of the position of the latter is justified, Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh would give as 5 parasangs; from Šeʿbân to aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje is 25 kilometers, or 5 parasangs also. Therefore we may locate the station of al-Furḍa below the present ruins of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, where in fact a station exists even now.

From al-Furḍa to al-Fâš opposite Ḳarḳîsija' he reckons it 7 parasangs; and from there to the canal of Saʿîd, 8 parasangs. The position of this canal is known to us. According to Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâʾib*, (British Museum MS), fol. 33r., (Le Strange), p. 14, it emptied into the Euphrates a little above the settlement of ad-Dâlija and had its inlet below a shrine named after it (Saʿîd), not far above the town of ar-Raḥba. This little shrine still stands on the right bank about thirteen kilometers northwest of the site of Circesium and is now called Abu Nhûd. The little town of ad-Dâlija I locate at the aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins, hence at a point where the station of al-Furḍa must have been situated. In Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh's time the highroad probably led from this station along the Saʿîd canal. As the station named after al-Fâš lay above Ḳarḳîsija', we are probably justified in placing it at the inlet of the canal, where a station is definitely located by Ḳodâma, *op. cit.*, p. 217. From aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje to the shrine of Abu Nhûd the distance in a straight line is 60 kilometers, or 12 parasangs, not 15 as Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh would have it. The station of Nahr Saʿîd, then, we may identify with the little shrine of Abu Nhûd.

At 8 parasangs, or 40 kilometers, southeast of Abu Nhûd we reach the settlement of al-ʿAšâra, in or near which we may seek the station of al-Fâš. In Ḳodâma, *op. cit.*, p. 217, al-ʿÂSR is written, a word which contains the same consonants as the modern name al-ʿAšâra, where there is a station even today. But al-ʿAšâra lies 24 kilometers southeast of the former Ḳarḳîsija'; therefore the specific designation *ḥejâl ḳarḳîsija'* (opposite Ḳarḳîsija') proves that the original text cannot here have been preserved.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh reckons it from Ḫalîğ Beni Ğumejʿ to al-Fâš as 7 parasangs; it is actually 23 kilometers, or 5 parasangs, from aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje to al-ʿAšâra.

From Nahr Saʿîd to ar-Raḳḳa he reckons it 33 parasangs; in reality it is 150 kilometers, which agrees roughly.

It is difficult to determine the stations between Nahr Saʿîd and ar-Raḳḳa, as we do not know whether the highroad led along the right or the left bank of the Euphrates. On the left bank at the settlement of al-Ḫânûḳa the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥleḳe reaches the river; in this *šeʿîb* is the spring of al-Ğerdijje, the name of which suggests that of the station of al-Ğardân. But it is almost sixteen parasangs from Abu Nhûd to this valley,

not fourteen, as it should be to accord with Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh. On the right bank, behind the modern station of at-Tibni, are ruins with the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Mubârek, the name of which is like that of the second station on the road from the Nahr Saʿîd to ar-Raḳḳa. The route described by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh must have crossed the Euphrates at some point in order to reach ar-Raḳḳa on the left bank, but we do not know whether it did so at the station of Nahr Saʿîd or at ar-Raḳḳa itself. We do know, however, that in the Middle Ages the caravans traveling from Mesopotamia down al-Ḫâbûr and thence to Damascus were ferried over at the station of Nahr Saʿîd. If we were to admit, then, that the highroad led along the right bank, we might locate al-Mubârek at the present station of at-Tibni or at aš-Šejḫ Mubârek. This, however, would only be on the assumption that Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh had transposed the order of the stations of al-Ǧardân and al-Mubârek, an assumption which would seem to be confirmed when we reckon al-Mubârek at a distance of 14 parasangs (the figure actually given for al-Ǧardân) from the Nahr Saʿîd. Taking into account all the windings of the road, aš-Šejḫ Mubârek is actually 66 kilometers from Abu Nhûd (Nahr Saʿîd), a distance which corresponds approximately to 14 parasangs.

On the same assumption, it would be eleven parasangs from al-Mubârek to al-Ǧardân, a station which we could then regard as the al-Ǧrajbe ruin, actually 53 kilometers (approximately eleven parasangs) from at-Tibni and 40 kilometers, or 8 parasangs, from ar-Raḳḳa; the latter figure would agree with the 7 parasangs which Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh gives as the distance from al-Mubârek to ar-Raḳḳa.

Ḳodâma on the Road from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), pp. 216 f., also describes the road from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa. The total distance along the Euphrates he gives as 126 parasangs. His separate distances between stations added up, however, amount to 132 parasangs; whereas in reality the distance is 620 kilometers, or 124 parasangs of 5 kilometers each.

Ḳodâma records the same stations as Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh but with some additions. For instance, he says that from al-Anbâr two roads lead to ar-Rabb, a straight one through an irrigated plain and a second one through the desert. — This second road probably branched off almost due northwest at al-Anbâr and followed the foot of the Tertiary upland as far as the as-Saḥalât ruins, whence, taking a southwesterly course, it reached aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd. Evidently ar-Rabb lay on the left bank of the Euphrates, for along the right bank there led in Ḳodâma's time — and still leads — only one road.

From al-Fuḥejma to an-Nehijje Ḳodâma also knew of two roads; one, 12 parasangs long, led through the desert; the other one, which followed the Euphrates and was used as a post road, was only 6 parasangs long. — The shortest route between al-Fḥejmi and an-Nehijje runs through the desert 50 kilometers, or 10 parasangs; whereas following the great river the distance is at least 60 kilometers, or 12 parasangs. The 6 parasangs of Ḳodâma must have referred to the distance to the settlement of ʿÂna, the name of which he does not mention.

At the station of al-Furḍa Ḳodâma asserts that the highroad divided,

one branch leading through the desert and the other along the Euphrates.

From al-Furḍa to Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ he gives as only 5 parasangs.

The next station he calls Ḫalîğ Ibn Ğumejʿ, not Ḫalîğ Beni Ğumejʿ as Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh names it.

From there to al-Fâš (or as the Constantinople manuscript reads, al-ʿÂSR [*ibid.*, p. 217, note *l*]), he states is only 6 parasangs.

From al-Fâš to Ḳarḳîsija', or to the outlet (*fam*) of the canal of Saʿîd, he reckons it 8 parasangs. Ḳarḳîsija', however, lies on the left bank, Fam Nahr Saʿîd on the right, and they are at least 13 kilometers apart, proving that the two places cannot have formed one station.

Ḳodâma, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 f., records the road from the station of al-Furḍa through the desert by way of ar-Ruṣâfa (ar-Reṣâfa) to ar-Raḳḳa as follows: from al-Furḍa to al-Ḳamraṭi, 3 parasangs; thence to al-ʿAwâmel, 9 parasangs plus 1 mile; thence to al-ʿAṣaba (*var.*, al-Ḳaṣaba), 8 parasangs; thence to al-ʿArîr, 9 parasangs; thence to ar-Ruṣâfa, 8 parasangs; thence to ar-Raḳḳa, 8 parasangs. From Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa by the desert route he gives as 127 parasangs and 1 mile. —

The details regarding this road prove that al-Furḍa is to be located at the modern aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje. According to Ḳodâma, the distance from al-Furḍa by way of ar-Reṣâfa to ar-Raḳḳa is 45 parasangs; from aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje by way of ar-Reṣâfa to ar-Raḳḳa is 221 kilometers, a figure which fully agrees with the figure in parasangs (225 km.). Almost on the direct road from aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje to ar-Reṣâfa lie al-Ḳamraṭi, Čawâṭel, and Ab-al-Žîr, which we may identify with certain of Ḳodâma's stations. East of this road the watering place of al-Ḳṣejbe (diminutive of al-Ḳaṣaba) is situated, the name of which strongly suggests Ḳodâma's al-ʿAṣaba or al-Ḳaṣaba, although there is no reason why the road should have swerved to this place when water was to be had even on the straight course.

From al-Furḍa (aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje) to al-Ḳamraṭi, Ḳodâma gives as 3 parasangs. Al-Ḳamraṭi is a valley with water about 16 kilometers northwest of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje; this distance corresponds essentially with 3 parasangs.

From al-Ḳamraṭi to al-ʿAwâmel he reckons it 9 parasangs plus 1 mile. I know of no station northwest of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje named al-ʿAwâmel, nor is such a name mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature. A station of al-Kawâṭel, however, is frequently spoken of in that region. Ḫalîl aḍ-Ḍâheri, *Zubda* (Ravaisse), p. 119, calls this station al-Kawâmel, which makes it evident that the correct form of al-ʿAwâmel may have been al-Kawâṭel. The watering place now known as Čawâṭel or ʿAḳûla lies 37 kilometers northwest of al-Ḳamraṭi. We might therefore identify it with the station of al-ʿAwâmel (or, more correctly, al-Kawâṭel), but in this case the distance would not be 9 parasangs plus 1 mile, but only 7 parasangs plus 1 mile. The correct Arabic *sabʿa* (seven) might easily have been changed to *tisʿa* (nine) especially if it had been written without the diacritical marks.

From Čawâṭel (al-ʿAwâmel) to al-ʿAṣaba (*var.*, al-Ḳaṣaba) Ḳodâma reckons it 8 parasangs. Forty-eight kilometers in the same northwesterly direction brings us to the present station and well of al-Kebâžeb, which is probably identical with al-ʿAṣaba. Ten parasangs would have been correct, not 8.

From al-ʿAṣaba to al-ʿArîr, Ḳodâma reckons it 9 parasangs. The name of this station has probably not been correctly preserved. De Goeje ex-

presses his doubt by adding the word "*sic*" to his note (*ibid.*, p. 217, note *s*). The Arabic al-ʿRJR might easily have originated from al-ḲJR or al-Žîr, as Ab-al-Žîr is the name of a watering place situated 40 kilometers, or 8 parasangs, northwest on the road from al-Ḳebâžeb to ar-Reṣâfa.

From Ab-al-Žîr (al-ʿArîr) to ar-Reṣâfa Ḳodâma reckons it 8 parasangs; in reality it is 55 kilometers, this being equal to 11 parasangs.

From ar-Reṣâfa to ar-Raḳḳa he reckons it 8 parasangs; it is actually 39 kilometers.

According to Ḳodâma, the total distance from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa by this road is 127 parasangs plus 1 mile. If, however, we add up the distances between the different stations, leaving al-Furḍa where located by Ḳodâma, we get 120 parasangs plus 1 mile. On the other hand, if we identify al-Furḍa with the modern aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, the result will be 130 parasangs plus 1 mile. Here we may have additional testimony that al-Furḍa should be looked for at the present aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, for the total 127 agrees better with 130 as the aggregate of the different stations than with 120. The real distance is 636 kilometers, the equivalent of 127 parasangs.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri and al-Muḳaddasi on Roads from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 72, states that the distance between Bâlis and ar-Raḳḳa is two day's march, between ar-Raḳḳa and al-Anbâr is twenty days' march, and from there to Tekrît is two day's march. — From Bâlis to ar-Raḳḳa along the left bank of the Euphrates is about 90 kilometers, or two marches of 45 kilometers a day. From ar-Raḳḳa to al-Anbâr is 560 kilometers, which would involve marching at a rate of only 28 kilometers a day, a slow rate when compared with that hinted at in the subsequent statement, to the effect that from al-Anbâr to Tekrît is no more than two day's march. As Tekrît lies almost 135 kilometers north of al-Anbâr, to reach it in two days would necessitate a march of 68 kilometers each day.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 139, records the same distances as al-Iṣṭaḫri.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 134 f., reckons it two *barîd* (mail stages) from Bagdad to as-Sajlaḥûn; thence to al-Anbâr, one march; thence to ar-Rabb, one march; thence to Hît, two marches; thence to an-Nâʾûsa, one march; thence to ʿÂna, one march; thence to Âlûsa, one march; thence to al-Fuḥejma, one march; thence to al-Ḥadîṯa, one march; and thence to an-Nehijje, one march. The remainder of the marches on this route are omitted. Not until page 149 does he remark that from ar-Raḥba to Ḳarḳîsijaʾ it is one march and from ar-Raḥba to ad-Dâlija, or from ar-Raḥba to Bîraʾ, likewise one march. —

From Bagdad to Sâlḥijjîn is only 26 kilometers; thus each of the two mail stages between them must have been only approximately thirteen kilometers long. The day's march from Sâlḥijjîn to al-Anbâr was of 36 kilometers and thence to ar-Rabb (aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd) the same distance.

Between ar-Rabb and Hît, according to al-Muḳaddasi, was a single march, hence one of only 25 kilometers. Between Hît and an-Nâʾûsa he gave as two marches, hence of 32 kilometers each.

In al-Muḳaddasi the correct order of the different stations is broken beyond an-Nâʾûsa. The stations of ʿÂna and al-Fuḥejma are not in their

right places; the names should run in this order: an-Nâ'ûsa, Âlûsa, al-Ḥadîṭa, al-Fuḥejma, ʿÂna, an-Nehijje. Here, too, the different marches are of unequal length. From an-Nâ'ûsa to Âlûs is 28 kilometers; thence to al-Ḥadîṭa, 12 kilometers; thence to al-Fḥejmi, 28 kilometers; thence to ʿÂna, 30 kilometers; thence to an-Nehijje, 32 kilometers all these stations being one march apart according to al-Muḳaddasi. It seems as if the station of al-Ḥadîṭa had been slipped into the text from a marginal note by the transcriber, as al-Ḥadîṭa is recorded in no other itinerary and should have been placed where ʿÂna actually stands.

According to al-Muḳaddasi, from ar-Raḥba to Ḳarḳîsija' is one march and from ar-Raḥba to ad-Dâlija, or to Bîra', the same. From al-Mijâḏîn, the ancient ar-Raḥba, to Ḳarḳîsija' it is only 10 kilometers and not one march in a northwesterly direction; but it is 33 kilometers southeast from al-Mijâḏîn to aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, which according to other reports must be regarded ad-Dâlija (see above, p. 250). De Goeje identifies the next name beyond Ḳarḳîsija', written in the Berlin and Constantinople codices (*ibid.*, p. 149, note *n*) without the diacritical marks, with the ancient Birtha and the present ad-Dejr. But Birtha, since it belonged in the province of Osroëne, could not have been situated on the right bank (see below, pp. 331—334), and it is absolutely impossible to prove that ad-Dejr of today was called Bîra' in the Middle Ages. It would seem more likely that the modern ad-Dejr is identical with the medieval Dejr ar-Rummân (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 662) and Bîra' with the Zelebijje ruins on the left bank (and therefore in the ancient Osroëne) two marches from ar-Raḥba — not one, as al-Muḳaddasi indicates.

Al-Idrîsi on the Road from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, IV, 6, states the distances between the different stations from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa partly in miles and partly in marches: from Bagdad to as-Sajlaḥûn, 12 miles; thence to al-Anbâr, 24 miles; thence to ar-Rabb, 21 miles; thence to Hît, 36 miles; thence to an-Nâ'ûsa, 21 miles; thence to Âlûsa, 21 miles; thence to ʿÂnât, 21 miles; thence to ad-Dâlija, 21 miles; thence to Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ, also on the Euphrates but on its left bank, 30 miles; and from there to al-Ḫâbûr, two marches; to Ḳarḳîsija', two marches. Ḳarḳîsija' lies east of the Euphrates, into which, below the town, flows the river al-Hermâs, now called al-Ḫâbûr. From Ḳarḳîsija' to al-Ḥânûḳa is two day's marches; and from there to ar-Raḳḳa two marches.

Al-Idrîsi also writes that the journey from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa may likewise be made in about ten marches by leaving the Euphrates at an-Nâ'ûsa and turning to the right, eastward into the desert: from an-Nâ'ûsa to Âlûsa, 21 miles; thence to aḏ-Ḏarâfi (ad-Dâzeḳi), 18 miles; thence to al-Furḍa, 18 miles; thence to al-ʿUǧejma (al-Fuḥejma) 18 miles; thence to Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ, 15 miles; thence to a station (al-Fâš) opposite (*ḥejâl*; not *ǧebâl* [hills], as printed) Ḳarḳîsija', 21 miles; thence to the Nahr Saʿîd, 24 miles; thence to al-Ǧardân, 42 miles; thence to al-Mubârek, 33 miles; thence to ar-Raḳḳa, 24 miles. Altogether it is 372 miles from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa.

In Jaubert's translation of al-Idrîsi we find (Vol. 2, pp. 144 f.) the same account, to which, however, it is added that ar-Rabb is a flourish-

ing town surrounded by farms and large gardens and that Âlûsa lies a short distance from the river (in reality Âlûs is an island, and hence the station was built on the mainland to the west of it). Ad-Dâlija is described in this translation as a little town on the west bank of the river. From Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa by way of al-Ḥânûḳa is reckoned at fifteen days. On page 145 "al-ʿUǧejma" is written instead of al-Fuḥejma; "Dawraḳi" instead of ad-Dâzeḳi; and from Bagdad by way of al-Ǧardân to ar-Raḳḳa the distance is reckoned at 372 miles. —

To examine in detail the data furnished by al-Idrîsi: in regard to the first route we find that he gives the distance from Bagdad to al-Anbâr as 36 miles; in reality it is 62 kilometers. On the assumption that the distance in miles was accurately stated, we may take approximately 1.7 kilometers as our working figure for the length of al-Idrisi's mile.

From Bagdad to as-Sajlaḥûn he reckons it twelve miles; in reality it is 26 kilometers, or approximately 15 miles.

From as-Sajlaḥûn to al-Anbâr he reckons it 24 miles; in reality it is 36 kilometers, or about 21 miles.

From al-Anbâr to ar-Rabb (aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd) he reckons it 21 miles; in reality it is 36 kilometers, which agrees with al-Idrîsi's figure.

From ar-Rabb to Hît he reckons it 36 miles; in reality it is 52 kilometers, or only 30 miles.

From Hît to an-Nâʾûsa he reckons it 21 miles; by the shortest route it is actually 35 kilometers. Along the left bank the distance would be at least 45 kilometers.

From an-Nâʾûsa to Âlûsa he reckons it 21 miles; in reality it is 28 kilometers, or only about 17 miles.

From Âlûsa to ʿÂnât he reckons it 21 miles; in reality it is 62 kilometers, or 36 miles.

From ʿÂnât to ad-Dâlija he reckons it 21 miles; and from ad-Dâlija to Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ, 30 miles: a total of 51 miles from ʿÂnât to ar-Raḥba. In reality this distance is 173 kilometers, which would be not 51 but 100 miles.

Some stations have undoubtedly been omitted between ʿÂnât and ad-Dâlija. Ad-Dâlija could not have been below the present aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, for, according to Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâʾib*, (British Museum MS), fol. 33r., (Le Strange), p. 14, although the main Saʿîd canal had rejoined the Euphrates somewhere above ad-Dâlija, numerous branches of it reached the fields surrounding that place. No water, however, could well have flowed from the canal into fields south of aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje, as these fields lie higher than the flood plain between the Euphrates and the aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje bluffs.

Al-Idrîsi's statement that Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ, or ar-Raḥba, lies east of the left bank of the Euphrates is correct in the sense only that nearly every town had a suburb on the opposite bank.

From ar-Raḥba to al-Ḥâbûr al-Idrîsi gives as two marches. Al-Ḥâbûr refers either to the river or to the town of Ḳarḳîsijaʾ, which was often called al-Ḥâbûr, especially by the Syriac authors. The station of al-Ḥâbûr in any case was identical with the station of Ḳarḳîsijaʾ, which, however, was only ten kilometers from al-Mijâḍîn (ar-Raḥba). We may infer, therefore, that the two day's distance to al-Ḥâbûr meant from the station of Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ (Abu Čemâl) rather than from ar-Raḥba.

From Ḳarḳîsija' to al-Ḥânûḳa al-Idrîsi reckons it as two days; it is actually 90 kilometers, which would mean two marches of about 45 kilometers each.

From al-Ḥânûḳa to ar-Raḳḳa he reckons it two marches; it is actually 80 kilometers, involving two marches of 40 kilometers each.

Between Bagdad and ar-Raḳḳa al-Idrîsi reckons it at least ten marches; as this distance is 620 kilometers, a rate of 62 kilometers per march would be necessary. This distance can at this speed be covered by wheeled transport or by riders on horses or camels, but only when the animals are changed on the way.

Let us now turn to the second route described by al-Idrîsi. This branched off from the Euphrates at an-Nâ'ûsa and went eastward into the desert. This road actually led through the desert, yet from time to time it returned to the Euphrates.

From an-Nâ'ûsa to Ḳarḳîsija' he counts it 111 miles, or about 189 kilometers if we continue to reckon 1.7 kilometers to a mile. The real distance is 283 kilometers.

From an-Nâ'ûsa to Âlûsa he counts it 21 miles; in reality it is 28 kilometers, or about 17 miles.

From Âlûsa to al-Fuḥejma (not al-ʿUǧejma, as printed) he counts 18 miles; in reality it is 35 kilometers, or about 21 miles.

From al-Fuḥejma to aḍ-Ḍarâfi he reckons it 18 miles, or 30.6 kilometers. This aḍ-Ḍarâfi must be the station Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh calls ad-Dâzeḳi, which we locate at al-Ḳâjem. From al-Fuḥejma to ad-Dâzeḳi is actually 92 kilometers; therefore many stations must have been left out by al-Idrîsi. From aḍ-Ḍarâfi to al-Furḍa he reckons it 18 miles and thence to Wâdi-s-Sibâʿ, 15 miles.

The stations Ḫalîǧ Beni Ǧumejʿ and al-Fâš opposite Ḳarḳîsija' are omitted. Instead of the latter, al-Idrîsi, like Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, inserts the phrase "from Ḳarḳîsija'." That, however, the station of al-Fâš was known to al-Idrîsi is confirmed by the distance to the next station, Nahr Saʿîd, which he gives as 24 miles, a distance which agrees roughly with the actual distance of 37 kilometers from al-Fâš (al-ʿAšâra).

From the Nahr Saʿîd to ar-Raḳḳa al-Idrîsi gives as 99 miles. The actual distance is 150 kilometers only. From the Nahr Saʿîd to al-Ǧardân he gives as 42 miles; thence to al-Mubârek as 33 miles; and thence to ar-Raḳḳa as 24 miles. These figures correspond to the figures given by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh for the distances between these places.

The total distance from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa by this road is given by al-Idrîsi as 372 miles, but the sum of the distances between stations given by him amount to only 348 miles; the real distance is 620 kilometers, which would be about 364 miles if al-Idrîsi used a mile of 1.7 kilometers.

Other Data on Roads along the Euphrates

At the beginning of 1348 the indefatigable traveler Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 4, pp. 314f.) left Bagdad and came by way of al-Anbâr, Hît, and al-Ḥadîṯa to ʿÂna. Passing through a country carefully cultivated, he was almost continuously among inhabited houses, a fact which led him to compare this road with the very

fertile main valley in China. From ʿÂna he traveled to the town of ar-Raḥba, which then marked the boundary between Irak and the first town in Syria. From ar-Raḥba he proceeded via as-Suḫne and Tadmur to Damascus. — The road which he took from ar-Raḥba to as-Suḫne undoubtedly led via Čawâṭel and al-Ḳebâžeb, as is also recorded by aḍ-Ḍâheri, *Zubda* (Ravaisse), pp. 119f.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 483, also knew of the road along the Euphrates and gave the distance from al-Ḥilla to Hît as two marches; thence to ʿÂna, three marches; thence to ar-Raḥba, three marches; thence to ad-Dejr, one march; thence to Bâlis, five marches. — Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa's statements do not agree with the facts. The direct distance between al-Ḥilla and Hît is approximately 210 kilometers; to cover this in two days would be absolutely impossible. From Hît to ʿÂna is 130 kilometers, and from ʿÂna to ar-Raḥba almost 170 kilometers; yet three marches are given for each. From ar-Raḥba to ad-Dejr is 45 kilometers, which might be one march. From ad-Dejr to Bâlis is close to 210 kilometers, necessitating five marches of 46 kilometers each.

Ibn Ḫordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 74, names on the road from Raḳḳa to Ḥaleb (Aleppo) the stations of Dawsar and Bâlis and on the right bank of the Euphrates Ḫusâf and an-Nâʿûra. — It is interesting to notice that Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh writes simply Raḳḳa, without the article. The road led at first along the left bank to the station of Dawsar, about fifty kilometers away. Dawsar was the ancient name of a fort which later came to be and still is called Ḳalʿat Ǧaʿbar. From here the road led forty kilometers farther along the left bank to the town of Bâlis, situated on the right bank, where the Euphrates had to be crossed by a boat bridge. From Bâlis it was 48 kilometers to Ḫusâf, or the modern Tell Ḫsâf. Thence to Aleppo, about fifteen kilometers to the southeast of which lay the station of an-Nâʿûra, it was fifty kilometers.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, IV, 5, refers to the same stations as Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, but he begins with Ḥaleb (Aleppo).

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 3, p. 2200, relates that at the close of the year 900 A. D. the caliph al-Muʿtaḍed returned from an expedition against the Byzantines by way of Aleppo, an-Nâʿûra, and Ḫusâf to Ṣiffîn, whence he proceeded along the left bank — passing ʿAli ibn Abi Ṭâleb's estate on the opposite side — by way of Bâlis, Dawsar, and Baṭn Dâmân to the town of ar-Raḳḳa. — This road also led via Ḫusâf and Bâlis. Where it crossed to the left bank, aṭ-Ṭabari does not make clear, though it was perhaps at Bâlis. The text is not very accurate here, as Ṣiffîn, the modern Abu Hrêra, is actually situated between Bâlis and Dawsar (Ḳalʿat Ǧaʿbar).

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 538, writes that the settlement of Dâmân lies five parasangs from ar-Râfiḳa opposite the inlet of the canal of an-Nihja, and that certain apples bear its name, *ad-dâmâni*. The name of this canal in the manuscript is al-NHJ (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 184).

APPENDIX VI

THE CANALS OF THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

General Considerations

Of the ancient and medieval canals in Irak many records have been preserved, but to define their exact courses is usually impossible. The alluvial plain is deeply furrowed by existing irrigation ditches and completely intersected by embankments of varying sizes, and so far-reaching in every direction are the huge, rampart-like dikes which enclosed the medieval canals, that, though here and there the remains of the Persian or even more ancient times may survive, their routes can be determined only by excavation. The canals of Irak become choked comparatively quickly with alluvium and, if not regularly cleaned out, after a few years their restoration costs more than the digging of new ones. This being the case, the channels of the old canals are filled up from their embankments or the old embankments are simply left standing and new canals dug alongside them. Only where the old embankments have to be crossed are they leveled with the surroundings. If all the canals dug in the past had remained undisturbed, there probably would be no arable ground left in Babylonia; and, indeed we cannot but suppose that in ancient times, also, abandoned canals were filled up and converted into fertile fields. The remains of such canals as are left in the country are very insignificant, and the casual observer finds it difficult to distinguish them from the medieval canals.

The question whether in ancient times the Euphrates flowed in its present channel through upper Babylonia or whether it has since changed its course is important. The almost universal opinion is that at one time it flowed by the town of Sippar (now Abu Ḥabba), about ten kilometers from its present channel. But even were this so, it could not have deviated from its present course until about five kilometers south of the settlement of al-Fellûğe, for not before that point does the Tertiary upland give place to the Babylonian alluvium, and there is no evidence that the Euphrates ever carved a channel through the Tertiary east of al-Fellûğe. At about ten kilometers southwest of the site of Sippar the isolated plateau of al-Meğaṣṣa, forming an outlier of the upland, stretches for a distance of twenty kilometers from northwest to southeast; this was never broken through by the Euphrates, which now washes its western slope. But if the river ever did flow by Sippar, it either turned southwest again immediately beyond the town, rounding the northern end of the plateau of al-Meğaṣṣa, or else it flowed due south past the southeastern edge of the plateau to the town of Bâbil. It has always flowed past the latter place.

I found no visible traces of either of these two possible courses and am of the opinion that the Euphrates channel from the earliest times has probably been where it is today, but that a huge canal branched off towards Sippar, through which, perhaps, more water once flowed than through the river bed proper and which, at least for a time, may have borne the name Euphrates.

As early as at the beginning of the second millennium before Christ King Hammurabi relates that he had a canal dug out from the Euphrates unto Sippar (Bilingual Inscription [King, *Hammurabi* (1898-1900), Vol. 1, Nos. 57f.], col. 1, ll. 10—24; King, *op. cit.* Vol. 3, pp. 177f.). According to this, the main channel of the Euphrates must then have been at a considerable distance from Sippar.

Nabopolassar (British Museum, AH 82, 7—14, col. 1, ll. 10—15; col. 2, ll. 4—12; Langdon, *Building Inscriptions* [1905], p. 54) likewise had Sippar connected with the Euphrates, which had receded somewhat from the town. The king ordered a new channel to be dug and enclosed by a wall of burnt bricks. — This statement also makes it evident that the main bed of the Euphrates was some distance from Sippar. The channel ordered by Nabopolassar is perhaps identical with the later Royal Canal, or Naarmalcha.

Nebuchadnezzar's Dam and Reservoir

Nabopolassar's successor, Nebuchadnezzar, desired to strengthen the fortifications of Babylon against the Median attacks (Inscription B from Wâdi Brîsa [Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II* (1906), pl. 33], col. 6, ll. 67—76; Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 166). He therefore had a huge dam of earth built, five Babylonian miles long, stretching from Opis as far as the vicinity of Sippar, between the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates; he also had the city (Bâbil, or Babylon) surrounded by "a mass of water like a deep sea" for twenty miles. To protect the earth-built dam against the waves, he had it lined with bricks set in bitumen. —

According to this record the dam was built between the towns of Opis and Sippar. The position of the latter we know, but not that of the former. When we read that the dam connected the Tigris with the Euphrates and was meant to protect Babylon against the Medes, we come to the conclusion that it must have led directly east (or slightly to the north or south of east) from Sippar and hence that Opis should be sought in that direction, on the right bank of the Tigris, as Sippar was situated not far from the left bank of the Euphrates. This position is also indicated by the length of the dam. This is stated as being five miles, or about sixty kilometers. Thirty kilometers is the shortest distance from Sippar to the Tigris in an easterly direction. The figure given by Nebuchadnezzar, however, corresponds with this — as we shall explain below — for we interpret it to represent the length not merely of a single embankment but the total length of a double line of embankments enclosing a reservoir.

The water contained in such a reservoir could have been taken only from the Euphrates, either from its main channel or from the great canal leading to Sippar. The inscription, however, says that Nebuchadnezzar had the city (Bâbil) surrounded by "a mass of water like a deep sea" for 20 miles. This is not very clear. Twenty miles certainly cannot be taken as representing the length of the artificial lake or of its embankments. A lake of any such length could only have been shaped like an open letter U with two arms running from Babylon up the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. To create such a lake enormous embankments would have had to be built along both Tigris and Euphrates to prevent the water from escaping eastward and southwestward respectively.

For the explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's statements the records of Herodotus, Abydenus, and Diodorus are of much assistance; they were taken either from the Babylonian authors or from eyewitnesses.

Herodotus, *History*, I, 184, relates that Semiramis had remarkably large dams built across the plain to prevent its being flooded by the river. — The dams, however, surely were not built across the plain, but only along one or both banks of the river in the same manner that the inhabitants of those parts build them even today when they wish to protect their fields which lie lower than the Euphrates channel from inundation. It should be added that this channel is constantly being raised by the alluvium washed down by the stream.

In the *History*, I, 185, Herodotus mentions Queen Nitocris, who caused the Euphrates to wind by building new canals. At her command a basin was dug to hold a lake far above Babylon and a little away from the stream. The lake was deeper than the river and was 420 stades in circumference. With the excavated earth, dams were built along the river banks, the height and strength of which compelled admiration. —

Nitocris was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar; to her Herodotus ascribes the deeds performed by her husband. He does not give the position of the reservoir, but, as he attributes it to Nebuchadnezzar's wife, we may assume it to be identical with the "mass of water" of Nebuchadnezzar's inscription. According to Herodotus, this reservoir had a circumference of 420 stades, or about 66 kilometers, which agrees well enough with the statement of Nebuchadnezzar that the length of the dam — i. e. circumference of the reservoir — was five miles. To judge from this, the lake must have been about thirty kilometers long and over two kilometers wide. The long dam on the south side as well as the dam along the right bank of the Tigris must have been especially strong.

If we connect Herodotus' report with the record of Nebuchadnezzar, we may obtain a picture of the lake close by the towns of Sippar and Opis. This lake was probably enclosed on the south between the Euphrates and Tigris by a mighty dam, which was strengthened on the north by a lining of bricks set in bitumen. As the southern dam, according to our interpretation of both Nebuchadnezzar and Herodotus, was only thirty kilometers long, it is evident that it must have led from the Euphrates near Sippar eastwards to a point on the Tigris that was thirty kilometers away. Therefore we must locate Opis at such a point on the right bank of the Tigris south of the dam.

Abydenus' report has been preserved in two works of Eusebius, the *Chronicon* (Schoene), Vol. 1, cols. 38f., and the *Praeparatio evangelica*, IX, 41 : 7. According to Abydenus, Nebuchadnezzar, after ascending the throne had Babylon enclosed by a fortification wall and a threefold rampart. He ordered the canals of Armakalen and Akrakanon to be dug leading out of the Euphrates, and above the town of the Sipparians he had a lake excavated twenty fathoms deep and forty parasangs in circumference. The plain could be irrigated by opening sluices. —

Abydenus' location of Nebuchadnezzar's great reservoir shows its identity with part of the defensive works referred to in Nebuchadnezzar's inscription in Wâdi Brîsa'. The impossible circumference of forty parasangs nearly equals the twenty miles of Nebuchadnezzar, and the depth of twenty fathoms is undoubtedly exaggerated. It is not without interest

that Abydenus, who probably took his reports from the Babylonian writer Berosus (Schnabel, *Berossos* [1923], p. 271), connects the "Royal Canal," Naarmalcha — the name of which, either by him or by his transcribers, was corrupted into "Armakalen" — with this huge reservoir. Therefore, according to Abydenus the water flowing into the reservoir did not come directly from the Euphrates but from the Royal Canal, which turned off from the Euphrates west or northwest of Sippar to irrigate the land around this town. I find no reference in classical writers to the second canal, Akrakanon, mentioned by Abydenus, but its name suggests the town of Agranis, where according to Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, VI, 120, the Naarmalcha branched off. Probably Abydenus found such a statement in Berosus and from the town of Agranis made a canal Akrakanon.

According to Abydenus the great lake was built for the irrigation of the neighboring plain, which must have adjoined it only on the south side, as the water could have been let out through sluices or locks into the canals and ditches in that direction and no other. The reservoir must have been filled in the month of May, when the level of the Euphrates is at its highest, and must have been let out over the plain from September to December. The dams on its southern and eastern sides particularly must have been very solidly built and the southern dam must have led from Sippar directly east. Only by strengthening the eastern half of the main dam and the whole dam along the right bank of the Tigris, could the danger of breaking have been avoided.

Diodorus was apparently influenced by Agatharchides, who in the main followed Ctesias and Clytharchus, two authors who had visited Babylonia and therefore were familiar with the local records. According to Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, II, 9, Semiramis had a quadrangular lake dug, selecting for this purpose the lowest spot in all Babylonia. The lake was enclosed by walls built of bricks laid in bitumen. Each wall was 300 stades long and 35 feet high. —

Diodorus undoubtedly speaks of the same reservoir as that discussed by Abydenus and Herodotus, yet he ascribes it neither to Nebuchadnezzar nor to his wife Nitocris, but to the older Assyrian Queen Semiramis, and he records nothing which might lead us to an explanation. The location of the lake he also fails to state. That the place where the lake was dug should have been the lowest in all Babylonia does not agree with the facts and is also contradicted by the statement that the lake was enclosed by four walls built of brick and bitumen, for a lake dug into the lowest spot would require no enclosing walls. Each of the walls was said to have been 300 stades long and 35 feet high. Three hundred Eratosthenic stades equal 47 kilometers. This length if multiplied by four, suggests the twenty miles of Nebuchadnezzar and forty parasangs of Abydenus. The passage, in any case, cannot be explained, for, while the average distance between the Euphrates and Tigris above Sippar is about forty kilometers, south from Sippar three hundred stades (47 km.) would not even reach Babylon, whence it is much more than 47 kilometers to the Tigris.

The Greek mercenaries who in 401 accompanied the younger Cyrus on his expedition against the great Persian king Artaxerxes passed through the extensive territory around Sippar after their defeat at Cunaxa. Xenophon, a participant in this expedition, has well described for us

the fate of the Greeks. We should, therefore, expect in his work details that might help to solve many riddles. But Xenophon in only one passage of his *Anabasis* mentions any ancient remains that could possibly be identified with Nebuchadnezzar's dam. In the *Anabasis*, II, 4:12f., he relates that the Hellenes reached the Median Wall (see above, pp. 216, 225f.). This was said to have been built, not far from Babylon, of bricks laid in bitumen to a thickness of 20 feet, a height of 100 feet, and a length, according to hearsay, of 20 parasangs. Having crossed it, they came after two marches (equaling 8 parasangs) to the boat bridge across the Tigris, fifteen stades from the town of Sittace.

Both the height and width as stated can represent nothing but averages and the length is recorded from hearsay only. A diligent study of Xenophon's work, however, would seem to show that what the Greek army crossed was Nebuchadnezzar's dam and that, therefore, Xenophon's Median Wall may, or even must, be identical with the remains mentioned by Herodotus, Abydenus, and Diodorus. The Greeks reached the wall from the northwest; they found no lake on that side of it, but only a low plain intersected by numerous canals and ditches which were very difficult to cross. We learn from Xenophon neither the manner in which the Greek army crossed the wall, nor for what purpose it was built. That it extended not far from Babylon is not to be taken literally, as Xenophon did not know where Babylon was situated and his only reason for believing the army to be approaching the great city was simply the fact that they were marching in a southeasterly direction.

Beyond the Median Wall the Greeks (*ibid.*, II, 4 : 14) went through an extensive park. Possibly the wall shut in the park at least in part. The fact that the wall was probably built on Nebuchadnezzar's dam may well have been the reason why it looked so high and thick to Xenophon. The length, 20 parasangs, he learned from hearsay — as he himself states. This figure may have represented the circumference of Nebuchadnezzar's reservoir. The northern dam Xenophon does not mention at all, having probably mistaken it for the numerous similar embankments enclosing the ancient canals; nor does he pay any attention to the reservoir, as there was no longer any water in it.

Besides Xenophon, the region of Nebuchadnezzar's dam was also visited by Ammianus Marcellinus, who in 363 A.D. accompanied the Emperor Julian on his expedition against the Persians. In *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 3 : 10, Ammianus describes a swamp reached by the Roman army after a march of fourteen miles from Pirisabora (see above, p. 234). Zosimus, who drew mainly from Magnus of Carrhae, another participant in the expedition, states in *Historia nova*, III, 19, that this swamp was inundated from the Euphrates and the Naarmalcha (see above, p. 236).

Pirisabora is identical with the modern al-Ambâr. Fourteen Roman miles from here along the Euphrates would bring us about to the inlet of the present Daffâr canal, from where in an east-southeasterly direction extends a low-lying plain which is inundated every time the Euphrates is in flood. Zosimus connects his swamp with the Naarmalcha just as Abydenus so connects the reservoir of Nebuchadnezzar.

Ammianus Marcellinus also writes (*ibid.*, XXIV, 5 : 1f.) that the Romans reached groves and fertile fields, where they found a royal residence built in the Roman style, also a large game preserve enclosed

by high walls and full of various beasts of prey (see above, p. 235). From there it was not far to Coche, which was then called Seleucia.

Evidently Xenophon's great park (*Anabasis*, II, 4: 14) was identical with the game preserve of Ammianus Marcellinus. It may therefore be assumed that the wall enclosing the preserve likewise formed a part of Xenophon's Median Wall. Indeed, Xenophon, whose statements regarding the width of the various rivers are always exaggerated, might be expected to describe this wall as larger and higher than it really was.

The Location of Opis and its Relation to Nebuchadnezzar's Reservoir

To learn the course of Nebuchadnezzar's dam it is very important to know exactly where Opis was situated. From the various reports on the former we have shown that the latter should be looked for on the right bank of the Tigris.

Opis, identical with the Old Babylonian Akšak (Thureau-Dangin, *Chronologie* [1918], p. 61), was also called U-pi-e, the name from which the classical "Opis" was derived. The center of a kingdom with a dynasty of its own, it maintained its independence for a long time.

The authors of the Assyrian era do not mention the town at all, while the kings of New Babylonian epoch introduce it anew, not by the then common name of U-pi-e but by the old name Akšak. Older classical writers knew of no more important town on the middle Tigris than Opis.

Herodotus, *History*, I, 189, relates how Cyrus I on his expedition against Babylon reached the river Gyndes, which connects with another river called Tigris flowing past the town of Opis and into the Erythrean Sea. —

Of course, Herodotus does not state whether this Opis was situated above the mouth of the Gyndes or below it, but the context would lead us to assume that the Gyndes joined the Tigris above the town of Opis, hence north of it. If the Gyndes were identical with the present river Dijâla, then Opis should be looked for south of its mouth. Such a position would place Opis almost due east of the present Abu Ḥabba (the ancient Sippar), or in the very region to which all the records of Nebuchadnezzar's reservoir point.

A location for Opis is indicated in the *Anabasis* (II, 4 : 25) (see above, pp. 216, 225f.). Xenophon writes that from the boat bridge across the Tigris at Sittace the Hellenes made four marches (20 parasangs) and reached the river Physcus, which was one *plethrum* wide and provided with a bridge; on this river the great town of Opis was situated. —

As the location of Sittace is unknown to us, we cannot state accurately at what point the bridge was built which was crossed by the Hellenes from the right bank of the Tigris to the left; thus we lack a starting point for the four marches thence to Opis.

According to the *Anabasis*, II, 4: 27, the Hellenes proceeded from the river Physcus in six marches (30 parasangs) to the settlements of Parysatis and (*ibid.*, II, 5: 1) along the Tigris in four marches (20 parasangs) to the river Zapatas, four *plethra* wide. —

If the river Zapatas is, as is highly probable, identical with the present Great Zab, Opis should be sought ten marches (50 parasangs)

southwards along the Tigris from its mouth. In this way we would reach the present river al-Adhem, commonly identified with the Physcus, and Opis would lie somewhere near its junction with the Tigris, though whether on the right or left side of the latter, Xenophon does not say. Yet this location of Opis, more than ninety kilometers almost directly north of Abu Ḥabba, the ancient Sippar, conflicts with everything we have so far brought forward to explain the records of Nebuchadnezzar's reservoir and the Median Wall. These explanations would have to be replaced by others, if Xenophon alone were to be trusted.

Our study of Xenophon's work, however, proves that, at least while describing the middle Euphrates, he is not altogether reliable. For instance, as we have already explained, he confuses the river Chaboras with the Araxes canal (see above, pp. 221f.); he fails to mention more than one crossing of the ditch of Artaxerxes, though the army must have crossed it twice after Cunaxa if this ditch reached the Median Wall (see above, pp. 215f.); and he asserts that beyond the Median Wall the Hellenes traversed two canals flowing out of the Tigris, although these canals must have issued from the Euphrates (see above, pp. 225f.).

Another error of the same sort was, perhaps, made by Xenophon in the passage (*ibid.*, I, 4: 10) where he locates the residence of the satrap Belesis by the river Dardas, instead of by a canal issuing from the Euphrates not far from the town of Thapsacus, where the town of Barbalissus (Son of Balissus or Belesis) was known to the classical as well as to the Syriac and Arabic authors.

In view of this tendency to incorrect observation, it is highly probable that Xenophon mistook the position of Sittace for that of Opis and, therefore, that Opis should, even according to Xenophon, be looked for south of the Median Wall, fifteen stades south of the boat bridge by which the Hellenes crossed to the left bank of the Tigris. Xenophon does not say that he had seen Opis; he merely states that the Hellenes there met the Persian troops marching from Susa and Ecbatana to the aid of the Great King. This meeting may easily have taken place at the river Physcus, as in all probability these troops were marching by the road leading along this river from Persia. As the whole attention of the Hellenes was centered on this auxiliary army, Xenophon was likely to have mistaked the name Sittace for Opis. It is true that Herodotus mentions Opis (see above, p. 263), but that Xenophon had ever read Herodotus before the expedition is very doubtful, for his statements regarding Babylonia would have been much more complete if he had studied the work of his compatriot or had taken it along with him.

If Opis really lay at the outlet of the river Physcus (the present al-Adhem), as Xenophon says, then it would be hard to understand why King Nebuchadnezzar should have had a rampart or dam ninety kilometers long built for the protection of Babylon from Sippar northward to Opis. This rampart or dam would have had to lead almost parallel with the right bank of the Tigris. West of it would have extended a vast, long plain, which might have been inundated as it still is at every large flood of the Euphrates. But this half-natural, half-artificial lake sixty kilometers north of Babylon could in no way have served as a defense of the city, and Cyrus I could have avoided it altogether.

According to the passage in Herodotus (*History*, I, 189) to which we have referred, Cyrus came on his march to Babylon in 539 B.C. to the river Gyndes, which, as we have said before, is to be identified with the river Dijâla of today; then, according to Nabonidus (the Nabonidus Chronicle [Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (1924), pl. 13], reverse, col. 3, ll. 12—16; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 113), he defeated the Babylonian army at Opis. Now, if Opis lay at the mouth of the river Physcus, or al-Adhem, Cyrus would have had to return from the Dijâla northward, although this was the very direction he came from; while if, on the other hand, Opis was situated below the mouth of the river Gyndes at the point indicated by the probable course of Nebuchadnezzar's dam, he would have merely continued his march, forced his way across the Tigris, broken through the defensive line of the Babylonians at Opis, occupied Sippar, and marched without fighting into Babylon.

Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 7, relates that in 324 B. C. Alexander the Great destroyed all the weirs on the Tigris, thus making the shipping free on this river from the Persian Gulf as far as Opis, which was situated on its bank. He remained there (*ibid.*, VII, 8) all summer, sent the Macedonian veterans home from there, and set out (*ibid.*, VII, 13) on an expedition from Opis to Ecbatana (Hamadan). —

It appears from Arrian's report that on account of its position Opis must have been a very important town and the junction of roads leading from Babylon to Persia and northern Mesopotamia. It would have been strange if, in a place of such significance and one that was almost sacred in consequence of Alexander's stay, his successors should not have established an important colony there. Nowhere is there any mention of a Greek colony at the outlet of the river Physcus, the most celebrated Greek colony of this region having been Seleucia below the outlet of the river Dijâla and almost due east of Abu Ḥabba, or at a point where we should, in accordance with the reports of Nebuchadnezzar's reservoir and its dam, look for Opis. Therefore it is highly probable that the Greek colony of Seleucia was built in the closest proximity to the ancient town of Opis, thus becoming its successor. This supposition would seem to be confirmed by Strabo (*Geography*, XVI, 1: 9) where he states that the Tigris is navigable as far as Opis, a settlement and market for the surrounding country, as well as to the present Seleucia. Hence with Seleucia Strabo connects the older Opis, which, so to speak, formed a suburb of the newer town. Every large town of the modern Orient has a suburb of this kind, which serves as a market for the natives from the whole neighborhood, who, purchasing rather than selling their products, avoid the large shops of the main streets.

According to Eratosthenes (Strabo, *op. cit.*, II, 1: 26) the closest approach of the Euphrates to the Tigris, two hundred stades, was at the wall of Semiramis and the town of Opis; elsewhere (*ibid.*, XI, 14: 8) he states that the Tigris flows by Opis and the so-called wall of Semiramis. —

Both of these reports, as well as the records of Nebuchadnezzar and Abydenus, connect Opis with the embankments of the great reservoir which, of course, was by Eratosthenes as by Diodorus ascribed to Semiramis. Consequently, Eratosthenes would place Opis east of the modern Abu Ḥabba (Sippar). This situation is also confirmed by Eratosthenes'

statement that the wall of Semiramis was built at Opis at the point where it is the shortest distance between the two great rivers, that is to say between the ancient Sippar and the Greek colony of Seleucia. Between the two last-named places there are no more than two hundred Eratosthenic stades, or about 31 kilometers, between the rivers. That the main stream of the Euphrates flowed about ten kilometers west of Sippar in the time of Nebuchadnezzar as well as in that of Eratosthenes, we must conclude from geological evidence. It seems that this shortest distance between Seleucia and the Euphrates proper is recorded by Strabo in two passages: in one (*op. cit.*, XVI, 1: 5) he estimates it not very carefully at three hundred stades; in the other (*ibid.*, XVI, 1: 21) we read of it as being "more than two hundred stades." (In both of these passages it is obvious from the context that for "Babylon" should be read "the Euphrates.") If Opis had actually been situated at the mouth of the river Physcus, then the Euphrates could not possibly have ever been nearest to the Tigris at Opis, as the shortest distance between the rivers at the mouth of the Physcus is about eighty kilometers as against thirty kilometers in the latitude of Seleucia.

It appears from the foregoing that, except for the statements of Xenophon, there is no argument in ancient literature which would prevent our locating Opis in the immediate neighborhood of Seleucia on the right bank of the Tigris. The dam of Nebuchadnezzar's reservoir would then be identical with the Median Wall of Xenophon and would extend north of Sippar eastward to the Tigris, reaching it north of Opis.

The possibility of confusion of Opis with Sittace is confirmed by Strabo (*op. cit.*, XI, 13: 6) where he says that the territory of Apolloniatis was originally called Sitacene. This territory lay on the left bank of the Tigris where it was joined (*ibid.*, XV, 3: 12) by the Susis. Its name being derived from that of Sittace, we should look for the latter place also on the left bank of the Tigris, not on the right bank where Xenophon would locate it.

According to Ptolemy (*Geography*, VI, 1: 6) also, Sittace was situated on the left bank of the Tigris in Assyria and not in Babylonia, to which it would have belonged if it had been situated on the right bank below the Median Wall.

Canals of the Middle Euphrates

Besides the reservoir of Nebuchadnezzar, many canals in our part of Babylonia are mentioned by the Babylonian, Assyrian, and classical records, but seldom with sufficient accuracy to make their location possible.

Tukulti Enurta (Ninip) II (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 2], obverse, ll. 52f.; Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 16) crossed the canal of Patti Bêl on his fourteenth march, while proceeding from Dûr Kurigalzi (ʿAḳarḳûf) to Sippar (Abu Ḥabba). — As he was marching in a straight course and took his rest at the canal, this must be sought somewhere near the present settlement of al-Žerje, on a branch of the al-ʿEjsâwi canal. The Patti Bêl therefore must have issued from the Euphrates below the modern settlement of al-Fellûğe at about the point where in later times the Ṣarṣar canal had its inlet. Tukulti Enurta certainly crossed many canals on his

route from Sippar northwest along the left bank of the Euphrates, yet he does not mention a single one, merely giving the names of the settlements near which he camped.

The Northernmost Large Canal System

Classical Authorities on the Northernmost System

A gloss in Xenophon states (*Anabasis*, I, 7: 15), after mentioning the ditch encountered on the approach to the battlefield of Cunaxa after leaving Pylae, that the Hellenes came to four other ditches which flowed out from the Tigris, each one *plethrum* (31 meters) wide and deep enough to be navigable. They all emptied into the Euphrates at distances of one parasang from each other. —

Xenophon does not say whether on their march to the battlefield the Greeks had crossed any of these canals, yet they must have crossed all of them, because in a later passage (II, 3: 10—13) he describes the difficulties the Greeks met on their way back to the Median Wall when crossing the different irrigation canals and ditches.

In the *Anabasis*, I, 7: 14—16, Xenophon, in describing the ditch "dug by the Great King as a defense against the invader" and encountered by the Greeks on the approach to Cunaxa (see above, pp. 214f.), accurately gives the location of the first Babylonian canal as one comes from the northwest. The Hellenes arrived from Pylae in four marches (15 parasangs) at a ditch 5 fathoms wide, 3 fathoms deep, and 12 parasangs long, which extended as far as the Median Wall. —

Xenophon believed that this "ditch" was dug by the order of the Great King to prevent Cyrus from entering Babylonia, but in this he was mistaken. If it had been a defensive ditch it would surely have been filled with water. As it was, there still remained between it and the Euphrates a neck of land twenty feet wide, which, in the first place, prevented the water from entering the canal and, in the second, allowed the Hellenes to pass through freely. The "ditch" must have been a canal just in the process of cleaning, the inlet of which had probably been blocked with earth to make the labor inside easier. Its location can be determined fairly well from Xenophon's words. His Pylae may be identified with the last spur of the Tertiary upland which comes down as far as the Euphrates itself and bounds the Babylonian alluvium proper on the northwest, i. e. the present spur of al-Aswad upon which lies the ruin of the same name. To the east-southeast of al-Aswad alluvium intervenes on the left bank of the Euphrates between the river and the upland, and here Babylonia proper begins. Four marches (about 60 kilometers) from al-Aswad brings us to the al-Ḳarma or as-Saḳlâwijje canal, which leaves the Euphrates at al-Ambâr. Xenophon's informant spoke the truth when he gave the length of the "ditch" as twelve parasangs (about 60 kilometers), as this is the distance from the Euphrates to the Tigris, into which latter this half-natural, half-artificial canal empties. Not the main canal but one of its branches could extend as far as the Median Wall. As Xenophon does not say whether the main canal was crossed by the Hellenes during their march away from the battlefield northeast, we may draw the conclusion

either that he forgot to mention it or that they did not get so far north; in any case the main ditch did not extend to the Median Wall.

Most likely it was this canal that Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, V, 90) had in mind when he wrote that the Euphrates branches at the settlement of Masicen, 594 miles from Zeugma. He adds that the left-hand stream, taking its course to Mesopotamia and flowing through Seleucia, empties into the Tigris, while the right-hand one flows through its channel to Babylon. —

Pliny either copied his figures incorrectly or they were put down wrongly by subsequent clerks, for 594 miles from Zeugma would not have brought us even to Anatha, the modern ʿÂna; and the Euphrates does not divide until well below that place, at the point where the stream enters the Babylonian alluvium. Between the latter and the Tertiary upland of Mesopotamia is a depression now called al-Ḥûr, into which the waters from the Euphrates flowed in Pliny's time, and still flow, through what is now called the al-Ḳarma or as-Saḳlâwijje canal — the first canal leading off from the river —, whence they could be conducted by artificial and natural channels as far as ancient Seleucia. The site of Pliny's Masicen, therefore, is to be looked for at the inlet of al-Ḳarma; the settlement may have been identical with the Besechana of Isidore of Charax (see above, p. 231) or with the modern ar-Rumâdi.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 2: 7, as we have seen above (pp. 235, 240) writes that the Euphrates divides at Macepracta. One branch flows in a broad stream into inner Babylonia to the great profit of the fields and adjoining settlements; the branch called Naarmalcha, signifying Kings' or Royal River, flows toward Ctesiphon. At the beginning of this branch a tower resembling the Pharos is said to stand. After passing it, the Romans reached the fort of Pirisaboras.

Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 16, in this connection speaks only of a canal, without giving its name; he says it extends toward Assyria and the Tigris (see above, p. 236).—

The record of Ammianus Marcellinus reminds us strongly of that of Pliny, but with the former the name of the settlement is Macepracta, not Masicen. The Naarmalcha, which actually lay some distance to the south, probably got into Ammianus Marcellinus' record at this place by inattention, possibly from Pliny or his source. Magnus of Carrhae, who was often used by Zosimus, did not know the name of this canal, although he names more places than Ammianus Marcellinus.

Like Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 3: 10), Zosimus (*op. cit.*, III, 19) also writes of the natural and artificial swamps which the Romans reached after marching fourteen miles beyond the fort of Pirisaboras and among which lay the town of Phissenia.

According to Zosimus, the moat of this town was filled from the Naarmalcha, from which the swamps also were inundated. The canal referred to in this case, however, cannot have been the one which Ammianus erroneously calls the Naarmalcha, as the latter (now al-Ḳarma) had its inlet many miles northwest of Phissenia (ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli); furthermore, between the swamps of Phissenia and the fort of Pirisaboras (al-Ambâr) an isolated tract of Tertiary upland extends for almost twenty kilometers from northwest to southeast. The settlement of Macepracta may be identified with the Ummu-r-Rûs ruins, in the neighborhood of

which is the inlet of the channel of al-Waššâš, which joins the channel of as-Saḳlâwijje to form the al-Ḳarma canal.

Arabic Authorities on the Northernmost System

The first large canal in Babylonia which branches of from the left bank of the Euphrates the Arabic writers call ad-Duḳejl, ar-Rufejl, or ad-Duğejl, often confusing it with the Nahr ʿÎsa canal, which was not excavated until under the Moslem rule.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâğ* (De Goeje), p. 234, writes that at a point below al-Anbâr a canal known as ad-Duḳejl issues from the Euphrates. From it separates the ʿÎsa canal, which flows towards Bagdad, where it empties into the Tigris. — This does not agree with the facts: the Nahr ʿÎsa could not have branched off the Nahr ad-Duḳejl, as they both issued from the Euphrates.

A correct differentiation between the ad-Duḳejl canal and the Nahr ʿÎsa is made by Ibn Serapion (*ʿAǧâ'ib*, [British Museum MS], fol. 33 v., [Le Strange], p. 14) when he says that a canal, commonly called Duğejl, issues from the Euphrates at one parasang, or slightly more, from the settlement of ar-Rabb, whence it runs east. It splits into many branches, irrigating the farms of the districts of Maskan and Ḳuṭrabbul as far as its outlet into the Tigris, between the settlement of ʿOkbara' and the town of Bagdad. —

To the Arabic authors the village of ar-Rabb was well known. I identify it with the ruin mound at the little shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ḥadîd. The Duğejl canal in this case must have issued from the Euphrates at about the same point as the modern ʿAzzâr canal, whence it must have extended along the northeastern edge of the alluvial plain — nearly five kilometers wide here — to al-Anbâr; north of this point it must have entered the depression of al-Ḥûr and thence wound its way between the al-Ašhâbi ruin on the right and that of al-Mḳajjer on the left, until finally, near the Sarrâḥa of today, it flowed into the Tigris. It was therefore the predecessor of the present al-Ḳarma canal.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 839, mentions the Nahr Rufejl, which enters the Tigris at the bridge of the same name at Bagdad. It branches off from the Nahr ʿÎsa and is spanned by the bridge of aš-Šowk.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 3, pp. 247–250, corrects and completes Jâḳût. He reminds us that ar-Rufejl is, properly, the name of an upper (northern) branch of the great canal known as Nahr ʿÎsa. Ar-Rufejl is supposed to have flowed into the aṣ-Ṣara' canal. But ʿÎsa ibn ʿAli, in order to have a continual supply of running water, had a ditch dug out from ar-Rufejl past his manor and leading into the Tigris; for this reason the whole canal came to be called the Nahr ʿÎsa. —

It is evident from Abu-l-Faḍâ'il's record that the Nahr ʿÎsa proper (near Bagdad) was connected on the north with the Nahr ar-Rufejl and that the name "Nahr ʿÎsa" also came to be applied to the latter. The Nahr ar-Rufejl proper was conceived of as the northern member of a canal system having two inlets from the Euphrates, the branch from the north bearing the name "ar-Rufejl" and that from the south the name "'Îsa." The designation "ar-Rufejl" undoubtedly originated from a wrong transcription of "ad-Duḳejl." In this word the letter *ḳ* frequently had a palatal sound and

might easily have been replaced by *ǧ*; "Rufejl" would in turn be an easy misrendering of "Duǧejl."

Ibn Serapion, *loc. cit.*, distinguishes between the Nahr ʿÎsa and the Nahr Duǧejl. He claims that the Nahr ʿÎsa issues from the Euphrates at the village of Dimimma, where it is spanned by a strong bridge called Ḳanṭara Dimimma, and that it irrigates the district of Fîrûz Sâbûr. On its banks various villages and farms are situated. At al-Muḥawwal it splits into several branches, which then flow through Bagdad.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 3, pp. 12f., is of great help in defining the location of the village of Dimimma. Ḳaḥṭaba ibn Šabîb arrived in 749 A. D. at ʿOkbaraʾ, crossed the Tigris, and reached Awânaʾ. But prior to this he sent his faithful Ḫâzem from Ḫâneḳîn with orders to cross the Tigris, to hasten from there to the Duǧejl, and to wait at Kûṭabaʾ. To that place he then sent him a written command to set out for al-Anbâr, to requisition all the boats he should find there, and to sail with them down stream (*juḥdira*) to Dimimma, where he was to wait for him. All this was done, and at Dimimma Ḳaḥṭaba ferried himself in the boats over the Euphrates. —

This makes it clear to us that the village of Dimimma was situated below al-Ambâr and that, for this reason, the Nahr ʿÎsa cannot have been identical with the Nahr Duǧejl, which issued from the Euphrates above al-Ambâr.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 84, also was familiar with the inlet into the Nahr ʿÎsa at the stone bridge of Dimimma. On this canal ships sailed from the Euphrates through Bagdad to the Tigris.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 165, writing of the western part of Bagdad, also mentions a canal, Nahr ʿÎsa, branching off from the Euphrates not far from al-Anbâr, beneath the stone bridge of Dimimma.

Abu-l-Fedaʾ, *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 52, fixes the inlet of the Nahr ʿÎsa at long. 68° E., lat. 32° N., opposite al-Kûfa at a settlement called Dahama; he adds, however, that according to others it issues near al-Anbâr beneath the stout bridge of Dahama. He cites Sulejmân ibn Muhanna as asserting that the Nahr ʿÎsa originated below al-Anbâr and not far from that place; that is, by the farm of al-Fallûǧa. The name ʿÎsa is supposed to have been given to the canal after ʿÎsa ibn ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallâh ibn ʿAbbâs, the uncle of the caliph al-Manṣûr. —

Abu-l-Fedaʾ thus gives three accounts of the location of the inlet of the ʿÎsa canal. Both the first and second call the settlement Dahama. According to the first the settlement was situated near al-Kûfa, but this does not agree with the facts, as no other Arabic author says that the Nahr ʿÎsa issues near al-Kûfa. The second account is more probable, for it should be understood that "Dahama" is a wrong transcription of the word "Dimimma." We know that Dimimma lay below al-Anbâr and learn from Abu-l-Fedaʾ that it was at no great distance from this place. But the most reliable account is the third, in which Dimimma is for the first time replaced by the name of al-Fallûǧa, where nowadays the Bagdad road crosses the Euphrates on a bridge of boats.

Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 422, reminds us that the manor of ʿÎsa was thus called after ʿÎsa ibn ʿAli, uncle of the caliph al-Manṣûr. It was built at the outlet of the canal of ar-Rufejl into the Tigris. He asserts

that in his own time (first half of the fourteenth century) there was no mention of the manor.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 267, corrects Jâḳût's statement that ʿAḳarḳûf is a village in the environs of Duǧejl, saying that it is, rather, a village near the Nahr ʿÎsa, four parasangs from Bagdad. —

Both Jâḳût and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il are right, however. ʿAḳarḳûf lies on the northern side of the old canal of ad-Duḳejl, or as it was called in dialect, ad-Duǧejl, with which, in the eastern part, the Nahr ʿÎsa was connected and to which the latter name, as we have seen, was sometimes applied.

According to Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 151, the canal of aṣ-Ṣara' branched off from the Nahr ʿÎsa at the settlement of al-Muḥawwal, one parasang from Bagdad, irrigated the farms of Bâdûraja', and divided into numerous branches flowing through Bagdad.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 461, says that the little town of al-Muḥawwal lies two parasangs west of Bagdad by the Nahr ʿÎsa. In other times a delightful chatelet of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣembillâh stood there, but of this chatelet almost nothing remained at the time of Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa's visit (first half of the seventeenth century).—

According to these accounts, the inlet of the Nahr ʿÎsa is to be sought not far from the modern settlement of al-Fellûǧe. About two kilometers southeast of this place lies a big ruin mound by the Euphrates, known by the name of al-Ḫrâb, and south of it are the remains of an old canal which is called al-ʿEjsâwi to this day. We are therefore justified in identifying the ruins of al-Ḫrâb with Dimimma and this canal with the old Nahr ʿÎsa. Al-ʿEjsâwi encircles the Tertiary upland, turns to the east-northeast, and some of its branches join those of the canal of al-Ḳarma, the old ad-Duḳejl, about 25 kilometers west of Bagdad.

The Ṣarṣar Canal

Ibn Serapion (*ʿAǧâ'ib*, [British Museum MS], fol. 33 v., [Le Strange], p. 15), records that the Nahr Ṣarṣar issued from the Euphrates three parasangs below the village of Dimimma. It was a great canal, spanned by a boat bridge and surrounded by many farms and villages; its course led through the district of Bâdûraja', to flow finally into the Tigris between Bagdad and al-Madâ'in four parasangs north of the latter place. —

Three parasangs (15 kilometers) from al-Ḫrâb, the old Dimimma, brings us along the left bank of the Euphrates to the Tell as-Sulṭân, where the ar-Raẓwânijje canal now issues. There also the embankments of the old Ṣarṣar canal are still to be seen.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 166, knew of continuous groups of cultivated tracts between Bagdad and al-Kûfa, intersected by canals and ditches filled from the Euphrates. The ditches nearest the south side of Bagdad were filled with water from the Ṣarṣar canal, by which, three parasangs from Bagdad, the town of Ṣarṣar was situated. At two parasangs from here the Nahr al-Malek canal was reached; in this there was more than twice as much water as in the Nahr Ṣarṣar. It was spanned by a bridge of boats.

Abu-l-Feda', *op. cit.*, p. 52, locates the inlet of the Ṣarṣar canal below that of the ʿÎsa canal; the former ran into the fertile tracts of Irak between Bagdad and al-Kûfa and as far as the town of Ṣarṣar.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 153, refers to two places called Ṣarṣar in the neighborhood of Bagdad. Upper Ṣarṣar belonged to the villages of the canal Nahr al-Malek and lay to the south of its course. Lower Ṣarṣar was a little town on the Pilgrim Road north of the canal. The canal Nahr al-Malek had formerly been spanned by a bridge of boats, but, owing to the frequency of serious accidents there, Ibn Muḥâsen had it replaced by a five-arched brick bridge which cost a large sum of money. The small town at this bridge was called Ṣarṣar ad-Dejr, as a monastery (*dejr*) once stood there, the remains of which were visible at the time of Abu-l-Faḍâ'il (first half of the fourteenth century). —

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il does not say whether in his time the Ṣarṣar canal still existed and whence the water which flowed under the bridge at Ṣarṣar ad-Dejr (the modern ad-Dêr ruins) came. It may be taken for granted that the vicinities not only of the settlement of Upper Ṣarṣar but also of Lower Ṣarṣar were irrigated by the Nahr al-Malek, or Royal Canal, and that the Nahr Ṣarṣar was already clogged up in the time of Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, at least at its inlet.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *op. cit.*, p. 461, repeats Abu-l-Faḍâ'il's statement, with the exception that he locates Upper Ṣarṣar at Bagdad by the ʿÎsa canal, while Lower Ṣarṣar he places on the Pilgrim Road to Mecca three parasangs from Bagdad and two parasangs from the Nahr al-Malek. —

It seems that Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa's statement is more correct than that of Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, whom we should expect to have known the environs of Bagdad well enough not to have called the Ṣarṣar settlement to the north of the canal Nahr al-Malek "Lower," when both the Tigris and the Euphrates flow in a southeasterly direction. Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa does not mention the Ṣarṣar canal.

The Royal Canal

The next important canal south of the Ṣarṣar is that which was known in antiquity and the Middle Ages as the "Royal River" or "Royal Canal" (Naarmalcha, Nahr al-Malek). Though we have frequently had occasion to refer to this in other connections, we propose here to give a brief résumé of the references to it in geographical and historical literature.

We may assume that the Armakalen canal of Abydenus (Eusebius, *Chronicon* [Schoene], Vol. 1, col. 38; idem, *Preparatio evangelica*, IX, 41 : 7) was the Royal Canal, the word "Armakalen" probably representing a faulty transcription of "Naarmalcha" (see above, pp. 240f., 260f.). It also seems probable that the two canals which Xenophon (*Anabasis* II, 4 : 13) describes as flowing out of the Tigris actually flowed from the Euphrates and may be identified with the Royal Canal and the Nahr Ṣarṣar (see above, p. 264).

According to Polybius, *History*, V, 51 : 6, Antiochus III was warned (in the spring of 220 B. C.) by Zeuxis not to go from Liba along the right bank of the Tigris, because after six marches he would come to the "Royal Ditch" and would have to return if it were held by Molon and if he were unable to force a crossing. —

The "Royal Ditch" (Basilike Diorix) must be identical with the Nahr al-Malek and, possibly, also with Nebuchadnezzar's dam and Xenophon's

Median Wall. The narrative makes this Royal Ditch run between the Euphrates and Tigris; it must have reached the right bank of the latter north of Babylon and north of Seleucia at the point where we placed the southern dam of Nebuchadnezzar's great reservoir.

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 1 : 27, knew of a river between the Euphrates and Tigris which was called "Royal": i. e. Naarmalcha.

From Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), pp. 247—249, we know that the great transport road from Syria to Seleucia followed the right bank of the Royal Canal eastward from Neapolis (now the Bitra ruins), crossing to the left bank just before Seleucia was reached (see above, pp. 231f.).

Pliny, *op. cit.*, VI, 120, records that the prefect Gobares had a part of the Euphrates' water led off in order to protect Babylon from the danger of its powerful current. This branch divided from the Euphrates at the town of Agranis and was called by all Assyrians Narmalcha, which signifies Royal River. —

The name of Pliny's Agranis may be related with that of the Akrakanon canal which Abydenus (Eusebius, *loc. cit.*) associated with the Armakalen canal (see above, p. 261).

According to Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 18 : 8, the Royal River (Basileios Potamos) formed the boundary line between Mesopotamia and Babylonia. It branched off from the Euphrates at the same latitude as Seleucia, or directly west of that place. -

This should lead us to seek the origin of the Royal River, or the Naarmalcha, where the canal of al-Maḥmûdijje now issues from the Euphrates; hence, at the ruin mound near the shrine of aš-Šejḫ Ibrâhîm.

This statement of Ptolemy places the inlet of the Royal Canal directly west of Seleucia at the position where Abydenus and Isidore of Charax would seem to place it, if our interpretation of their texts is correct (see above, pp. 231f., 260f.). Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 2 : 7, on the other hand, in describing the campaign of Julian, confuses the Royal Canal with the first large canal issuing from the east bank of the Euphrates, the canal which now enters the al-Ḳarma system (see above, pp. 267—271). Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 19, on the other hand, in discussing the same events correctly places the Royal Canal farther to the south, near the town of Phissenia (ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli). The subsequent testimony of both Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XXIV, 6 : 1) and Zosimus (*op. cit.*, III, 24) leads us to believe that Julian, having cleared away obstructions with which the Persians had blocked a branch connecting the Royal Canal with the Tigris, made use of the Royal Canal and the branch to float his boats through from the Euphrates to the Tigris (see above, pp. 241f.).

We may conclude from the data at hand regarding the Emperor Julian's march that at the end of the fourth century the Royal Canal branched off from the Euphrates almost directly west of Sippar (Abu Ḥabba of today), in the neighborhood of Bithra, the name of which is preserved to this day in the ruins lying on both the right and left banks of the Euphrates west of Abu Ḥabba, and that this canal did not flow into the Tigris north of Coche, one of the suburbs of Seleucia, but extended past it either to the south or southeast.

The records which have been left by the Arabic writers on the Royal

Canal are scarce. They mention it while describing the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad to al-Kûfa, but with one exception they fail to locate its inlet.

Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâ'ib*, (British Museum MS), fol. 34 r., (Le Strange), p. 15, alone says the Nahr al-Malek branched off from the Euphrates five parasangs below the inlet of the Ṣarṣar canal. There were many prosperous farms and settlements on both of its banks, and a bridge of boats led across it. Its outlet into the Tigris was three parasangs below al-Madâ'in. —

Five parasangs from the inlet of the Nahr Ṣarṣar, which we have placed at the Tell as-Sulṭân, brings us to the inlet of the present Nahr al-Maḥmûdijje, almost due west from Abu Ḥabba; or, in other words, to the point where, following Zosimus, we looked for the issue of the Royal Canal. The Pilgrim Road from Bagdad via Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra to al-Kûfa crossed it by a bridge of boats near the present ad-Dejr ruins, only about 25 kilometers from Bagdad. Al-Madâ'in is the Arabic name of the Aramaic Mâḥôze', as the remains of ancient Seleucia were called.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 85, says that one branch of the Nahr al-Malek extends to Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra and that the second enters the Tigris at the farm of al-Kîl beyond the large settlement of Kûṯa'.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 166, asserts that through the Nahr al-Malek flows twice as much water as through the Ṣarṣar.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 846, and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 3, p. 252, under the name Nahr al-Malek knew of a large canal flowing through a wide cultivated area of the Bagdad district below the Nahr ʿÎsa. Issuing from the Euphrates, it was supposed to have branched out among 360 settlements, finally joining the Tigris.

Nowadays the Nahr al-Malek is no more, but its huge embankments are visible for many a mile.

The Kûṯa' and Sûra' Canals

According to Ibn Serapion, *loc. cit.*, about three parasangs below the Nahr al-Malek there issued from the Euphrates the Nahr Kûṯa'. On both sides of it lay a great number of farms and settlements, and a bridge of boats led across it. It flowed by the town of Kûṯa' Rabba', to join the Tigris ten parasangs below al-Madâ'in. —

I locate the inlet of the Nahr Kûṯa' at the southern base of the isolated al-Meǧaṣṣa plateau (see above, p. 122), close to the point where the modern Nahr as-Sikandarijje leaves the Euphrates. The boat bridge formed a link in the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad to al-Kûfa. In the description of this highway, the Nahr Kûṯa' and the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra are often mentioned.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), pp. 308 f., calls the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra a fine and populous one. As it was a seat of government, its population consisted of members of various tribes. It was situated by the aṣ-Ṣara' canal, about two miles (equivalent to less than four kilometers) from the main channel of the Euphrates, which was here spanned by a boat bridge called Ǧisr Sûra'.

According to Ibn Serapion, *op. cit.*, (British Museum MS), fols. 34 r. f., (Le Strange), pp. 16 f., about six parasangs to the southeast of the inlet into the Nahr Kûṯa' the Euphrates divided into two branches. One, keeping

the name Euphrates, flowed towards the boat bridge at al-Kûfa and farther on to the swamps of al-Baṭâjeḥ; the second, wider and having more water than the main river, was called the Upper Sûra', irrigated many farms, and sent various smaller ditches throughout the districts of Sûra', Barbîsama', and Bârûsma'. The Upper Sûra' canal came within nearly one mile of the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, near which the boat bridge of Sûra' led across it. One parasang west of this town the canal of Abu Raḥa' branched off from the Upper Sûra', flowed through the town itself, and at a distance of one parasang below the town rejoined the Upper Sûra', which then extended six parasangs farther beyond al-Ḳaṣr. From this canal there branched off the Lower Sûra' canal, spanned right at its inlet by a large bridge, Ḳanṭarat al-Ḳâmiṛajn. The numerous branches of this canal irrigated the districts of Bâbil, Ḫuṭarnija, al-Ğâmi'ajn, as well as of both Upper and Lower Fallûğa. The main channel of the Lower Sûra' flowed around the town of Bâbil and the two al-Ğâmi'ajn, i. e. Old and New al-Ğâme'. From it at Old al-Ğâme' (al-Ğâme' al-Ḳadîm) issued the canal of an-Nars, which then touched al-Ḥâreṭijje and Ḥammâm Ibn 'Omar. The distance from Ḥammâm Ibn 'Omar to the inlet of the canal of an-Nars was six parasangs and from there to the bridge Ḳanṭarat al-Ḳâmiṛajn another six parasangs. The an-Nars canal emptied into the canal of al-Beda', which flowed through the fields of al-Kûfa east of the Euphrates. Beginning at the bridge Ḳanṭarat al-Ḳâmiṛajn the Upper Sûra' canal was called the Great Ṣara'. At the settlement of an-Nawâ'îr the Ṣara' Ğâmûs canal branched off it. The latter irrigated numerous farms and joined the Great Canal three parasangs below the town of an-Nîl. The Great Ṣara' canal, spanned by the bridge of al-Mâsi, also ran past this town. Beyond the bridge it was called an-Nîl.—

These canals flowed through regions on the edge and beyond the limits of my explorations. The following interpretation is therefore to be regarded as conjectural only. Definite identification of the various canals and localities mentioned must await further research.

Six parasangs (30 kilometers) from the inlet of the Nahr Kûṭa' (as-Sikandarijje) brings us almost exactly to the point where the Šaṭṭ al-Ḥilla and the Šaṭṭ al-Hindijje separate. The Šaṭṭ al-Ḥilla was probably the original Euphrates flowing around the city of Babylon. While Ibn Serapion gives the name Euphrates to the modern al-Hindijje, Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 168, writes that al-Ḥilla lies west of the Euphrates, thus not considering the al-Hindijje branch flowing by al-Kûfa to be the Euphrates proper. The Nahr Sûra', which according to Ibn Serapion was larger than the main Euphrates, flowed by Bâbil and al-Ğâmi'ajn, as the modern town of al-Ḥilla was originally called. At Old al-Ğâme' the canal of an-Nars branched off from the Sûra' canal. As the inlet of the an-Nars canal is known to have been where the modern town of al-Ḥilla now is, it forms for us a sure starting point for our further identification of the canals described by Ibn Serapion. The distance from Old al-Ğâme' upstream to the bridge Ḳanṭarat al-Ḳâmiṛajn is given as six parasangs. This points (if we take into consideration the windings of the river) to the vicinity of the present settlement of al-Baṭṭa, about six kilometers southwest of Ḫân al-Maḥâwîl. As far as this bridge the canal issuing from the Euphrates was called the Upper Sûra' and from here southeast the Lower Sûra'. The Upper Sûra' lay about one and a half kilometers south of the town

of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra. The boat bridge crossing this canal near this town was called Ǧisr Sûra'. The town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra received its water from the ditch of Abu Raḥa', which issued from the Upper Sûra' one parasang west of the town and emptied again into it one parasang southeast of the town. The origin of the Upper Sûra' cannot be placed much farther north than the point where the Euphrates now separates into the Šaṭṭ al-Ḥilla and Šaṭṭ al-Hindijje. With this location the statements of Ibn Serapion regarding the branches of all the different canals from ad-Duḳejl southwest fully agree.

The direction of the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad to al-Kûfa points to the modern as-Sidd, northwest of the settlement of al-Baṭṭa, as the point where the road crossed the Upper Sûra'. This road crossed the boat bridge Ǧisr Sûra', whence it led to the boat bridge Ǧisr al-Kûfa; it must therefore have followed the east, not the west, side of the main al-Hindijje branch of the Euphrates and have run almost due north and south.

We interpret the account of Ibn Serapion to show that the town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra lay at the present shrine of as-Sajjed Ibrâhîm in the neighborhood of the Najnwa ruins. It is probable that the Abu Raḥa' canal issued from the Upper Sûra' near where the latter separated from the Euphrates and that it rejoined the Upper Sûra' above the bridge Ḳanṭarat al-Ḳâmiṛajn. This bridge was not built across the Upper, but across the Lower Sûra', thus making possible a passage from the west to the east. To the north of it the continuation of the Upper Sûra' canal diverged to the east under the name Great Ṣara', as, indeed, the entire Upper Sûra' all the way from its inlet from the Euphrates was called by al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), pp. 308 f. Six parasangs east of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra, near the settlement of an-Nawâʿîr (beyond the modern village of Ḳaṣr al-Maḥâwîl), the Ṣara' Ǧâmûs canal issued from the Great Ṣara'; the latter canal then turned south to the town of an-Nîl, where it was spanned by the strong bridge of al-Mâsi. From this town it received the name an-Nîl, and three parasangs farther east this Great Ṣara' (or an-Nîl) canal was joined by the Ṣara' Ǧâmûs. The town of an-Nîl I locate at the al-ʿAsîba ruins on the old canal Šaṭṭ an-Nîl about twenty kilometers east of Kwêreš (Bâbil).

The Upper Sûra' canal with its branches, the Great Ṣara' and Ṣara' Ǧâmûs, irrigated the land surrounding Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra and the districts of Sûra', Barbîsama', and Bârûsma'. The water from the Lower Sûra' flowed over the districts of Bâbil, Ḥuṭarnija, al-Ǧâmiʿajn, and Upper and Lower Fallûǧa. These last two districts are to be sought southeast of al-Ǧâmiʿajn, where there issued from the Lower Sûra' the an-Nars canal. An-Nars flowed south-southwest six parasangs to the station Ḥammâm Ibn ʿOmar, which lay, according to al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 134, on the highway from Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubejra to al-Kûfa, somewhere southeast of the al-Biris ruins. According to Ibn Serapion the an-Nars canal emptied into the al-Beda' canal, which irrigated the land around al-Kûfa. It is thus probable that the al-Beda' canal issued from the al-Hindijje branch of the Euphrates which flowed past al-Kûfa between al-Kûfa and al-Biris. Such a position leads us to the settlement of Čifil of today, from where numerous irrigation ditches run out from the Euphrates to the southeast. If, as Ibn Serapion states, the al-Beda' canal branched off the Euphrates proper (i. e. the al-Hindijje branch) at a point which I judge

could have been only near the site of the present settlement of Čifil, Čifil itself (where the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel is venerated; see above, p. 37) or one of its suburbs might well have been called "Inlet of the Beda'" (Fam al-Beda') or Pum Beditha, a name which frequently occurs in the Talmudic literature.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 798, records a statement of al-Ḫaṭîb that Niffar is a settlement by the Nahr an-Nars in the territory of al-Fars (Persia). —

Neither Jâḳût nor Abu-l-Faḍâ'il knew the location of Niffar, but both knew that the an-Nars canal does not flow through Persia, an error which they correct. The an-Nars canal was probably mentioned in locating Niffar either because the word rimes with the name of al-Fars or else because "an-Nars" was erroneously transcribed from "an-Nîl." Niffar was situated by a branch of an-Nîl.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 85, also knew the branch flowing near al-Kûfa as the Euphrates proper. From this, he said, the huge Sûra' canal, flowing around the town of the same name, branches off, while the Euphrates irrigates the land around al-Kûfa and floods the al-Baṭâjeḥ swamps.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 166, calls the Nahr Sûra' the largest canal; he also, however, refers to it as if it were the Euphrates proper where he asserts (*ibid.*, p. 168, note *a*) that the town of al-Ḥilla lies west of the Euphrates.

Canals on the Right Bank of the Euphrates

Al-Maḥdûd, Maarsares, and al-ʿAlḳami Canals

On the right bank of the Euphrates the authorities refer to many canals in Babylonia.

Farthest to the north extended a canal called al-Maḥdûd. Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 424, writes that this is a canal in Irak on the right bank near al-Anbâr and that it was deepened by order of the mother of caliphs, al-Ḫajzurân by name. At first it was known as al-Marbân, but, as during its excavation it was divided into sections which were assigned to different groups of workmen, someone began to call it al-Maḥdûd (The Limited), and so it has been called ever since. —

Al-Ḫajzurân lived in the second half of the eighth century after Christ. The al-Maḥdûd canal issued from the Euphrates below the rocky spur of al-ʿOḳoba, which juts into the great river sixteen kilometers southeast of Hît.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 20: 2, besides the Royal River and the river flowing by Babylon, also knew of a "river" in Babylonia called Maarsares (*var.*, Marsares, Baarsares, Naarsares, Naarsag [*ibid.*, V, 19; ed. Müller, p. 1018, note]). It branched off from the Euphrates at lat. 35° 40′ N., thus at 40′ north of Babylon. The towns situated along it (*ibid.*, V, 20: 6) were: Volgaesia at lat. 34° 30′ N., long. 78° 20′ E., and Barsipa at lat. 34° 20′ N., long. 78° 45′ E. According to these figures, however, Volgaesia should be located northwest of Barsipa and far to the south of the inlet of the Maarsares canal. The *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1888), Segm. 10, would make

the distance from Babylon to Volocesia (Volgaesia) eighteen miles, which would take us to the environs of the al-Ḥûṭe ruins south of al-Msajjeb.

As we know from the Palmyrene inscriptions (De Vogüé, *Syrie* [1868], Palmyra Inscriptions No. 4; *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum* [1828–1877], No. 4489) that the merchants of Palmyra used to import their wares from "Ologesias," we are inclined to look for this place west of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and west of the Euphrates, therefore in the neighborhood of Neapolis. By coming here the Palmyrene pack camels would have avoided the dangerous heat and mosquitoes of Babylonia proper. To Volgaesia-Neapolis the wares could have been brought either on the highroad or on the Royal River. The native name of the place was perhaps Bitra, the Greeks probably called it Neapolis, and the Parthians gave it the name Volgaesia; but the two foreign appellations have disappeared and only the native name Bitra survives.

The Maarsares canal branched off from the right bank of the Euphrates; but from the same bank also, according to Ptolemy, the Royal Canal branched off, although we know from other writers that the latter issued from the left bank. For this reason Ptolemy's statement is not to be trusted. His text would seem to imply that both canals, the Royal and Maarsares, branched off in the same latitude and both flowed south, which cannot be true. The only possible help Ptolemy gives us toward identifying the course of the Maarsares is his locating Volgaesia and Barsipa on its banks; this is because the situation of Barsipa happens to be known to us. It is the al-Biris of today, 21 kilometers southwest from Bâbil. It is known from the Babylonian records that the town of Barsipa was situated on a canal which flowed out of the Euphrates right at the city of Babylon. Possibly — indeed, almost probably — a branch, partly natural, partly artificial, diverged from the right bank of the Euphrates well above Babylon, and its waters irrigated the settlements around the site of the modern al-Hindijje. This branch may have flowed to the west of Barsipa, where it was probably joined by a canal which ran through this town, coming from the direction of Babylon. Remains of a huge ancient canal are to be seen eleven kilometers west of al-Msajjeb. This canal issued from the Euphrates at the fields of Bitra, was dug in a natural depression in the Tertiary upland, and ran south-southeast of the ancient town of Barsipa or the present al-Biris. Its upper half is now clogged up, but the southern half still exists, as it receives water from the Euphrates through the al-Hindijje branch, which turns west at the modern as-Sidd and flows by al-Kûfa.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIII, 6: 25, records in Babylonia the river Marses (Marsares), the Royal River, and the Euphrates, which is the largest. He (*ibid.*, XXIV, 3: 14) as well as Zosimus (*Historia nova*, III, 19) writes that at Bithra the Euphrates almost disappears, having filled many canals on its way. —

Ammianus Marcellinus, though he went with the Roman army far into Babylonia, makes no mention whatever of the Maarsares in the description of this journey; we may conclude from this that, as the Romans did not cross the canal at all, it either must have issued at a point farther down than the point reached by the army on the left bank of the Euphrates, or must have branched off from the right bank. The last supposition may be correct, because, according to Ptolemy, the Royal

Canal had its inlet below the Maarsares, which could not be true if the latter branched off from the Euphrates on the left. As Ammianus Marcellinus is silent on this point, we may only assume that the Maarsares branched off the right bank.

No Arabic author mentions the Maarsares canal, but where according to Ptolemy we should look for its course they refer to a canal named ʿAlḳami.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), pp. 233f., says that beyond al-Anbâr two canals branch off from the Euphrates. One, which turns somewhat to the west and is called al-ʿAlḳami, flows to al-Kûfa. The second maintains a straight course and is called Sûraʾ. From the latter, below al-Anbâr, branches off the Nahr ad-Duḳejl, from which again issues the Nahr ʿÎsa, which at Bagdad empties into the Tigris. —

The Nahr al-ʿAlḳami left the Euphrates 14 kilometers south of the fields of Bitra, flowed south-southwest across the dry channel of the ancient Maarsares canal, and near az-Zibîlijje, 13 kilometers southeast of Kerbela, joined the branch of the Euphrates which today irrigates the gardens of al-Kûfa.

In 1085 the al-ʿAlḳumi canal, winding near al-Mašhadân, was cleaned and repaired (Al-Bondâri, *Tawârîḫ* [Houtsma], p. 77). —

Al-Mašhadân (The Two Mašhads) are the towns of Kerbela and an-Neǧef, or, as they are sometimes called, Mašhad al-Ḥusejn and Mašhad ʿAli. Both received their water from al-ʿAlḳumi, which in its lower half was identical with the earlier Maarsares.

The Pallacotas, or al-Fallûǧa, Canal

The Babylonian records refer to a Naarpallukat canal, the Pallacotas of the classical writers and al-Fallûǧa of the Arabic authorities.

Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 21, gives the best description of this canal. Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates as far as the "river" Pallacotas (*var.*, Pallacopas). This canal branched off the Euphrates about eight hundred stades below Babylon and in time of flood led off the surplus water into the ponds and lakes which extend from the great river as far as the borders of Arabia and form a long belt of swamps, the water from which flows by many insignificant channels into the sea. The canal near its inlet was so large and deep that even in the dry season water from the Euphrates flowed into it and little remained for the irrigation of Assyria. The inlet of the river Pallacotas was very difficult to close, as it was filled with mud and the whole vicinity was composed almost exclusively of clay. Notwithstanding this, Alexander resolved to stop the inlet. Finding stony soil about thirty stades lower down, he gave orders to have it dug through and thus to have a new inlet created for the river Pallacotas. He was of the opinion that in case of need it would be easier to stop an inlet in a stony soil than in clay. After that he sailed into the Pallacotas and along it as far as the lakes, even to the land of the Arabs, where he found a beautiful country and built a fine city, garrisoning it with Hellenic soldiers.

Appian, *Bella civilia*, II, 153, also relates that from Babylon Alexander sailed on the Euphrates down to the river Pallacotas, by which the water from the great river flowed to lakes and swamps, so that the Assyrian

territory could not be irrigated from the Euphrates, nor could boats be sailed on it. The object of Alexander's trip was to dam this canal.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, VI, 118, writes that the town of Bura lies on the river Pallacontas. —

It appears from both Arrian and Appian that the Pallacotas canal branched off from the right bank of the Euphrates below Babylon. Arrian estimates the distance at approximately eight hundred stades. If these were Eratosthenic stades, the distance would be 125 kilometers. Admitting that the Euphrates proper below Babylon flowed in about the same direction that it does today, at a distance of 125 kilometers we should reach a point near ad-Dîwânijje. The ancient Euphrates would then have been identical with the present Šaṭṭ al-Ḥâr, and the Pallacotas canal with the Šaṭṭ al-Fra'. This identification cannot be far wrong, as it is not to be assumed that the Euphrates came any nearer the Tigris than the Šaṭṭ al-Ḥâr of today.

Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui* (1905), Map 5, locates the inlet of the Pallacotas canal to the northwest of the inlet of the Naarmalcha; this contradicts the classical statements quoted above.

A certain Jew of Bêt Aramâje' from the village of Pallûgta', which is the place where the waters of the Euphrates separate for the irrigation of the surrounding lands, preached in 640 A. D. that the Messiah had come. He collected about four hundred men — weavers, carpetmakers, and bleachers of linen — who burned three churches and killed the superintendent of the district. Then the troops sent against them from 'Aḳôla' killed them all with their wives and children and crucified their leader in his own village (Nöldeke, *Syrische Chronik* [1893], p. 36; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo* [1891], pp. 28f.). —

Nöldeke identifies (note 4) this village with Ḳal'at Fellûğe (al-Fellûğe), but this can scarcely be correct, as this Fellûğe was never mentioned before the thirteenth century. It seems, rather, that the village of Pallûghta' lay east or southeast of 'Aḳôla' (al-Kûfa), where the Arabic authors knew of a settlement of the same name.

The Rivers of the Garden of Eden

A glance at the canals branching off the Euphrates in Upper Babylonia enables us to throw some light on the story of the Garden of Eden.

Genesis, 2: 8—14, relates that the Lord God planted a garden in Eden near Ḳedem and settled there the man whom he had created. A river emerging from Eden irrigates the garden, after which it divides into four branches. The first branch, called Pišôn, flows around the whole country of Ḥawîla, where there is pure gold, fragrant resin (*belodaḥ*), and precious stones (*šôham*). The second branch, Gîḥôn, flows around the land of Kush. The third river is the Ḥiddeḳel; this extends towards Assyria. The fourth river is the Euphrates. —

The region of Eden which the author had in mind was known to him and therefore he tried to describe its position in such a way that his readers might learn to know it as well. Of the names given by him, "Euphrates" refers to the river now known by that name, and "Assyria" to the well known state; both these names lead us east of the Arabian de-

sert. With this also agrees the name "Ḳedem," which in the language of the Bible signifies the northern third of Arabia (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 494—497). We may infer that it was the river Euphrates which irrigated Eden and divided beyond it into four branches.

The words used in Genesis, 2: 10f., describing the manner in which Eden was watered by the great river and how the latter divided into four branches remind us forcibly of similar expressions used by various classical and Arabic authors (see above, pp. 267—274, 277—279). According to these the main river Euphrates divides into several branches about forty kilometers southeast of the site of the present town of Hît. It is here that we should locate the Biblical Eden.

The Arabic authors borrowed from the classics, and these again from the Babylonians; and what they each borrowed they supplemented from their own experience. The Biblical author likewise drew from the Babylonian records. He knew the region where he locates Eden and that it consisted of alluvium brought down by the Euphrates. He also knew that the original estuary of the Euphrates lay at the upper end of what is now the alluvial plain and that the great river first of all filled in the embayment that begins at al-ʿOḳoba in the Tertiary uplands 17 kilometers southeast of the present Hît. Here is the oldest part of the Babylonian alluvium, and here also man could have settled in the earliest times. If we accept the author's conception we may seek Eden between the Babylonian Pylae (al-Aswad; see above, pp. 222f.) and the first large canal on the left bank as one goes downstream. This branches off almost due east from the modern settlement of ar-Rumâdi. Here lies the embayment just mentioned, which averages fifteen kilometers in width from north to south, 35 kilometers in length from east to west, and is eminently suited for a garden, as it is enclosed on all sides by Tertiary uplands and opens only on the southeast into a depression about two kilometers wide and through which warm breezes enter.

According to the Biblical text it would seem that the river irrigating this garden divided into four branches only when past it (i. e. to the east of it). This agrees with the facts.

The first branch, or canal, was the Pišôn, which flowed around the whole land of Ḥawîla. The Biblical Ḥawîla was identical with the classical Arabia Felix and bordered on southwestern Babylonia, as is shown by the following records.

I Samuel, 15: 7, relates that Saul defeated the Amalekites and plundered their camps from Ḥawîla to Šûr, "which is over against Egypt." — Both Šûr and Ḥawîla were territorial names. Šûr was the Egyptian borderland, the eastern environs of the site of the modern Suez Canal. No Biblical text, however, would justify us in placing Ḥawîla on the Sinai Peninsula. To the east of the latter rises the mountain range of Seʿîr, which belonged to Edom, to which there is no mention of Saul's having come. It is therefore necessary for us to look for Ḥawîla to the south of Edom and southeast of Elath (now the modern settlement of al-ʿAḳaba), which the classical writers knew as marking the northwestern corner of Arabia Felix (see my *The Northern Ḥeğâz*, p. 261, and *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 498–500).

The text of Genesis, 25: 18, also shows familiarity with Ḥawîla in stating that the Ishmaelite tribes camped from Ḥawîla to Šûr near Egypt and to the road leading to Assyria. — From the Biblical and Assyrian

records relating to the different Ishmaelite tribes we learn that the Ishmaelite camping grounds extended from the eastern borderland of Egypt (Šûr) to the middle Euphrates in northeastern Palmyrena. The principal road from Syria to Assyria crossed northeastern Palmyrena. Yet the Ishmaelites, according to the Bible, were also lords of the oasis of Adumu (Dûmat al-Ǧandal). These facts, therefore, force us to look for Ḥawîla to the south and east of Adumu in the country which the classical writers called Arabia Felix (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 492f.).

Arabia Felix reached as far as the southern vicinity of Babylon. According to Aristobulus (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 1: 11) and Arrian (*Anabasis*, VII, 21), Alexander, having passed eight hundred stades (about 125 kilometers) from Babylon down the Euphrates, sailed into the "river" Pallacotas and along it as far as the land of the Arabs, where he found a beautiful country which he wished to conquer.

Herodian, *Ab excessu Divi Marci*, III, 9, writes that in the years 195 and 199 Emperor Septimius Severus invaded Arabia Felix, whence different fragrant spices and other perfumes were exported. — Septimius Severus, having plundered Babylon, raided the right bank of the Euphrates, along which led a great transport road used by the merchants conveying precious incense and different spices from the town of Gerrha (al-Ǧerʿa) by way of Palmyra to the west, to Syria and Italy. He may have plundered some commercial stations, for his historians (not only Herodian, but Zosimus, *Historia nova*, I, 8, as well) record that he took the whole of Arabia and came to Arabia Felix, although as a matter of fact he arrived at a point not far from the modern settlement of al-Kûfa. Thus we see that these classical records also justify us in placing the land of Ḥawîla, where there was fragrant resin, near Babylonia and the Euphrates, and in identifying it with Arabia Felix, also famous for its spices.

We may assume, then, that the Pišôn branched off from the right bank of the Euphrates and flowed south or south-southeast. This was the course of the classical Maarsares and Arabic al-ʿAlḳami canals, which we know formed the western boundary of the fertile plain of Babylonia. Twenty kilometers northwest of the inlet of the Maarsares canal Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 19, mentions, as lying close to the Euphrates, the town of Phissenia (the ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli ruins), suggesting both by its name and position the Biblical Pišôn. Phissenia lay on the left bank of the Euphrates, whereas the Pišôn branched off from the right bank; but in Babylonia we find in other places also settlements or canals named after localities situated on the opposite banks. I judge, therefore, that the Pišôn branched off from the right bank of the Euphrates near the present ʿAḳar an-Naʿêli ruins, flowed southeast, then turned south, later on southeast again, and irrigated the lands where now stand the present settlements and ruins of al-Kûfa, aš-Šennâfijje, and al-Mḳajjer. It formed the northeast boundary of the land of Ḥawîla, or Arabia Felix.

The second branch, or canal, the Gîḥôn, flowed around the land of Kush. The position of this land may be ascertained from Genesis, 10: 8—10, where we read that Kush was lord of Babel, Êreḥ, Akkad, and Kalne in the land of Sinear. As Akkad was the northern part of Babylonia, we shall make no mistake if we look for the Gîḥôn in a large canal which flowed through northern Babylonia. Such a large canal was the

classical Naarmalcha, or Arabic Nahr al-Malek, which branched off from the Euphrates almost opposite the Maarsares and then flowed east-southeast, irrigating the plain to the north and east of Babylon (Bâbil). It may formerly have turned southeast just beyond Babylon and irrigated the vicinity of the town of Kalne (the modern Niffar), as well as of Êreḥ (the modern Warḳa), and then rejoined the Euphrates.

The third branch, or canal, was the Ḥiddeḳel, which flowed towards Assyria. According to our interpretation the Ḥiddeḳel can be represented by nothing but the present al-Ḳarma canal, which in Biblical times, as at present, followed the northern boundary of the Babylonian alluvium proper. North of it extends the Tertiary upland, which nearly always was considered as belonging to Assyria. Opposite the inlet of this canal on the right bank of the Euphrates was situated Rapiḳu, often mentioned as an Assyrian frontier town. The Arabic authors called this canal ad-Duḳejl or ad-Duǧejl (*dimin.* of Deḳel or Diǧel), both of which names remind us of the Biblical Ḥiddeḳel, especially since "Ḥiddeḳel" (Ḥid-Deḳel, The Swift Deḳel) in classical Arabic was rendered "Diǧle." Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 16, also says of the ad-Duḳejl canal that it flows towards Assyria.

The fourth branch was the Euphrates itself. It was the original river which, considerably depleted, passed the capital of Babylonia.

APPENDIX VII

ḤÂLED IBN AL-WALÎD'S CAMPAIGNS ALONG THE EUPHRATES

Ḫâled's Advance on al-Ḥîra

Many, but often conflicting, records have been preserved of the initial efforts of the Moslems to conquer Persia. Especially many are the topographical difficulties connected with the interpretation of the reports of the deeds of the Moslems led by Ḫâled ibn al-Walîd and of those dealing with the deeds of the nomads of the Bekr ibn Wâ'il tribe under the command of the head chief al-Muṯanna ibn Ḥâreṯa.

Ḫâled's Approach to al-Ḥîra

In the present appendix we are concerned with Ḫâled's and al-Muṯanna's campaigns in Irak and along the Euphrates from the end of the spring of 633 to the spring of 634 A.D. Ḫâled's famous subsequent raid against the oasis of Dûmat al-Ǧandal and his march through the desert to Syria have been discussed in some detail in the author's *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 539–552, 553–573. Ḫâled, in the second half of 632 and first of 633 A.D., in quelling the rebellion in al-Jemâma, almost reached the boundaries of the Bekr ibn Wâ'il tribe, which had been resisting the Persians for some time and making marauding incursions into the Persian territory. Al-Muṯanna was quick to understand the advantage of an alliance with the Moslems for a joint advance against the Persians; during Ḫâled's cam-

paign in al-Jemâma he therefore made a compact with the caliph Abu Bekr and joined Ḫâled, who at the command of the caliph began a march on Irak.

About the object of Ḫâled's march there is not only a difference of opinion between the al-Medîna and al-Kûfa traditions, but even among the representatives of each school there is no unity of opinion. According to some it would seem as if Ḫâled was to conquer the right bank of the Euphrates from the Persian Gulf northwestward, thus securing the farther advance of the Moslems, while all that others mention are his operations in the neighborhood of al-Ḥîra, as if he made a raid against this town only. I shall paraphrase and explain here such passages from the records as deal with Ḫâled's advance on the al-Ḥîra country and from there to the northwest, devoting my attention first to the writers of the al-Medîna school (al-Belâḏori, al-Wâḳedi, al-Madâ'ini, Ibn Nubejša, Ibn Isḥâḳ, Abu Jûsuf, and Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi) and then to the account of Sejf ibn 'Omar, the principal representative of the al-Kûfa school.

Versions of the al-Medîna School

Al-Belâḏori on Ḫaffân and the Alliance with the Bekr Tribe

Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 241, quotes the compilation of Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi and Abu Miḫnaf, according to which al-Muṯanna ibn Ḥâreṯa, the chief of the Bekr ibn Wâ'il tribe, which was then pillaging the Persian borderland, made a compact with the caliph Abu Bekr in al-Medîna, encamped after his return at Ḫaffân, and called on his tribe to accept Islam, which they accordingly did. —

Ḫaffân was situated four parasangs (20 kilometers) southeast of al-Ḳâdesijje on the border of the desert and was a favorite camping ground of smaller Bedouin clans. It is identical with the present Ḳaṣr al-Ḳâjem.

Caetani, *Annali* (1905), Vol. 2, p. 917, writes that al-Muṯanna assembled his whole tribe at Ḫaffân and that they all became Moslems. This does not agree with the text and is very improbable, as the whole tribe would not have found pasture for their herds around Ḫaffân, which bordered to the north on tilled land but to the south on sand desert.

Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 921, notes 6c, d) also thinks that Ḫaffân lay beyond the borders of Arabia Deserta in the alluvial region (*sawâd*); that it did not belong to the Bekr ibn Wâ'il and could not therefore have been their camping ground, as al-Belâḏori wrote, but that it was the first station conquered in the enemy's territory where the Moslems made their first camp beyond the borders of Arabia. In this connection Caetani refers to a verse extolling a victory obtained in the neighborhood of an-Namâreḳ. The verse is said to have been by al-Muṯanna and is cited by Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 812, lines 21—22. This passage Caetani interprets as showing that the Moslems on their march to Persia, after leaving the desert, advanced from Ḫaffân and therefore from the immediate neighborhood of al-Ḥîra. Yet of all the numerous historical sources on the subject, not a single one states that the Moslems left the desert at Ḫaffân for their march on al-Ḥîra. Al-Belâḏori says only that al-Muṯanna camped there. The spring of Ḫaffân flows near on the borders of the desert but actually in the desert itself and not in the alluvial region. Both the Bed-

ouins and the settlers claim to be the owners of springs or oases of this sort. In reality these oases are controlled only by those who happen to be the stronger. During the reign of the caliph Abu Bekr the Persian government was so feeble that it could not even defend its frontier and had been obliged to give up many stations; consequently the inhabitants of the border districts were driven to protect themselves against the Bedouins as best they could. Al-Belâḏori relates that al-Muṯanna plundered the Persian border districts even before he allied himself with the Moslems; he therefore could easily have taken possession of the Ḫaffân spring. If al-Muṯanna was really the author of the verse recorded by Jâḳût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 812 f.), the verse must have been made before his alliance with the Moslems, as it does not mention them at all. When Jâḳût explains the verse, saying that an-Namâreḳ is a place near al-Kûfa in Irak where the Moslem army encamped during its first incursion, he does not refer to Ḫaffân, is not supported by any original tradition, and shows only his fragmentary knowledge of the topography of the vicinity of al-Kûfa.

From Ḫaffân a road led at the time of Ḫâled and still leads along the edge of the desert southeast to al-Baṣra, and from it another road branched off southwest to an-Nibâǧ. Al-Muṯanna and Ḫâled met in an-Nibâǧ. Ḫâled had been ordered to invade Irak and with the Bekr ibn Wâ'il Bedouins to fight the Persians. All the sources agree in stating that he had received orders to march to Irak, but not one of them says that his objective was to be al-Ḥîra. We must take into consideration the fact that al-Ḥîra lay on the border between the mutually hostile Bekr and Taṛleb tribes and that the Bekr could much more easily plunder the Persian settlements adjoining their territory. This territory extended from al-Ḳâdesijje as far as the Persian Gulf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 920, note 3, locates the northern boundary of the Bekr tribe as running past Hît and refers to al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), Vol. 1, p. 169, line 25, as authority for this. Al-Hamdâni is an admirable expert in regard to southern Arabia but when it comes to northern Arabia he is not to be depended upon. Furthermore, his informants deal with the affairs of their own time, or the tenth century, and not with those of the first half of the seventh. All the contemporary sources prove that in Ḫâled's time the territory of the Bekr tribe did not extend north of al-Ḥîra. In their own territory, which they know well enough, the Bedouins need no foreign guides, and yet the allied warriors of the Bekr tribe and the Moslems sought for aliens as guides on all their expeditions north of al-Ḥîra. North of al-Ḥîra, as, for instance, at ʿAjn at-Tamr, were garrisons of the Taṛleb, which surely could not have been maintained in territory belonging to the Bekr. But elsewhere, too, we frequently find statements that on the south the Taṛleb territory extended as far as al-Ḥîra; thus al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 97, records that the table mountain of Ilâha, rising west of al-Ḥîra, once belonged to the Taṛleb.

The Bekr tribe had no intention of attacking al-Ḥîra itself but was satisfied with plundering individual Persian settlements not far from its own territory. Some clans attacked al-Ubulla, the important starting point of the commercial caravans, which lay about twenty kilometers east of the modern town of al-Baṣra. It is therefore highly probable that Ḫâled selected the shortest and easiest route from an-Nibâǧ north-northeast to al-Ubulla in Irak, took part in the fighting there, and then proceeded north-

west, pillaging the Persian settlements now on the right, now on the left bank of the Euphrates. As the region southeast of Ḫaffân is not intimately known to me, I shall not consider his campaign there in detail. Suffice it to remark that in the year 633 the western border of Irak was almost entirely free from the Persian garrisons and thus Ḫâled's plundering activities were made easy. Not before the end of 634 did the Persians offer any resistance; then in 635 they themselves attacked, and the Moslems were subsequently obliged to regain settlements which had already been plundered by Ḫâled.

Al-Wâḳedi's, al-Madâ'ini's, and Ibn Nubejša's Accounts

Al-Wâḳedi (al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], p. 242) records that Ḫâled, having quelled the rebels in al-Jemâma, returned to al-Medîna and from there went by way of Fejd and aṯ-Ṯa'labijje to al-Ḥîra. — The return to al-Medîna is very unlikely. Why should Ḫâled have made a detour of more than eight hundred kilometers? If, however, Ḫâled really did return to al-Medîna, then he could not have gone thence to al-Ḥîra except by the great transport route by way of Fejd and aṯ-Ṯa'labijje, this latter station being nearly three hundred kilometers north of an-Nibâǧ. But, in any case, al-Wâḳedi does not seem to have been correctly informed on this subject. Of the advance in conjunction with the chief al-Muṯanna he makes no mention at all.

Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 921, note 9 b) thinks that Ḫâled went from an-Nibâǧ to al-Ḥîra by way of Fejd and aṯ-Ṯa'labijje, "as has already been asserted by our best historical authority, al-Wâḳedi" (al-Belâḏori, *loc. cit.*). Al-Wâḳedi, however, makes no mention whatever of an-Nibâǧ. And even if al-Wâḳedi really were our best historical authority and if his informants had been persons well acquainted with the positions of an-Nibâǧ and the station of Fejd, he would not have written that Ḫâled marched from an-Nibâǧ by way of Fejd. As an-Nibâǧ lies nearly two hundred kilometers southeast of Fejd, it was nearer from Fejd to al-Ubulla by way of an-Nibâǧ than from an-Nibâǧ by way of Fejd to al-Ḥîra (see also 'Arîb, *Ṣila* [De Goeje], p. 17).

Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 922, note 12) writes that the Arabs marched direct on al-Ḥîra, which they attacked from the desert without having encountered any foe on the way. He asserts that Ibn Isḥâḳ agrees with al-Wâḳedi in this regard. On page 921, note 6d, Caetani adds that the feeble resistance of al-Ḥîra, almost without a show of defense, proves that its inhabitants were surprised and that the Arabs therefore must have attacked and robbed the town on the very day of their arrival. According to Caetani these are psychological and military arguments against the possibility of Ḫâled's having approached al-Ḥîra in the course of a marauding expedition from al-Baṣra (al-Ubulla) northwest. I maintain, however, that not a single source states that Abu Bekr commanded Ḫâled to march direct on al-Ḥîra. The words of Ibn Isḥâḳ are likewise at variance with this conclusion of Caetani, in spite of the latter's view to the contrary, for according to Ibn Isḥâḳ Ḫâled gained possession of several settlements in the country around al-Ḥîra before he came to the town itself. Ibn Isḥâḳ writes that Ḫâled passed al-Ḥîra on the south, west, and north,

and only from the north returned southward again to attack the town. A surprise attack was therefore out of the question.

Al-Madâ'ini (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2016) relates that Abu Bekr sent Ḫâled to the land of the town of al-Kûfa, the residence of al-Muṯanna. Ḫâled proceeded by way of al-Baṣra, where Ḳuṯba ibn Ḳatâde as-Sadûsi was then living. — By the land of the town of al-Kûfa is not meant the definite vicinity of this town, which was founded after 637 A. D., but the whole region centering around the site of al-Kûfa in the first century of the Mohammedan era — i. e. the whole of Irak. This also indicates al-Madâ'ini's conviction that Ḫâled must have marched from al-Jemâma direct to Irak by the transport road leading to al-Ubulla.

Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 923f., note 2) denies that al-Madâ'ini meant that Ḫâled went to al-Baṣra, holding that this would have been in direct contradiction to the beginning of the sentence, where Ḫâled is said to have proceeded by "the road usually called the road to al-Baṣra." As this road divided at a certain point, one branch leading to al-Baṣra, the other to al-Kûfa (al-Ḥîra) Caetani assumes that Ḫâled took the latter. But this explanation is too artificial and contradicts the text. Furthermore al-Madâ'ini does not say that Ḫâled followed "the road usually called the road to al-Baṣra," but that he proceeded by way of al-Baṣra. The phrase "he went by the road to al-Kûfa" cannot be substituted for "he went by way of al-Baṣra," as Caetani, *Annali* (1905), Vol. 2. p. 925, note 3, seems to think permissible. The first does not state whether al-Kûfa was reached, while in the second it is evident that al-Baṣra was passed before Ḫâled arrived at his destination.

Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2018) states that Ḫâled marched from al-Jemâma to Irak by way of an-Nibâǧ, without having visited al-Medîna.

Jazîd ibn Nubejša (al-Belâḏori, *op. cit.*, pp. 243f.) relates that on his march with Ḫâled to Irak he reached the fort of al-ʿOḏejb and from there al-Ḥîra, where the inhabitants barricaded themselves in the Ḳaṣr al-Abjaḍ, Ḳaṣr Ibn Buḳejla, and Ḳaṣr al-ʿAdasijjîn. When the Moslems drove their horses into the standing grain, the inhabitants made peace. — Jazîd ibn Nubejša fails to state from where and by what route he came with Ḫâled to Irak. He begins his narrative only at the station of al-ʿOdejb, situated 32 kilometers nearly due south from al-Ḥîra and at the junction of two roads. One comes from the south by way of Fejd, the other from the southeast from al-Baṣra by way of Ḫaffân. This position of al-ʿOdejb at the meeting point of two roads makes it impossible for us to determine from what direction Ḫâled arrived there. As Jazîd ibn Nubejša mentions neither a detour nor the capture of the fortress of al-ʿOḏejb, we may assume that the latter had been deserted by the Persians.

Al-Ḥîra

Al-Ḥîra was reached by the Moslems from the south. This town, built on the very edge of the desert, was formed of a few groups of fortified buildings with gardens and fields between them. Such a group of buildings, called *ḳaṣr* (pl., *ḳṣûr*), "castle," is rectangular. Its center

is formed by a courtyard entirely enclosed by the separate buildings. The outer walls, which are higher than the inner ones, are strongly built and are provided with loopholes in their upper parts and with towers at the corners, giving the whole the aspect of a fort. Through the outer wall a single fortified gate leads into the yard, and from this doors open into the separate buildings, which have no other exits. These *ḳṣûr* are either narrow or wide, according to the number of the members of the respective clans who live together in them.

At the approach of an enemy the inhabitants of a *ḳaṣr* drive their best animals, especially the mares, into the yard, close and bar the gate, ascend to the flat roofs, and through the loopholes beat off the attack. If the enemy also are settlers, they bring their mattocks and ladders with them, break through the garden walls, and, seeking cover behind the palms, approach the *ḳaṣr*. When they reach the walls they first raise their ladders, trying to climb upon the roof. If repulsed, they collect at different points close to the wall in order to make a breach through it. But if the attack is made by the Bedouins, whose object is not the subjection of the settlers, but loot, they possess themselves first of all of the flocks which have not been driven into the yard and then of the grain heaped upon the threshing floors; they pick the ripe fruit, pasture their animals on the standing grain, and then disappear as quickly as they came. If the nomads want to compel the settlers to pay them regular tribute, they encamp before the *ḳaṣr*, drive the animals they have brought with them into the fields and gardens, light a fire under one of the large fruit trees, prevent the settlers from getting to the wells, threaten to burn and break all their trees and bushes, and in this manner force them to surrender. All this was done, according to Jazîd ibn Nubejša, at the different *ḳṣûr* in al-Ḥîra. The inhabitants are said to have saved themselves from the Moslem army in their "strong buildings," which proves that the town was not enclosed by a common wall. The Moslems encamped before the various *ḳṣûr*, drove the animals into the gardens and fields, and compelled the settlers to negotiate and finally to surrender.

Ibn Isḥâḳ's Account

Ibn Isḥâḳ heard from Ṣâleḥ ibn Kejšân (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2016f.) that Ḫâled received from Abu Bekr a written order to proceed to Irak. Ḫâled marched from al-Jemâma and encamped in the cultivated territory as-Sawâd by the hamlets of Bâniḳija', Bârûsma', and Ullejs, the owner of which made peace with him. — According to this report Ḫâled did not return to al-Medîna before proceeding to Irak. Nor is any mention made of the route he took; but evidently he did not head direct for al-Ḥîra, for, whether he marched straight northward on what later became the Pilgrim Road or first went towards al-Baṣra in a northeasterly direction, in either case he stopped before reaching al-Ḥîra at the settlements of Bâniḳija', Bârûsma', and Ullejs. This last settlement was an important Persian stronghold at the junction of the transport routes southeast of al-Ḥîra; the chief there and of the lands around was the wealthy landowner, Ibn Ṣalûba'. Other sources name a certain Ǧâbân as the lord of Ullejs, assigning to Ibn Ṣalûba' only the hamlets of Bâniḳija' and Bârûsma'; and in the peace treaty Ibn Isḥâḳ himself refers to Ibn Ṣalûba' as the

owner of the two last named, thus contradicting himself. He locates Bâniḳija' as lying on both banks of the Euphrates in the environs of the station of Ullejs. Half of Bâniḳija' and the whole settled part of Bârûsma' with its best fields lay on the left bank of the western branch of the Euphrates. Owing to this position they were not threatened directly by the Moslems, and it is therefore remarkable that Ibn Ṣalûba' immediately began to negotiate for peace, without paying any attention to the Persian government nor concerning himself about assistance from al-Ḥîra, although this town had not yet been taken by the Moslems.

From Bâniḳija', Ibn Isḥâḳ continues, Ḫâled marched on al-Ḥîra, the inhabitants of which surrendered to him without any effort at resistance. — Hence, according to Ibn Isḥâḳ, Ḫâled possessed himself of the most important part of the Persian border without a fight, without bloodshed, and with his Moslems alone, as the great chief al-Muṯanna and his tribe are not mentioned. Why al-Ḥîra, the center of the whole border district, surrendered without a fight, when even the simple military post of 'Ajn at-Tamr, situated far in the desert, made such a brave resistance, Ibn Isḥâḳ fails to explain. It would be useless to claim that the settlers of al-Ḥîra were taken by surprise, as they could observe the Moslem army for a long time before it came near from the south, and, besides, they must have received information of the threatened invasion from Ibn Ṣalûba''s settlements, already at least partly plundered by the Moslems.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 931, note 8, says that in the environs of al-Ḥîra and between the fortresses, or *praesidia* of the old Roman *limes* (or fortified frontier) there rose numerous rich Christian monasteries. — It happens, however, that the *limes* was four hundred kilometers from al-Ḥîra.

Abu Jûsuf's Account

Abu Jûsuf, *Ḫarâǧ* (Cairo, 1302 A.H.), pp. 82f., referring to Ibn Isḥâḳ, writes that Ḫâled returned from al-Jemâma to al-Medîna and from there marched with two thousand soldiers to Irak by way of Fejd; there he was joined by five hundred Bedouins of the Ṭajj tribe. The inhabitants of the station of Šerâf fled before them to the castle of al-Muṛîṯa, which, as well as the castle of al-'Oḏejb, was taken by the Moslems after a fierce attack and then plundered, demolished, and set on fire. The inhabitants of the settlement of al-Ḳâdesijje surrendered without a fight. From there Ḫâled marched on the largest and strongest Persian border stronghold, an-Neǧef, which he also took by assault and then destroyed. His advance guard had in the meantime taken the little Persian fort of Ullejs. This feat so frightened the inhabitants of the settlement of Ullejs that they asked for peace. From Ullejs Ḫâled set out for al-Ḥîra, the inhabitants of which took refuge in their *ḳuṣûr* and would not be enticed by the Moslems to a fight in the open country, which offered no protection. At last they surrendered. From al-Ḥîra Ḫâled turned along the river to the village of Bâniḳija', took the Persian fortress there, made peace with Hâni ibn Ǧâber aṭ-Ṭâ'i, the representative of the Bâniḳija' people, marched still farther, fought all night with the inhabitants of Bâniḳija', and got possession of and demolished their castle. From here he sent Ǧarîr against the village of Bârûsma', lying east of the Euphrates; but the elder of this community,

Ṣalûba', met Ğarîr while yet on the right bank of the Euphrates and made peace with him. Ḫâled now returned to an-Neğef and, accompanied by guides from al-Ḥîra, began his march to ʿAjn at-Tamr. —

This description of Ḫâled's campaign contains many contradictions and impossibilities, so that we cannot trust Abu Jûsuf in spite of his reference to Ibn Isḥâḳ. The latter does not mention Ḫâled's return from al-Jemâma to al-Medîna. According to Abu Jûsuf, Ḫâled went from al-Jemâma to al-Medîna and from there took the road — the later Pilgrim Road — to al-Kûfa. Abu Jûsuf is the only Arabic writer whom I find mentioning an-Neğef as the largest and strongest border fort. Notwithstanding the fact that Ḫâled took it by assault, the inhabitants of al-Ḥîra, although living close to an-Neğef, were not intimidated. From the near vicinity of al-Ḥîra Ḫâled went southeast to Ullejs and only from there northwest to al-Ḥîra. After possessing himself of this town, he again returned southeast to the village of Bâniḳija', the fort of which — likewise recorded by Abu Jûsuf only — he twice conquered and twice burned and demolished. The crossing of the Euphrates caused Ğarîr no difficulties. From Bâniḳija' Ḫâled returned, not to al-Ḥîra but to the burned and demolished an-Neğef — although he could have found no stores or accommodation there — and from that place began his march on ʿAjn at-Tamr.

According to Abu Jûsuf the whole Persian territory far into the desert (to al-Muṛîṭa) was occupied by soldiers; this is in direct opposition to what is known of the administrative conditions of that time in Persia. The regular Persian garrisons of the border fortresses of al-Muṛîṭa and al-ʿOḏejb could not hold out against an attack of Ḫâled's 2500 riders on horseback and camels! And yet the Persians were well provided with food and water, both of which the attacking Moslems lacked. The cruel fate of these garrisons should have induced the Persian troops to defend the strongest border fort of an-Neğef with desperate resistance; but the Moslems, who certainly did not bring along either ladders or heavy pickaxes and consequently could not have pulled down the stone-built Persian fortifications, conquered this mighty stronghold as if it were a castle of sand, although they were not used to besieging forts, as is clearly shown during the siege of al-Ḥîra. The inhabitants of the latter shut themselves in their *ḳṣûr*, and the Moslems, whom up to that time not even the strongest fort could resist, did not dare to attack these mere fortified buildings. Altogether, the absense of comment about the assistance given to the Moslems by the Bekr tribe led by the chief, al-Muṭanna, is characteristic of the al-Medîna school. Abu Jûsuf knew of no one in Irak but the Moslems with Ḫâled. Of the Bekr Bedouins and their wise chief, al-Muṭanna, he makes no mention whatever; and yet it was impossible for the Moslems to get into Irak without their help or to return from there laden with booty.

I do not agree with Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 932), who indorses these curious statements of Abu Jûsuf on the ground that they come from a good and ancient source. The number alone of Ḫâled's warriors given by Abu Jûsuf may be correct. But even this statement becomes improbable owing to the remark that the two thousand warriors were accompanied by as many non-combatants. On a marauding raid, which Caetani considers Ḫâled's expedition to have been, such a great camp-following is out of the question, as it would have deprived the real combatants of freedom of movement, thus robbing them of food and water as well. Its presence

could be comprehended only if it was intended to help at sieges or for colonization. All the other statements of Abu Jûsuf belong to the later, romantically embellished, meager, and not very clear traditions of Ḫâled's expedition, which were current in al-Medîna and had for their object the glorifying of Ḫâled and his company rather than the true description of an historic event.

Hišâm Ibn al-Kalbi's Account

Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi records a tradition originated with a Bedouin of the Bekr ibn Wâ'il tribe (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 2018f.). According to this account al-Muṯanna asked Abu Bekr personally to appoint him head chief, in return for which he promised to make war on the Persian settlers along the borders of his tribe. His wish having been granted, al-Muṯanna assembled his tribesmen and invaded the district of Kaskar, as well as the districts on the lower Euphrates. When Ḫâled on his march to Irak reached the station of an-Nibâǧ, by letter he summoned al-Muṯanna, then camping at Ḫaffân, to join him; which the chief did. On reaching Irak, Ḫâled pillaged the different settlements as far as Ullejs, the lord of which, Ǧâbân, offered resistance but was defeated by al-Muṯanna near an irrigation canal called ever since "the Bloody." Ḫâled then made peace with the inhabitants of Ullejs and approached al-Ḥîra. At the "Union of the Canals" the Persian cavalry, with Azâdbeh at their head, were waiting; they were routed by al-Muṯanna. On seeing this, the inhabitants of al-Ḥîra went out of the town to meet Ḫâled, who made peace with them and immediately afterwards with Busbuhra ibn Ṣalûba', the lord of Bâniḳija'. —

Perhaps the Bedouin did not relate all this exactly as here stated, although in general he was right. It is highly probable that the circumspect Muṯanna, on learning of the humiliation of his western neighbors by the Moslems, went to al-Medîna, where he asked Abu Bekr's assent to his enterprise. By this step he would have strengthened his own position, as he could not have been attacked so easily by the other chiefs; furthermore, he would have secured his tribe against the raids of the Moslems, or the western tribes related to them, while he was busy pillaging the Persian settlements. In order to win the Bedouin chief completely to his side and in order to conquer the Persian borderland, Abu Bekr subsequently sent to Irak Ḫâled, who knew how to handle the Bedouins. On reaching an-Nibâǧ, Ḫâled asked al-Muṯanna, then camping at Ḫaffân, to join him with his warriors; this seems to prove his intention of taking a road distant from Ḫaffân, otherwise he himself would have met al-Muṯanna at Ḫaffân. Not even according to this tradition was Ḫâled bent on going direct to al-Ḥîra, for, instead, he attacked the Persian settlement of Ullejs on the "Bloody Canal," or Nahr ad-Dam, southeast of al-Ḥîra. The fact that both at this canal and at the "Union of the Canals" the Persians were defeated by al-Muṯanna may be the reason why neither al-Wâḳedi nor Ibn Isḥâḳ, who knew nothing of the chief al-Muṯanna, mention these victories. According to Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi Ḫâled made peace with the lord of the settlement of Bâniḳija' only when al-Ḥîra surrendered; and yet he must have passed and therefore threatened this settlement on his march to Ullejs as well as when making the detour to al-Ḥîra.

With regard to the battle at the "Union of the Canals," the following old rimed saying (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2026) has been preserved: "In the middle of *aṣfâr* all the heroes were slain at the 'Union of the Canals.'" — This saying is very important as it has preserved the original and hence the correct date. The first Moslem troops did not observe exact dates and cared for them just as little as do the Bedouins of today. But even if the original date had been observed correctly, tradition could hardly have preserved it if it had not been supported by a saying, a song, or some well known contemporary incident. For the precise determination of the chronology of these events the dates of the different peace treaties would be serviceable if we had them; we should, however, have to be sure that these documents, as copied by the later chroniclers, were genuine and agreed with the original treaties. Yet we do not possess these dates and neither did the collectors of the various traditions. Thus no wonder there is conflict regarding the chronology of the events under discussion. That the saying just mentioned puts the battle at the "Union of the Canals" in the autumn and, what is more, in the month of October, is shown by the fact that with some of the modern Bedouins *ṣafar al-aṣfâr* signifies the middle of *ṣafar* (the yearly season of *ṣafar* includes the months of September, October, and November), hence, October (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, p. 7). This has already been suggested by Wellhausen in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Vol. 6, p. 40, note 1.

Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 960, note 2) doubts the probability of this opinion of Wellhausen because, among other reasons, in the era of the Islamic conquest the names of the Arabian months had already lost their old meaning of the yearly seasons and signified movable lunar months. — Caetani disregards the fact that we have to deal with a saying of the people and that with many Arabian tribes the names of the months have not even now lost their original meaning of the yearly seasons. Nearly all the present inhabitants of the ancient Moab and Edom designate the autumn as *ṣafarijjât ṭalâṭe*. Of the movable lunar months they are almost totally ignorant.

Summary

In order to gain a correct view of these events from all this conflicting evidence supplied by the writers of the al-Medîna school, we must decide first whether or not al-Muṯanna and the Bekr tribe took part in Ḫâled's campaign against the Persians. The arguments we have already introduced, which will receive further support compel us to claim that Ḫâled could not have risked a raid and still less a campaign against the Persians without the acquiescence and help of the Bekr. If we admit that the Bedouins of this tribe gave him their support, then in all likelihood they first attacked the settlement from which started the commercial caravans that passed through the Bekr territory to the south, southwest, west, or northwest. This starting point, called al-Ubulla, adjoined the southeastern part of the Bekr lands. Ḫâled undoubtedly knew all about the commercial caravans leaving al-Ubulla, because they carried various products to both Mecca and al-Medîna. He must have learned still more of them in al-Jemâma, and at an-Nibâǧ he finally found himself on the road they usually frequented. As he had not received exact

instructions from Abu Bekr as to which road he was to take, he was at liberty to proceed from an-Nibâǧ by the caravan route to al-Ubulla and from there to assist the Bekr in their raids on the Persian settlements. Advancing together with al-Muṯanna, he would have been able not only to secure to himself the larger part of the booty but to ensure its unhindered delivery at al-Medîna. Probably the chief representatives of the al-Medîna school make no mention of the head chief, al-Muṯanna, as it did not suit their purpose that a Bedouin chief, who was related neither to the Mecca nor to the al-Medîna settlers and knew little if anything of Islam, should be given credit for its propagation in Irak and for the conquest of Persia. Other members of the same school name al-Muṯanna but endeavor to belittle as much as possible his share in Ḫâled's successes.

A Version of the al-Kûfa School

Sejf ibn ʿOmar's Account

The chief representative of the al-Kûfa school of tradition, Sejf ibn ʿOmar, explains (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2021 f.) that, according to his several informants, Abu Bekr ordered Ḫâled ibn al-Walîd to invade Irak from the south and ʿEjâḍ ibn Ġanm to enter it from the north, both to unite at al-Ḥîra. — According to this the campaign ended but did not begin at al-Ḥîra.

Sejf (*ibid.*, pp. 2032–2035) asserts that Ḫâled marched northwest from the environs of the later town of al-Baṣra. After an encounter with the Persians at al-Waleǧa he surprised the Persian commander, Ǧâbân, near the station of Ullejs on the Euphrates, defeated him, and ordered all the prisoners to be killed. A canal branched off there, which the Moslems blocked in order a little later to let its water out over the bodies of the slaughtered prisoners cast into the channel. Their blood colored the water in the canal to such an extent that it was ever afterwards called Nahr ad-Dam, the "Bloody Canal." — The station of Ullejs, spelled in the manuscript (*ibid.*, p. 2031, note *h*) with a double *l*, was situated on a bend of the Euphrates but still on the right bank. The ease with which the Moslems stopped the canal there indicates that there could not have been much water in it just then and, consequently, that the event must have happened in the autumn. Al-Waleǧa I locate in the neighborhood of ʿAjn Ẓâḥeč, about fifty kilometers southeast of al-Ḥîra, and Ullejs at the present settlement of aš-Šâṭi northwest of ʿAjn Ẓâḥeč.

After taking Ullejs Ḫâled marched (*ibid.*, p. 2036) on the town of Amġîšija', which he plundered and demolished. Like al-Ḥîra, this was a fortified town and Ullejs served as its stronghold. The canal called Bâdaḳla ended at Amġîšija'. —

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 929 f., note 3b, thinks that Ullejs and Amġîšija' are two different names for the same place and that the name Amġîšijja is corrupted from Alǧîšijja, the old designation of Vologesias, which the Arabians later made into Ullejs. He locates Amġîšijja at the settlement of Ummischigedia (Kiepert, *Carte des provinces asiatiques* [1884]) on the western bank of the al-Hindijje canal opposite Birs Nimrud.

I cannot see in Amġîšija' a corruption from Alǧîšijja and Vologesias. The Arabic *ġ* is too pronounced a sound to be interchanged with *ǧ*; it is

also difficult to understand why the Arabians should have expressed the consonant *s* of the name Vologesias with *š* in Amṛîšija' and *s* in Ullejs. Sejf differentiates distinctly between Ullejs and Amṛîšija', so that without complete proof we should not identify them. A comparison of Amṛîšija' with Ummischigedia is philologically impossible and topographically altogether to be excluded. Besides, on Kiepert's map it is not written Ummischigedia but Umm Ischîjedîje (Umm Išijjedijje), a name which shows no similarity to Amṛîšija'. The old Ullejs lay about thirty-five kilometers southeast of al-Ḥîra and formed (according to Sejf) the stronghold of the settlement of Amṛîšija'. This is one more reason why we should not identify it with the settlement of Umm Išijjedijje, which is recorded far to the north of al-Ḥîra. Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 936, note 2, is, of course, firmly convinced that Ḫâled attacked al-Ḥîra from the north, but this view conflicts not only with all the Arabic sources but also with the very psychological and military reasons with which he seeks to substantiate his theory.

The Arabic geographers either do not mention Amṛîšija' at all or give a literal copy of Sejf's version, which was taken from al-Muṛîra (aṭ-Ṭabari, *loc. cit.*). This makes it evident that this town perished in the first century of Islam and that its name thereafter disappeared.

Having received the information that Amṛîšija' had fallen, the Persian commander in al-Ḥîra prepared to resist the advance of Ḫâled, (*ibid.*, p. 2037), who had his whole baggage loaded on boats, in which his foot soldiers also embarked. The boats sailed on the west branch of the Euphrates, while Ḫâled with his cavalry accompanied them along the river bank. To prevent his advance the Persian commander sent his son with a detachment against Ḫâled and himself encamped behind al-Ḥîra. The son had some canals opened, thus filling them with water and causing the level in the Euphrates branch to fall so low that Ḫâled's boats grounded and could not move. When told by the native boatmen of the reason for this check, Ḫâled hurried with his cavalry against the Persians, encountered their first troop at the outlet of the al-ʿAtîḳ canal, pursued it, and annihilated it near al-Moḳr. He surprised the son of the Persian commander at the inlet of the Bâdaḳla branch of the Euphrates and killed him. Then he blocked the canals again, the branch of the Euphrates became navigable, and the boats could come nearer. —

This record shows clearly that Ḫâled marched from Ullejs upstream; therefore Ullejs cannot have lain to the north but must have been to the southeast of al-Ḥîra. Ḫâled could hardly have accompanied his fast sailing boats downstream, as it would have been necessary to ride on camelback around many swamps, canals, and ditches. He would have had to return again to let the water into the Euphrates branch, which move would have brought both him and his boats into the midst of the Persian army. The advice of the native sailors to block the canals and thus to make sailing on the Euphrates possible testifies that there was not much water in the river at the time. As the river begins to rise after the first copious rains, which set in regularly at the end of November, and continues to rise until the middle or the end of May, we see from this circumstance also that Ḫâled must have taken Ullejs in the *ṣafar al-aṣfâr* period, or some time in October.

A similar incident, almost in the same locality, is recorded by aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 725, who quotes Abu Miḫnaf. During the warfare

between Ibn az-Zubejr and Caliph ʿAbdalmalek (685-705), the brother of the former, Muṣʿab, proceeded from al-Baṣra by land and water against al-Muḫtâr, ʿAbdalmalik's lieutenant in al-Kûfa. Al-Muḫtâr marched out of al-Kûfa against Muṣʿab, encamped at as-Sajlaḥûn, and had the Euphrates dammed below the "Union of the Canals," a point where the canals to al-Ḥîra, as-Sajlaḥûn, al-Ḳâdesijje, and Bursuf either joined or left the main stream. As this made the water from the Euphrates flow into these canals, Muṣʿab's boats stuck in the mud and his warriors had to march on foot, but his cavalry soon reached and broke open the dam, and the water flowed into the Euphrates anew, floating the boats and carrying the troops towards al-Kûfa. Al-Muḫtâr then encamped near Ḥarûra. —

As-Sajlaḥûn lay fifteen kilometers southeast of al-Ḥîra below the modern settlement of Abu Ṣḫêr. The "Muğtameʿ al-Anhâr," or "Union of the Canals," — more properly the starting point of these canals from the Euphrates — must be sought southeast of al-Ḥîra at Abu. Ṣḫêr in the gardens of Ğaʿâra, whence issued the al-ʿAtîḳ canal, flowing to al-Ḳâdesijje, as well as the Bâdaḳla canal running south-southeast. The canals of al-Ḥîra and Bursuf ended there. From this "Union of the Canals" Ḫâled advanced against al-Ḥîra (*ibid.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2038f.), encamped between al-Ḫawarnaḳ and an-Neğef, and waited in al-Ḫawarnaḳ for the arrival of the rest of his troops. In the meantime the Persian commander at al-Ḥîra had fled across the Euphrates. His army now being complete, Ḫâled moved from al-Ḫawarnaḳ and took up a position between al-Ḳarijjân and the Ḳaṣr al-Abjaḍ, which the Persian troops had left shortly before. The inhabitants of al-Ḥîra barricaded themselves in their different *ḳuṣûr*; this caused Ḫâled, unable to take them by assault, to devastate the neighborhood and thus to compel the besieged to surrender. —

Al-Ḫawarnaḳ, where Ḫâled awaited the boats with his troops, lay about six kilometers northwest of the "Union of the Canals" and nearly as many south of al-Ḥîra. An-Neğef, on the edge of the plateau on which al-Ḥîra was situated, likewise lay to the west of al-Ḥîra.

Summary

Summarizing our conclusions in regard to the events leading up to the seizure of al-Ḥîra, we see that the principal representatives of both schools, that of al-Medîna and that of al-Kûfa, admit the coöperation of Ḫâled ibn al-Walîd with al-Muṯanna ibn Ḥâreṯa and that Ḫâled tried by every means to get possession of all the settlements on the right bank of the Euphrates from the Persian Gulf as far as al-Ḥîra. On the left bank his troops set foot only in a few places and then only when they were endangered from that side or expected to find much booty there. This program was also adhered to by Ḫâled after al-Ḥîra had been taken.

Ḫâled at al-Anbâr

Al-Madâ'ini relates (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2076f.) that Ḫâled went from al-Ḥîra to al-Anbâr and gave the inhabitants of the latter place permission to depart; but, having changed his mind, he left al-Anbâr, attacked some market center not far from Bagdad, sent the chief al-Muṯanna against another settlement, and turned towards ʿAjn at-Tamr. After taking

this place and sending the captives — the first he had seized from Persian territory — to al-Medîna, he marched on Dûmat al-Ǧandal, where he killed Okajder, captured the daughter of al-Ǧûdi, and then returned to al-Ḥîra. —

Ḫâled allowed the Persian garrison at al-Anbâr to leave and concluded a peace treaty with the inhabitants. The raid on the market center near the site of the later town of Bagdad is an illustration of Ḫâled's remarkable courage, as he had to cross many irrigation canals and came quite near Ctesiphon, the Persian capital.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 940, note 3, in general invests the narrative of al-Madâ'ini with great significance, as giving us a criterion for estimating the value of Sejf's tradition; he declines to accept reports of battles other than those recorded by al-Madâ'ini. Yet I doubt whether it would be safe to depend on al-Madâ'ini's silence regarding the various incidents mentioned by Sejf. On the other hand, Caetani does not recognize the incidents recorded in this connection by al-Madâ'ini, rejecting all the successes on the left bank of the Euphrates and, hence, the taking of al-Anbâr, of the market near Bagdad, as well as the raid on Dûmat al-Ǧandal. Caetani writes (*ibid.*, pp. 942f., note 1) that the school of al-Medîna, of which al-Madâ'ini was a representative, had no knowledge of the capture of al-Anbâr, although al-Madâ'ini relates it on the authority of ʿOmar ibn Šubba.

Caetani (*op. cit.*, p. 939, note 1) would identify al-Anbâr with the aṣ-Ṣfêra ruins, but the extensive al-Anbâr ruins have kept their name to this day and are situated ten kilometers southwest of aṣ-Ṣfêra.

In any case al-Madâ'ini's report is so questionable and incoherent that we cannot give full credit to his statement that the captives from ʿAjn at-Tamr were the first who were sent from Persia to al-Medîna.

Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), pp. 245f., writes that after capturing al-Ḥîra Ḫâled went to Bâniḳija' and from there to al-Falâlîǧ against a Persian troop which fled before him. Returning to al-Ḥîra he prepared and soon afterwards carried out an expedition against al-Anbâr. From al-Anbâr he sent the chief al-Muṯanna against some market place near Bagdad, from which the chief returned with much booty. Al-Anbâr was surrounded, its gardens burned, and the inhabitants compelled to surrender. Some traditionalists quoted by al-Belâḏori state that Ḫâled followed al-Muṯanna to Bagdad, participated in the onslaught on the market place, and returned from there to al-Anbâr; but al-Belâḏori doubts this. —

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 942f., note 1, points out that in this report al-Falâlîǧ is used as the name of a definite locality, whereas in fact it is but the common designation of settlements in the alluvial region of as-Sawâd; he also reminds us that the name is mentioned only in the first reports on the expedition to Irak and never again. He is certainly not right on the latter point. Al-Falâlîǧ is mentioned not only in the reports about the first expedition but in those of the years 13 (634/5 A. D.) and 72 A. H. (691/2 A. D.) as well (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2203; Ser. 2, p. 1072) and also frequently in Arabic geographical literature. Several settlements called al-Falâlîǧ lay southeast of al-Ḥîra by the large al-Fallûǧa canal, the ancient Pallacotas; others again to the southeast of al-Anbâr, where al-Fallûǧat al-ʿUlja' and al-Fallûǧat as-Sufla' were situated.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 943, note 2d, denies the capture of al-Anbâr because it is not mentioned in the best sources, Ibn Isḥâḳ, Abu Jûsuf, and al-Wâḳedi. Abu Jûsuf, however, whose report contradicts other reports of the same events (see above pp. 289-291), surely cannot be counted among the best sources. Ibn Isḥâḳ and al-Wâḳedi are very brief, even superficial. Against the capture of al-Anbâr by Ḫâled we might cite the local tradition which prevailed at al-Anbâr, according to which the peace treaty between al-Anbâr and the Moslems was completed during the reign of the caliph ʿOmar, Ǧarîr ibn ʿAbdallâh acting as intermediary. If, however, this does not properly refer to this peace treaty, perhaps after the defeat of the Moslems at al-Ǧisr, then due weight should be laid upon the report of the conquering of al-Anbâr given by al-Belâḏori, *op. cit.*, p. 246. Caetani is of the opinion that the Moslems could not have passed from the right to the left bank, where al-Anbâr was located, without the assistance of the inhabitants of that town; and yet he writes elsewhere (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 1236), in commenting on events after Ḫâled's departure, that the Moslems forded the Euphrates to make incursions into the whole district between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Thus, after Ḫâled's departure they could easily cross the Euphrates, but not before, although there was more water in the river after he left, in the spring and summer, than in the preceding autumn and winter.

The crossing of the Euphrates would not have caused the Moslems much difficulty if they besieged al-Anbâr, as we think, at the beginning of November. At that time of year the great river is easy to ford either above or below al-Anbâr. Furthermore, the Moslems could have found plenty of boats of all sizes on the right bank and would thus have been enabled to cross the river not only with all their supplies but with their horses and camels as well, just as the Carmathians did later and the modern marauding troops, which keep clear of the boat bridges at al-Fellûǧe and al-Msajjeb, do now. As a second argument against the siege of al-Anbâr Caetani makes the assertion that Ḫâled invaded Irak with the sole object of robbery and therefore that it would have been foolish of him to waste his time and strength before the bastions of some fort. But Caetani does not prove that Ḫâled went to Irak simply on a marauding trip and not on a military campaign. If it had been nothing but a raid, Ḫâled would not have stopped to besiege either al-Ḥîra or ʿAjn at-Tamr, which he took and garrisoned. In al-Anbâr there were great stores of corn needed both by Ḫâled and al-Muṯanna for their companions and horses, the supplies on the right bank being scarce. In any case, according to al-Belâḏori, Ḫâled besieged al-Anbâr just as he did al-Ḥîra. He surrounded the town and devastated the gardens, thus forcing the inhabitants to surrender. Situated as they were on the border of the desert, the inhabitants of al-Anbâr were accustomed to such sieges. In order to save their gardens, they agreed to pay tribute to the Bedouins, this obligation, of course, being valid only as long as the Persian government was too weak to protect them.

Ḫâled at ʿAjn at-Tamr and Ṣandawda'

Al-Belâḏori (*op. cit.*, pp. 246f.) relates, without giving his source, that Ḫâled went from al-Anbâr direct to the strong Persian fort of ʿAjn at-Tamr. Its garrison offered resistance but was driven back into the fort

and was so sorely besieged by Ḫâled and his Moslems that it soon had to ask for quarter. This was not granted. The fort was taken, the warriors all slain, and the rest of the inhabitants made prisoners. Several young men imprisoned in one of the churches were caught. According to other informants cited by al-Belâḏori, Ḫâled made a peace pact with the inhabitants of the fort of ʿAjn at-Tamr and the young men were not captured in a church at ʿAjn at-Tamr but in some other settlement. —

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 944, writes that after taking al-Anbâr Ḫâled advanced still farther north to ʿAjn at-Tamr. In the text of al-Belâḏori no mention is made of a northward march, and, besides, this direction is altogether out of the question, as ʿAjn at-Tamr lay almost due south of al-Ambâr.

On the whole, al-Belâḏori's account agrees with that of Sejf. Al-Belâḏori likewise records (*ibid.*, p. 248) that Helâl ibn ʿAḳḳa commanded the Arab auxiliary troops fighting with Ḫâled. With regard to the oasis of ʿAjn at-Tamr, a distinction must be made between the fort garrisoned with troops and the settlement proper. The garrison was killed, but with the native population peace was made. This also explains the apparent discrepancy between the different accounts. At al-Ḥîra, too, the inhabitants surrendered after the Persian garrison had fled. But, as in front of al-Ḥîra, so also at ʿAjn at-Tamr blood was spilt. Tradition gives the names of the *anṣâr* (early believers and helpers of the Prophet) who fell before ʿAjn at-Tamr (al-Belâḏori, *loc. cit.*). For this reason Caetani (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 940, note 3b; p. 945, note 2, and elsewhere) contradicts the sources when he states that the first campaign against Persia was almost bloodless.

Al-Belâḏori, *op. cit.*, pp. 249f., relates that, according to some accounts, Ḫâled started from ʿAjn at-Tamr for Syria but, according to others, he first marched on Dûma and, after taking this oasis, returned to al-Ḥîra and then only did he begin his expedition against Syria. Al-Belâḏori's own opinion was that Ḫâled marched on Syria from ʿAjn at-Tamr — not from al-Ḥîra. The date of his expedition according to some was the first and according to others the second month of Rabîʿ. —

To this Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 947, note 1, adds that al-Belâḏori absolutely disbelieved the tradition of Ḫâled's expedition to Dûmat al-Ǧandal. But this remark is not justified. Al-Belâḏori does not venture any opinion on the expedition against Dûmat al-Ǧandal, although, following trustworthy witnesses, he mentions it twice without comment. He merely fixes the starting point of Ḫâled's expedition to Syria.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 1193f., note 1a, argues that al-Belâḏori does not commit himself explicitly as to the place from which Ḫâled started. He would correct both al-Belâḏori and al-Madâ'ini by insisting that the report gives the precise date of Ḫâled's departure from al-Jemâma (not from Irak) as 12 A. H. (March 18, 633, till March 6, 634 A. D.). And yet the whole content of the report makes it evident that it deals with the expedition from Irak to Syria and not with that from al-Jemâma to Irak. Furthermore, if, adhering to al-Belâḏori's statements, we acknowledge that he is defining Ḫâled's departure for Syria, we again find that in the original account the fixed yearly periods of *rabîʿ* must have been meant, not the movable months of Rabîʿ. The Bedouins know of a first, a second, and even a third month of *rabîʿ*, yearly period of spring affluence lasting from about Febru-

ary 20 to May 20; thus their first and second months of *rabîʿ* correspond to the latter part of our February, our March, and the first half of our April.

Abu Jûsuf, *Ḫarâǧ* (Cairo, 1302 A.H.), pp. 85—87, referring to Ibn Isḥâḳ and others, writes that after taking al-Ḥîra Ḫâled proceeded along the river to the settlement of Bâniḳija' and on his return encamped at an-Neǧef. With guides from al-Ḥîra he then marched to the oasis of ʿAjn at-Tamr, where he captured the fort after a siege of some duration and killed the whole Persian garrison. The Arab commander (*dihḳân*) was likewise killed. With the native population Ḫâled made peace on the same terms as at al-Ḥîra. Then he sent a troop under Saʿd ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥarâm against the Christians of the Kinda and Ijâd tribes, who were living in the settlement of Ṣandawda', and compelled them to surrender. Ḫâled wanted to remain permanently in al-Ḥîra, but a letter from Abu Bekr caused him to go to the aid of Abu ʿObejda in Syria. Accompanied by guides from al-Ḥîra and ʿAjn at-Tamr, he marched out from al-Ḥîra, passed through the arid desert, and reached the territory of the Taṛleb tribe, many of whom he killed and many of whom he took prisoners. With several Taṛleb for guides he left their territory, arrived at an-Nuḳejb and al-Kawâtel, and forced the neighboring settlements to surrender on the same terms as those which he accorded the inhabitants of ʿÂnât. As he was marching past this settlement (ʿÂnât) the local patrician came to him begging for peace. Ḫâled assured him that neither the monasteries nor the churches would be demolished there, that they would be free to use wooden bells by day and night except at the time of Moslem prayers, and that during their holidays they might hold processions, carrying crosses. But they had to promise that they would extend to all Moslems three day's hospitality and a safe conduct. All this was taken down in writing. Hiring a guide in ʿÂnât, Ḫâled then came by way of an-Nuḳejb and al-Kawâtel — with the inhabitants of which he likewise concluded peace — to the district of Ḳarḳîsija', where he pillaged the whole vicinity, laid siege to the town, and finally made peace with the people on terms such as those that he had offered to ʿÂnât. —

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 1199, note 2a, is of the opinion that this narrative of Abu Jûsuf is especially valuable because it does not mention the capture of al-Anbâr, which may therefore be considered a fable of later generations. It seems to me that Caetani attaches too much importance to this silence, for Abu Jûsuf refers neither to Ḳurâḳir nor Suwa', although Ḫâled visited both. And, for all that, Abu Jûsuf would seem to confirm the account of the capture of al-Anbâr by mentioning Ṣandawda'. Ṣandawda', now al-Mšêhed near ar-Rumâdi, according to Ibn Munḳiḍ, *Iʿtibâr* (Derenbourg), pp. 127f., was considered a suburb of al-Anbâr.

Abu Jûsuf's narrative contains much that is lacking in Ibn Isḥâḳ, to which he refers, but it agrees on the whole with the account left us by Sejf, for Abu Jûsuf, like Sejf, knew of the expedition to the northwest of ʿAjn at-Tamr. At first he speaks of this expedition in connection with Ḫâled's march to Syria, but after describing the capture of Ḳarḳîsija' he interrupts his narrative without saying whether Ḫâled returned from there to al-Ḥîra or set out directly for Syria. He also represents ʿAjn at-Tamr as being captured before the departure for Syria. It is interesting to note that Ḫâled sought guides in al-Ḥîra to bring him to

ʿAjn at-Tamr, a thing he would hardly have done if the territory between al-Ḥîra and ʿAjn at-Tamr had belonged to his allies and companions of the Bekr ibn Wâʾil tribe. At ʿAjn at-Tamr Abu Jûsuf makes a distinction between the natives, who offered no resistance to Ḫâled, and the Persian garrison with the Arab auxiliaries, who had to be conquered. The Arab *dihḳân* executed by Ḫâled's order was undoubtedly the leader of these auxiliaries, recognized by the Persian government.

After his account of the taking of ʿAjn at-Tamr, Abu Jûsuf records a tradition which probably originated in Irak and persisted in the settlement of Ṣandawdaʾ. According to Abu-l-Faḍâʾil (*Marâṣid* [Juynboll], Vol. 2, p. 168), who died in 1338 A.D., this place lay above al-Anbâr on the right bank of the Euphrates, but in his time it had already been demolished and only the shrine at which ʿAli ibn Abi Ṭâleb was worshipped was preserved there. In the time of Ibn al-Kalbi (died 819 A.D.) Ṣandawdaʾ was the property of the Ibn Ḥarâm al-Anṣâri family, which lived there. It was probably this family which created the legend recorded by Abu Jûsuf of its ancestor Saʿd ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥarâm, who was sent by Ḫâled to Ṣandawdaʾ. Ibn al-Kalbi brought this tradition from Irak to al-Medîna, where it found credence, as it concerned an *anṣâri* (early believer and helper of Mohammed). It is strange that Sejf knew nothing of this expedition to Ṣandawdaʾ and that Saʿd ibn ʿAmr is mentioned in no other place except the work of Abu Jûsuf. Indeed it is most unlikely that Saʿd could have maintained himself in the settlement of Ṣandawdaʾ after Abu Bekr's death, when almost all the Moslems were driven out of Irak. After all, Abu Jûsuf's words, "Saʿd ibn ʿAmr remained in Ṣandawdaʾ during the reigns of Abu Bekr, ʿOmar, and ʿOṯmân until his death and his descendants live there to this day," prove that even the school of al-Medîna considered Ḫâled's expedition not a simple raid but a regular military campaign, the object of which was to conquer a country and to hold it when conquered.

According to Abu Jûsuf it was probably Ḫâled's intention to make al-Ḥîra his residence and to remain permanently in Irak. This idea would surely not have occurred to him if a mere raid had been in his mind. This supposed intention or plan of Ḫâled's leads us to the belief that at that time he was already in possession of a larger territory than the mere vicinity of al-Ḥîra. He could have resided in al-Ḥîra and from there have harassed the Persians only if sure of the obedience or sympathy of all the Bedouins southwest and northwest of the town. Otherwise his communications with al-Medîna might easily have been interrupted. The necessity of securing this tract of country makes Ḫâled's previous warlike enterprises between the Persian Gulf and al-Ḥîra seem very probable. It likewise explains why he had no other course than to win over to his side the Taṛleb tribe, which wandered from al-Ḥîra northwest to ar-Reṣâfa.

Ḫâled's Expedition Against the Taṛleb Tribe

In dealing with Ḫâled's expedition against the Taṛleb tribe, as in our treatment of his advance on al-Ḥîra, let us first discuss the reports that have come down to us in the writings of representatives of the al-Medîna school of tradition, and then let us consider the more detailed account given by Sejf ibn ʿOmar of the al-Kûfa school.

Versions of the al-Medîna School

Abu Jûsuf's Account

According to Abu Jûsuf (see above, p. 299) Abu Bekr caused Ḫâled to go to the aid of Abu ʿObejda in Syria. This order forces us to believe that Abu ʿObejda's detachment must have been in Syria for some time. Abu Jûsuf does not describe Ḫâled's march to Syria, but merely the incursion into the Taṛleb territory. Ḫâled marched from al-Ḥîra to ʿAjn at-Tamr and thence, guided by the inhabitants of these towns, to the northwest. Abu Jûsuf does not define the route taken by Ḫâled but speaks only of the desert he had to cross to reach the Taṛleb camps. We may judge from this that from ʿAjn at-Tamr he proceeded northward by way of ʿAḳlat Ḥawrân into the territory of the Taṛleb tribe. Of the subsequent events, Abu Jûsuf seems to combine two accounts. According to the first, Ḫâled appears to have proceeded to the north of al-Bišri, whence, after scattering the Taṛleb, he returned over the pass an-Nuḳejb and by way of al-Kawâtel to ʿÂnât; according to the other account, however, he marched by way of ʿÂnât, an-Nuḳejb, and al-Kawâtel to Ḳarḳîsija' and compelled this town to surrender. The first account implies that Ḫâled passed through an-Nuḳejb and al-Kawâtel on his return from north to south; the second that he passed them on his way from south to north.

The location of Ânât is known. It is the modern ʿÂna, on the right bank of the Euphrates. Formerly it was called ʿÂnât (plural of ʿÂna) because properly it consisted of four settlements, two of them lying on the left, one on the right bank, and one on the islands. Later the western settlement on the left bank began to be called Râwa; as the eastern one and the one on the island were abandoned, only ʿÂna on the right bank remained. Al-Kawâtel (or al-Kawâṯel) is an important station, known to the Arabic authors, on the road from al-Ḳebâžeb to ar-Raḥba. It is situated west of the modern town of al-Mijâḏîn and bears the name Čawâṯel (or ʿAḳûla).

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 1203, note 1b, would like to identify al-Kawâtel with the present Karâble on the right bank of the Euphrates above the settlement of ʿÂna. But this is impossible, as it contradicts the assertion of the Arabic geographers. Al-Karâble, as a matter of fact, is not on the right bank, but is an island settled with immigrants from Kerbela, who are called Karâble.

An-Nuḳejb (little pass) is the name of the pass over the Žetab al-Bišri range on the route from the station of al-Ḳṣejbe to ad-Daraklijje. Ḳarḳîsija', the ancient Circesium, lies on the left bank of the Euphrates at the mouth of al-Ḫâbûr. In Ḫâled's time Ḳarḳîsija' was a frontier stronghold of the Byzantine Empire against the Persians and had a large Byzantine garrison. If this town had been captured by Ḫâled, tradition would certainly have perpetuated the event, for it would have been his first encounter with the Rûm (Byzantines) and Sejf could not have failed to mention it. We may, then, exclude from Abu Jûsuf's narrative as unsubstantiated the second account to which we have referred and in which the reference to the capture of Ḳarḳîsija' occurs. As the first account implies that Ḫâled returned from al-Bišri at least as far as ʿÂnât, we may safely assume that

he continued his southward return march to al-Ḥîra and that the expedition against the Taṛleb was quite independent of his subsequent march to Syria.

In sum, our interpretation of this campaign is as follows. On his outward expedition, taking the route via ʿAḳlat Ḥawrân through the desert, Ḫâled reached the camp of the Taṛleb near ar-Reṣâfa; here he turned to the south and on his way back proceeded along the Euphrates. After crossing the al-Bišri ridge through the an-Nuḳejb pass, he encamped at al-Kawâtel, whence his troops pillaged the settlements lying on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite Ḳarḳîsija'. As many of these villages belonged to the citizens of this town, the tradition later arose that he compelled the town also to surrender. Thence, following the Euphrates, he reached the large settlement of ʿÂnât, the inhabitants of which likewise agreed to pay an annual tribute, and from there he returned to al-Ḥîra.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi's and ad-Dînawari's Accounts

According to al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* (Houtsma), Vol. 2, pp. 150 f., Ḫâled by Abu Bekr's order left Chief al-Muṭanna in Irak and with a picked corps set out for Syria. During his march he encountered at ʿAjn at-Tamr the Persian garrison commanded by ʿAḳba ibn Abi Helâl an-Nimari, compelled it to surrender, and had ʿAḳba executed. Then he attacked a troop of the Taṛleb led by al-Hoḍejl ibn ʿOmrân. He dispersed this also and killed the commander. Many of the captured Taṛleb were sent to al-Medîna. Twenty young men were found by his people in a Jewish synagogue. After that he went to al-Anbâr and procured a reliable guide there for his trip through the desert; reaching Tadmur he laid siege to it and on arriving at the Ḥawrân defeated its inhabitants decisively. Ḫâled was said to have remained in the desert and the waterless region for eight days before he joined the Moslem troops in Syria. —

Al-Jaʿḳûbi's report, like that of Abu Jûsuf, presupposes that Ḫâled was sent to help the Moslem troops to gain a victory in Syria. Al-Jaʿḳûbi does not say from what place Ḫâled set out for Syria, but the context points only to al-Ḥîra. From there he marched to ʿAjn at-Tamr.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 949, note 1, states that ʿAjn at-Tamr lay northwest of al-Anbâr; this, however, is incorrect, as this important settlement was and still is situated almost ninety kilometers south of al-Anbâr. Caetani (*loc. cit.*) would also erroneously substitute for al-Anbâr the watering place of Ḳurâḳir. Ignoring the fact that other authorities state that the skirmish where Chief al-Hoḍejl ibn ʿOmrân fell took place at al-Muṣajjaḥ, Caetani assumes that if al-Anbâr were correct Ḫâled would have had to return on his tracks from ʿAjn at-Tamr to al-Anbâr. As such a return seems impossible, Caetani would avoid the difficulty by substituting for al-Anbâr Ḳurâḳir, which not a single Arabic geographer or historian places in the region of the Euphrates.

Caetani also thinks that Ḫâled could hardly have found a guide in the frontier town of al-Anbâr, but al-Jaʿḳûbi does not say distinctly that the guide was actually a native of this place. Al-Anbâr was the starting point of the transport routes leading across the desert, and consequently a large number of guides familiar with the desert roads could surely always have been found there. In commercial centers of this kind it is

natural to find better guides than in the desert itself. If, however, Ḫâled had advanced northwest along the Euphrates, as Caetani, who looks for Ḳurâḳir in that region, imagines, he would not have needed a guide at all.

According to al-Jaʿḳûbi, Ḫâled in going from al-Ḥîra to Syria arrived at ʿAjn at-Tamr and made a raid on the Taṛleb under the chief al-Hoḏejl ibn ʿOmrân. As we know from other sources, al-Hoḏejl camped at al-Muṣajjaḫ. Ḫâled would in this case have had to cover 270 kilometers from al-Ḥîra to al-Muṣajjaḫ (ʿAjn al-Arnab) in a northwesterly direction and then to have turned back southeast 115 kilometers to al-Anbâr. There, having obtained an experienced guide, he would have had to proceed through the wild country to the northwest as far as Tadmur and from there he would have reached the Ḥawrân. For topographical reasons, such a march is most improbable. It is not easy to understand why Ḫâled, going to the aid of the Moslem troops in Syria, should not have gone with his picked warriors by the shortest and easiest route by way of Ḳurâḳir, or why he should have entered a strange, still unconquered territory. Exasperated as the Taṛleb must have been at the slaughter of their kinsmen in ʿAjn at-Tamr and al-Muṣajjaḫ, they would undoubtedly have attacked Ḫâled or at least have blocked his progress during a march from al-Anbâr to Tadmur through almost five hundred kilometers of their territory. When Ḫâled returned to al-Anbâr after al-Hoḏejl had been killed, there to prepare for a march through the desert on Tadmur, the Taṛleb, informed of this plan, would have had sufficient time to assemble and make themselves troublesome to him. All they would have had to do was to poison two watering places in the desert with naphtha, locusts, or dead animals, and Ḫâled could scarcely have saved his corps from dying of thirst. And if he had proceeded along the Euphrates, he would have had to overcome not only the resistance of the numerous large settlements but also the onslaught of the revengeful Taṛleb both in front and behind. I doubt if he could have overcome all these difficulties with his picked, yet small, troop on a march of over eight hundred kilometers.

Under the Turkish rule — which certainly was not any stronger than the Persian or Byzantine of those times — no chief to whom belonged the oases of Dûmat al-Ǧandal and of the depression of Sirḥân would have advanced along the Euphrates to Syria with a troop no stronger than was that of Ḫâled, but would have taken the far easier and securer road by way of Ḳurâḳir (Ḳerâžer). It is only proper to add that while marching to Syria Ḫâled could not have been sufficiently equipped to besiege a frontier fort of such strength as ʿAjn at-Tamr. The like may also be said in regard to al-Anbâr. We may therefore assume that al-Jaʿḳûbi associates events with Ḫâled's march to Syria which of necessity preceded that march. Furthermore, in regard to the march through the desert al-Jaʿḳûbi gives no details. According to one account cited by al-Jaʿḳûbi (*loc. cit.*), Ḫâled remained in the desert and in a waterless region for eight days. From where to where these eight marches should be counted does not appear. In my opinion the eight marches should be connected with the five nights (i. e. six marches) between Ḳurâḳir and Suwa', about which the Moslem tradition has so much to say, and with the two marches from Suwa' to the Merǧ Râheṭ near Damascus in Syria (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 553—573). Judged from this, al-Jaʿḳûbi's

narrative consists of many incoherent fragments which can be explained only with the help of better sources.

Ad-Dînawari, *Aḫbâr* (Guirgass), pp. 117f., records that Ḫâled received from Abu Bekr orders to hasten with his Moslem troops to the assistance of Abu ʿObejda in Syria; in obedience to these orders he marched via al-Anbâr to ʿAjn at-Tamr, laid siege to the town, and killed the Persian garrison there. After that he attacked some Taṛleb and Numejr and finally reached Syria. —

According to this narrative Ḫâled on his march to Syria first made a detour north to al-Anbâr, 170 kilometers from al-Ḥîra, then returned ninety kilometers south to ʿAjn at-Tamr, and from there proceeded northeast to al-Muṣajjaḥ, for the attack on the Taṛleb is undoubtedly connected with al-Muṣajjaḥ. Such a march is so improbable that we learn nothing of value regarding Ḫâled's actual route to Syria from ad-Dînawari. If we compare al-Jaʿḳûbi's and ad-Dînawari's statements, we see that they deal merely with some of the incidents of Ḫâled's warfare in Irak and along the Euphrates before his invasion of Syria.

Al-Belâḏori's Account

Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), pp. 110f., relates that, according to certain unnamed sources, Ḫâled received Abu Bekr's written orders to march to Syria while he was at al-Ḥîra; but that, according to others, he received them while at ʿAjn at-Tamr after the capture of this oasis. He left al-Ḥîra in the second month of Rabîʿ, A. H. 13, according to some, with eight hundred, and according to others with six hundred — or even as few as five hundred — men, and started for ʿAjn at-Tamr, which he forced to surrender. From there he marched to Ṣandawdaʾ, where he was informed that the Taṛleb were gathering under Rabîʿa ibn Buǧejr at al-Muṣajjaḥ and al-Ḥuṣejḍ (or al-Ḥuṣajḍ). He attacked these leaders and scattered their forces. After that he made an onslaught on the camp by the watering place of Ḳurâḳir owned by the Kalb tribe, and passed through a wild country as far as the waters of Suwaʾ, an habitual camping ground of the Kalb and Bahra; there Ḥurḳûṣ ibn an-Noʿmân was killed. Before he entered the desolate waterless region, he issued an order to water the riding camels well, to cut off their lips and to tie up their jaws so as to prevent their chewing their cuds, as otherwise they would have needed much water. Then he had as much water loaded as could possibly be carried, and set out. During the march he had one riding camel after another killed, and he himself and all his warriors drank water from their stomachs. Râfeʿ ibn ʿUmejr of the Ṭajj tribe served as his guide. Reaching Suwaʾ he found a camp there with a merry company in Ḥurḳûṣ' tent, drinking and singing. Other collectors of traditions relate, says al-Belâḏori, that some poet was declaiming a poem at the very moment when Ḫâled attacked the Taṛleb camp, which was under the chief Rabîʿa ibn Buǧejr. —

It is interesting to note that some of al-Belâḏori's informants placed the capture of ʿAjn at-Tamr before the start of Ḫâled's expedition to Syria, but that, according to others, on receiving Abu Bekr's order he went from al-Ḥîra to ʿAjn at-Tamr, which he took; then he marched on Ṣandawdaʾ, defeated the Taṛleb at al-Muṣajjaḥ and al-Ḥuṣejḍ, and passing through the desert reached Ḳurâḳir. It is hard to understand why Ḫâled

should have turned from al-Muṣajjaḥ to al-Ḥuṣejd, which probably lay to the southeast. Even a march from al-Muṣajjaḥ direct to Ḳurâḳir would have involved a great detour, during which for a distance of several hundred kilometers Ḫâled would not have found a spring. If we credit this account, we should also have to admit that he marched almost six hundred kilometers before he began his expedition to Syria in earnest. But this is so improbable that we prefer to agree with the second group of al-Belâḏori's informants and with other authorities; that is, with those who believed that both the capture of ʿAjn at-Tamr and the raid on al-Muṣajjaḥ took place before the start of the expedition to Syria. Nobody except al-Belâḏori mentions a fight with the Kalb at Ḳurâḳir.

The treatment of the camels mentioned by al-Belâḏori has been discussed in the author's *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 570f.

Al-Belâḏori writes that some authorities locate the story of the singer, or poet, in the camp of Ḥurḳûṣ and others in the camp of Rabîʿa ibn Buǧejr. Ḥurḳûṣ was camping at Suwa', but Rabîʿa ibn Buǧejr's camping place was not specified by al-Belâḏori. The story assumes that the singer, or poet, was informed of the advance of the Moslems. This could hardly have been the case at Suwa' where the Moslems could not have been expected, but it might very well have been the case at al-Muṣajjaḥ, al-Ḥuṣejd, or al-Bišr, where the Taṛleb were arming against them. Furthermore, it seems improbable that the Christian Arabs near Suwa' would have feasted with drinking and singing in Holy Week (see *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 561—563), this being the time when the Moslems arrived, according to al-Madâ'ini (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 2108f.).

Al-Wâḳedi's Account

Al-Wâḳedi (al-Belâḏori, *op. cit.*, p. 111) relates that Ḫâled marched from Suwa' via al-Kawâṭel to Ḳarḳîsija', but that there he was met by the lord of Ḳarḳîsija' with an army so powerful that he had to flee to the desert, through which he then proceeded. —

This account by the best representative of the school of al-Medîna is a proof of how little was known in al-Medîna of the various incidents of Ḫâled's campaigns and of the inability of the al-Medîna historians to arrange these events in their correct order in time and place.

Caetani, *Annali* (1905), Vol. 2, p. 1228, who would include the battles at al-Muṣajjaḥ and al-Ḥuṣejd in the Syrian expedition, believes that Ḫâled after leaving Suwa' made a detour as far as Ḳarḳîsija', claiming that the two best sources, al-Wâḳedi and al-Belâḏori, support this view. But Caetani in propounding this theory did not take into consideration the locations of either Suwa' or Ḳarḳîsija'. Suwa' is known to have been situated on the borders of Syria. Therefore, according to Caetani's theory, Ḫâled, although he had been asked to bring help quickly to Syria, did not hasten from Suwa' directly west to Damascus but turned east, marched three hundred kilometers across an inhospitable desert as far as al-Kawâṭel near the Euphrates, then turned northeast to Ḳarḳîsija', and thence escaped to the desert, through which he again proceeded back to Syria. I think we are justified in assuming that al-Wâḳedi's narrative of a march from Suwa' to al-Kawâṭel and Ḳarḳîsija' has nothing to do with the expedition to Syria and is misplaced. Al-Wâḳedi's mention of al-Kawâṭel

and Ḳarḳîsija', none the less, is very important, as it proves that the al-Medîna authorities brought these places into connection with Ḫâled's campaign in Irak and therefore that his raid on the Taṛleb has a historical foundation. The peace treaty with Ḳarḳîsija' mentioned by Abu Jûsuf, *Ḫarâǧ* (Cairo, 1302 A. H), p. 87 (see above, p. 299), is inconceivable, because al-Wâḳedi asserts that Ḫâled saved himself from total defeat only by a flight to the desert. Where he went after this reverse and what direction he took, al-Wâḳedi fails to say. In all probability his return along the Euphrates to al-Ḥîra is indicated by this omission.

A Version of the al-Kûfa School: Sejf ibn ʿOmar's Account

Al-Ḥîra to ʿAjn at-Tamr

A more detailed report of what happened after the fall of al-Ḥîra is given us by the al-Kûfa school, the chief representative of which was Sejf ibn ʿOmar (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2049). According to Sejf, only after the fall of al-Ḥîra did the various landholders begin to subject themselves to Ḫâled. Among the first was Ṣalûba' ibn Nasṭûna of Ḳuss an-Nâṭef (or Ḳusjâṭa'), a settlement on the left bank of the Euphrates. Ḫâled guaranteed him his property in the settlements of Bâniḳija' and Basma' (Bârûsma') on the right bank. Following Ṣalûba"s example, other landholders east and northeast of al-Ḥîra hastened to secure their property from seizure. — According to the tradition preserved to us by Sejf, the agreement between Ḫâled and Ṣalûba' was made in the month of Ṣafar; this surely does not mean the movable month of Ṣafar, but the fixed yearly season of *ṣafar*, the autumn.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 966, note 1, thinks that the location of Ḳusijâṭâ (or Qusiyāṭhā, as transliterated by Caetani) is not known and that this place is not mentioned anywhere else. He therefore ranges it with the numerous other unfamiliar names preserved by Sejf alone. And yet Caetani himself knows and defines the location of this place when he writes elsewhere (*ibid.*, pp. 929f., note 3d) that not far from Bârûsma' lay "Bāqusyaṭhā" where in A. H. 13 Abu ʿObejd defeated the Persians. Ḳusjâṭa' is identical with the "Qusiyāṭhā" of Caetani (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2032) and with the Bâḳusjâṭa' (Bâ [Bêt] Ḳusjâṭa') of aṭ-Ṭabari (*op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2172), a place also known to the Arabic geographers by the name Ḳuss an-Nâṭef. Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, pp. 97f., writes that Ḳuss an-Nâṭef lay not far from al-Kûfa on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite al-Marwaḥa and that between these settlements Abu ʿObejd fought with the Persians in A. H. 13.

After capturing al-Ḥîra, Sejf continues, Ḫâled carried on the fighting for over a year (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2056) in a region the subjugation of which should have been the duty of ʿEjâḍ ibn Ḳanm. But ʿEjâḍ was hard pressed at Dûma, and the Persian troops were garrisoning al-ʿAjn, al-Anbâr, and al-Firâḍ. —

According to the context this Dûma must have been Dûmat al-Ǧandal, just as al-ʿAjn must have been the well-known ʿAjn at-Tamr. ʿAjn at-Tamr and al-Firâḍ lie west, al-Anbâr east of the Euphrates, and all three were most important transport centers. Whoever controlled them as well as the large oasis of Dûmat al-Ǧandal was the real lord of northern Arabia. Now,

if it was Abu Bekr's intention to conquer the whole of Arabia, as Sejf following several authorities claims in four different places, his despatching of ʿEjâḍ ibn Ḳanm to northeastern Arabia was an act of great sagacity. ʿEjâḍ's duty was to make things easier for Ḫâled and thus indirectly to save the Moslems who were advancing in Syria from being surrounded. As ʿEjâḍ was not able to perform this task, which first meant the occupation of the oasis of Dûma, there was nothing for Ḫâled to do but to go to his assistance (*ibid.*, pp. 2057f.). At that time the whole country west of the Euphrates from al-Falâlîǧ and al-Ḥîra to the Persian Gulf was already under Ḫâled's control. His Bedouin allies, commanded by the chief al-Muṯanna, watched the movements of the Persians east of the Euphrates, while Ḫâled set out northwest from al-Ḥîra towards Kerbela.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 1193f., note 1a, claims that, according to the version of the al-Medîna school, Ḫâled's military achievements in Irak were so insignificant that their alleged duration of one year is hardly possible and that the best narrators assert that all his enterprises north of al-Ḥîra happened during his expedition to Syria. — Caetani writes all this because he understands in all the dates the movable months of the later ages, not the fixed yearly seasons of the original narrative. He attemps to get rid of the accumulated difficulties without considering that it would not have been in keeping with Ḫâled's character to make various ventures requiring many men and much time after receiving orders from his well-wisher, Abu Bekr, to hasten to the assistance of the Moslems in Syria.

From Kerbela Sejf tells us that Ḫâled set out against al-Anbâr (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2059f.). In this walled and moated town a Persian garrison commanded by Šîrzâḏ offered a heroic resistance. For a long time Ḫâled had no success. Finally he ordered some old, emaciated camels to be driven to the narrowest part of the moat, killed, and thrown down. The moat thus being filled, the Moslems crossed it quickly and attacked the Persians, who, unable to defend themselves against superior numbers, soon begged for mercy. With the native inhabitants of al-Anbâr and the vicinity a peace treaty was then concluded. —

Al-Anbâr, situated as it is on the northwestern projection of the alluvial plain of Irak, in ancient times controlled an important crossing over the Euphrates. Once in possession of this frontier town, Ḫâled would not have had any reason to fear a Persian surprise attack on al-Ḥîra from the northwest. The inhabitants of al-Anbâr were Arabs who knew how to get along with the Bedouins and therefore left the defense of the town to the Persian garrison in the fort and themselves made a compact with the superior Moslem force.

After capturing al-Anbâr, Sejf continues (*ibid.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2062ff.), Ḫâled set out for ʿAjn at-Tamr, where the Persian garrison was commanded by Mihrân and the Arab auxiliaries of the Namir, Taṛleb, and Ijâd tribes, with their allies, by ʿAḳḳa ibn Abi ʿAḳḳa. Hearing that Ḫâled was approaching, ʿAḳḳa with the Arab auxiliaries occupied the Karḫ road about one day's march (*rawḥa* or *ṛadwa*) or a little more from ʿAjn at-Tamr and there waited for the enemy; but he was surprised, attacked, and captured with many of his companions. The rest dispersed without a fight. On receiving the report of this defeat, Mihrân took refuge with his warriors in the fort of ʿAjn at-Tamr, as did also the fugitive Arabs, thinking that Ḫâled

would not undertake a siege, but, after the manner of the Bedouins, would march away quickly with the loot. Yet when he surrounded them completely they had to surrender unconditionally. All were made prisoners and, with their commander and the Arab auxiliaries under ʿAḳḳa, murdered on the bridge leading to the fort. The victors led away the women and children as their spoils. Studying the gospel in a locked church the Moslems found forty youths, who had been kept there as hostages. These also were made prisoners and distributed among the bravest Moslems. —

Some parts of this account are very instructive. We see that the great oasis in which ʿAjn at-Tamr is situated was no longer the property of the Bekr ibn Wâʾil tribe, but that it was claimed by other tribes, especially by the Taṛleb. The youths held there as hostages were undoubtedly the sons of various chiefs brought to the monastery school in the fort by their relatives partly from good will and partly under compulsion, just as at a later date various chiefs gave their own sons or those of their relatives to the Turkish authorities, who then sent them to Constantinople in order to assure their fidelity and to instil into them respect for the power of the Government. The words used by Sejf describing the distance between the place occupied by ʿAḳḳa and ʿAjn at-Tamr sound very much like expressions now employed by the Bedouins. *Rawḥa* means a day's march, or the distance it is possible to cover before the night rest, *jurâweḥ*. *Ṛadwa* also signifies a whole day plus a considerable period before the next sunrise.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 978, neither translates nor explains the sentence in which these words occur, nor does he locate the Ṭarîḳ (road) al-Karḫ, where ʿAḳḳa lay in wait for Ḫâled. In my opinion the latter was the direct road leading from al-Anbâr to ʿAjn at-Tamr and running between the swamps of al-Ḥabbânja and al-Bḥêra (whence its name, al-Karḫ); the place where ʿAḳḳa lay in wait was probably about fifty-five kilometers north of ʿAjn at-Tamr, where the morasses both on the north and south would not have allowed Ḫâled to swerve from the road.

ʿAjn at-Ṭamr to al-Muṣajjaḫ

With al-Anbâr and ʿAjn at-Tamr in his possession Ḫâled and his party went to the oasis of Dûmat al-Ǧandal in response to ʿEjâḍ's urgent request for help. During his absence in the distant oasis (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2067; see also my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 550—552) the Persians made an attempt to regain al-Anbâr. The tribes of northeastern Arabia, incited to vengeance for the murder of ʿAḳḳa and his men at ʿAjn at-Tamr, offered the Persians their aid. In order to assure themselves of this support, the Persian leaders from Bagdad went to their camps at al-Ḥuṣejd and al-Ḫanâfes. When this was reported by a courier of the Moslem commander in al-Anbâr to al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ, Ḫâled's lieutenant in al-Ḥîra, he at once sent a troop to the vicinity of al-Ḥuṣejd and al-Ḫanâfes to watch every move of the enemy. Subsequently Ḫâled returned from Dûma to al-Ḥîra and sent al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Leǰla ibn Fadaki against the Persians. (Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 980, writes that he gave them orders to regain ʿAjn at-Tamr; yet there is not a word about its having been lost in the whole text.)

Al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Lejla proceeded from al-Ḥîra by way of ʿAjn at-Tamr. No sooner had they left than a messenger came to Ḫâled in haste with the report that the tribes of northeastern Arabia were assembling in the camps of al-Muṣajjaḥ, aṭ-Ṭeni, and al-Bišr preparatory to attacking him from these camps in company with the Persians. Therefore Ḫâled had to take action himself. Collecting his forces he hurried after al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Lejla, overtook them at ʿAjn at-Tamr, and from there sent the first to al-Ḥuṣejd and the second to al-Ḫanâfes. Al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ defeated the enemy at al-Ḥuṣejd so thoroughly that only a few escaped to al-Ḫanâfes, whence they fled, together with the warriors of that place, to al-Muṣajjaḥ, thus getting out of Abu Lejla's reach. —

The capture of al-Anbâr was intolerable both to the Persians and the tribes of northeastern Arabia, because it gave the Moslems control over the route between Irak and the middle Euphrates. Besides that, the northeastern tribes wished to revenge their kinsmen slain at ʿAjn at-Tamr. Very likely they conferred with the Persians about common action against the Moslems. Sejf calls these tribes Mesopotamian, a term which as used by the Arabic geographers does not mean solely the tribes of Mesopotamia proper but also those camping in the eastern half of northern Arabia adjoining Mesopotamia. All three mustering places of these tribes, al-Muṣajjaḥ, aṭ-Ṭeni, and al-Bišr, lay to the west of the Euphrates and in the territory of the Taṛleb. The Persians made a detour to al-Ḥuṣejd and al-Ḫanâfes, where the tribes were to join them. At first they had intended merely to recapture al-Anbâr, which would not have caused them much difficulty, as the Moslem garrison could not depend on the native inhabitants. But the alliance with the tribes furnished them with an opportunity of inflicting on the Moslems a still greater blow. This we see from the selection of the assembly places, to the west and not to the east of the Euphrates, as well as from the circumstance that Ḫâled on leaving al-Ḥîra with all his forces did not march direct to al-Anbâr but to ʿAjn at-Tamr, making this oasis the base for his actions. Al-Ḥuṣejd I locate nearer ʿAjn at-Tamr than al-Ḫanâfes, for al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ reached it before Abu Lejla reached al-Ḫanâfes, although both left ʿAjn at-Tamr at the same time and the Arabs from the camp at al-Ḥuṣejd sought refuge at the latter place. If the defeat had taken place on the left bank of the Euphrates, the tribes would not have fled to the right bank to al-Ḫanâfes and from there to al-Muṣajjaḥ.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 280, like his informant, Naṣr, places al-Ḥuṣejd on the right bank, saying that it is a valley between al-Kûfa and Syria and that there in A. H. 13 Ḳaʿḳâʿ utterly defeated the Persians and the Taṛleb and Rabîʿa tribes.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 981, note 2a, writes that Jâḳût, "2, 10 and ff." (correctly, Vol. 2, p. 280, lines 10 ff.), asserts that the battle was fought in A. H. 13, thus after Ḫâled's departure to Syria and with the assistance of Chief al-Muṯanna ibn Ḥâreṯa only. Jâḳût mentions only al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ ibn ʿAmr and not al-Muṯanna. The year 12 written in Arabic might easily have been misrendered 13 by Jâḳût.

Sejf goes on to write that, on learning of the enemy's defeat at al-Ḥuṣejd and of the flight of the al-Ḫanâfes detachment to al-Muṣajjaḥ, Ḫâled ordered the commanders al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Lejla (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2069 f.) to join him at a certain hour of a certain night near

al-Muṣajjaḥ between Ḥawrân and al-Ḳalt. Leaving ʿAjn at-Tamr with the rest of his troops mounted on horses and camels, he, too, hurried by way of al-Ǧenâb, Baradân, and al-Ḥeni to al-Muṣajjaḥ, was joined at the appointed hour by the other detachment, surrounded the camp of their sleeping enemies on three sides, attacked, and so completely defeated them that only the chief al-Hodejl with a small troop escaped. —

This report shows that Sejf's informants were well acquainted with all the circumstances as well as with the topography of that region. As long as the enemy occupied al-Ḥuṣejd and al-Ḫanâfes, Ḫâled could not leave ʿAjn at-Tamr, as in that case his communications with al-Ḥîra might easily have been interrupted. For he was no longer waging war in the territory of the Bekr ibn Wâʾil tribe, who were allied with him against the Persians, but in the territory of supporters of the Persians, the Taṛleb and Rabîʿa, who were just then assembling at several points in order, with the help of the Persians, to drive him out of their domains. Yet to assemble in this manner the Bedouins as a rule need much time. The several clans often camp many days' march from each other, especially in the rainy season, and their warriors, even when the report reaches them, cannot always leave their herds immediately and hasten to the common camping ground. The safety of their families and their flocks must first be provided for. They have to find camping places near copious wells and in the midst of good pasturage and such as are also easily defended. Before they can find all this and bring their families and cattle there, several weeks sometimes elapse. Only after all these arrangements are completed can the warriors proceed to the appointed assembling ground, where they deliberate on all the information their spies bring about the new movements of the enemy.

In al-Muṣajjaḥ it must have been necessary to consider many matters, because the fugitives from al-Ḥuṣejd and al-Ḫanâfes could not have promoted harmony. But Ḫâled, true to his aggressive tactics, surprised the Arabs before they could come to a decision. Having rid himself of the enemy on his flank at al-Ḥuṣejd and al-Ḫanâfes, he could advance boldly against the northeastern tribes and quench their ardor for combat. He knew well that if he could surprise and crush them in their camps all northern Arabia would submit to the Moslems. And his undertaking was bound to succeed if he started out the moment the message was received about the defeat at al-Ḥuṣejd and the flight from al-Ḫanâfes. If the messenger reached Ḫâled in the morning at ʿAjn at-Tamr, the detachment directed against al-Ḫanâfes could receive the new marching order that night and proceed on al-Muṣajjaḥ, while Ḫâled, his corps being all in readiness, could set out from ʿAjn at-Tamr the next forenoon. His objective, al-Muṣajjaḥ, lay between Ḥawrân and al-Ḳalt. Both these places still exist.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 982f., note 1, claims that this Ḥawrân must be another mistake of Sejf or of his transcribers, or else that Sejf refers to fictitious names; he believes that this also applies to al-Ḳalt. In note 2d, he states that "al-Bekri and al-Hamdâni, two of our oldest and best geographical sources on Arabia, know absolutely nothing of these places which, according to Sejf, are situated in as-Samâwa." Therefore they are classed by Caetani with the numerous geographical places mentioned by Sejf alone, a fact which, to Caetani, makes their existence more than

doubtful. Yet Sejf's Ḥawrân was known to the geographer Ptolemy as Auranitis (*Geography*, V, 20:3; see above, p. 25); it is a long valley terminating at the Euphrates about 160 kilometers northwest of ʿAjn at-Tamr. Al-Ḳalt, Baradân, and al-Ḥeni also lie in the region where Sejf locates them. It is therefore not permissible to doubt their existence and accuse Sejf of fabrication. That al-Hamdâni, to whom Caetani refers, knew very little about north Arabian topography is universally known and the limited acquaintance of al-Bekri with the same region is shown in a great number of instances. For al-Ḳalt I look to the well of Abu Žalta about seventy-five kilometers south-southeast of the ʿAḳlat Ḥawrân. The camping ground of al-Muṣajjaḥ, which is to be sought somewhere between them, must undoubtedly have also had a good watering place. Its name I have not found, but its location as required by the context is almost certain, as the names of the places passed by Ḫâled confirm us in the position to which we assign it. From ʿAjn at-Tamr Ḫâled rode by way of al-Ǧenâb, Baradân, and al-Ḥeni to al-Muṣajjaḥ. Al-Ǧenâb I locate at the vigorous spring of al-ʿAṣîbijje, 27 kilometers north-northwest of ʿAjn at-Tamr. Baradân is identical with the large watering place of Bradân, 10 kilometers farther northwest, while al-Ḥeni (al-Ḥnej) is 60 kilometers from al-Baradân, also to the northwest. These locations show clearly the direction of Ḫâled's march. Sejf's al-Ǧenâb cannot be taken for the one placed by Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 119f., in the Kalb territory, as is done by Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 983, note 3a, for all the places named together with this al-Ǧenâb in the verses quoted by Jâḳût are situated in the western half of northern Arabia. Here, east of the Moab territory and east of al-Mšatta, a spring camping ground of al-Ǧenâb is known, which for a time was the property of the Kalb tribe, whose home never was in the vicinity of ʿAjn at-Tamr.

According to the narrative of a poet and eyewitness quoted by aṭ-Ṭabari (*op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2114), after his arrival at Suwa' Ḫâled attacked the watering place of al-Muṣajjaḥ, which belonged to the Baḥra' clan in al-Ḳaṣwâni, surprising the al-Muṣajjaḥ camp early in the morning, when the Arabs were still drinking and singing. —

Although quoting an eyewitness, this record contains much which it is impossible to place after Ḫâled's arrival at Suwa'. That Ḫâled attacked the camp of the Baḥra' after arriving at Suwa' is attested by nearly all narrators of these events. According to some a singer lost his life in the *mêlée*; according to others a singer named Ḥurḳûṣ fell either at al-Bišr or al-Muṣajjaḥ. Al-Muṣajjaḥ according to this report is a watering place lying in al-Ḳaṣwâni. Sejf's informants, however, as we have seen, locate al-Muṣajjaḥ not near Suwa' but between the *šeʿîb* of Abu Žalta (al-Ḳalt) and the Ḥawrân valley. The region bordering the Ḥawrân valley on the south is called al-Ḳâṣi. This seems to correspond to al-Ḳaṣwâni, thus furnishing a new argument for the correctness of Sejf's topographical statements. Thus al-Muṣajjaḥ might be the watering place ʿAjn al-Arnab of today. This location, furthermore, is supported by the circumstance that this vicinity used to be the camping ground of the Namir tribe, to which some records (Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* [Cairo, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 20, pp. 127f. and 134) ascribe the ownership of the territory northwest of ʿAjn at-Tamr.

To al-Bišr, and Return to al-Ḥîra

Sejf tells us (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2072f.) that from al-Muṣajjaḫ Ḫâled marched farther northwest to surprise the Taṛleb also at their other assembling grounds. Al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Lejla marched quickly ahead of him with orders to conceal themselves at a given time near the enemy and then to attack him simultaneously from three sides. Their first objectives were aṭ-Ṯeni and al-Bišr. Ḫâled proceeded from al-Muṣajjaḫ by way of Ḥawrân, "ar-Ranḳ," and al-Ḥamaʾ, and finally reached the territory of al-Bišr, where the two assembling grounds of aṭ-Ṯeni and az-Zumejl were situated. When joined on this side of aṭ-Ṯeni by al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Lejla, he attacked the unsuspecting enemy at night and killed all the warriors, so that no one could carry the news of the defeat to az-Zumejl. This enabled him to surprise and defeat the Taṛleb assembled in the last-named camp. Afterwards he departed from al-Bišr with the intention of falling upon the camp at ar-Ruḍâb, but his advance was observed and the Taṛleb waiting there saved themselves by a timely flight. This last exploit of Ḫâled's filled all the Bedouins in northeastern Arabia with such terror that they dispersed, partly to Syria and partly to the east of the Euphrates. —

According to this part of the narrative Ḫâled marched from al-Muṣajjaḫ to al-Bišr. Al-Bišr (or, as it is called today, al-Bišri) is the easternmost extremity, about one hundred kilometers long, of the mountain chain stretching under various names from the Antilebanon northeast and ending at the Euphrates.

Caetani, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 1229, locates al-Bišr to the left of the Euphrates north of Palmyra, although all writers since the second millennium before Christ have known of al-Bišr as lying to the right of the river. Palmyra was far to the southwest of al-Bišr.

Even today the Ẓana Bišr tribes of the ʿAneze group, who wander between an-Neǧef and Aleppo, regard the al-Bišri ridge as a center for their camps, as they always find water there and can easily defend themselves even against a superior enemy. From this region Ḫâled was threatened with danger, which he desired to ward off quickly. The Taṛleb collected at aṭ-Ṯeni and az-Zumejl. Aṭ-Ṯeni lies at the southern slope of the al-Bišri ridge. It is a rather low, isolated hill, visible from afar and now called Ǧubejlat aṭ-Ṯni or al-Ǧubejla (The Little Hill) for short. From its summit there is a splendid view far to the east, south, and west, and southeast of it are several watering places. The neighboring country makes a fine camping ground. The same may be said of the rise of az-Zmejli (az-Zumejl of Sejf) in the flat country north of al-Bišri.

To reach these two camping grounds Ḫâled now hastened with all possible speed. His ordering the chiefs al-Ḳaʿḳâʿ and Abu Lejla to march ahead of him was very sensible, as in that way the lack of pasturage was not so severely felt and the crowding at the watering places was more easily avoided. Ḫâled himself took the road leading from al-Muṣajjaḫ northwest. The camping ground of Ḥawrân mentioned by Sejf is probably identical with the watering place ʿAḳlat Ḥawrân in Wâdi Ḥawrân. The next camping ground, "ar-Ranḳ," I identify with ar-Raṭḳa. In Arabic the latter word could easily be misspelled as "ar-Ranḳ." Though the name ar-Ranḳ is unknown north of ʿAḳlat Ḥawrân, ar-Raṭḳa is a famous

watering place about 140 kilometers northwest of ʿAḳlat Ḥawrân. The station following, Ḥama', I do not know.

In spite of the wide view from the summits of the aṭ-Ṭni hill, the coming of Ḫâled's force was not observed by the Taṛleb sentries posted there. Probably he passed through the lowlands between the various heights of the neighborhood and approached the camp at night. The same thing happened near az-Zmejli, where the Bedouins believed they were camping in full security, knowing that their countrymen were guarding the roads leading through the ridge from south to north. According to Sejf the camping ground of ar-Ruḍâb was beyond the limits of al-Bišri; judging from the context it should be looked for north of az-Zmejli.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 789, gives the name ar-Ruḍâb to a place where Caliph Hišâm later built his residence, ar-Reṣâfa. But as ar-Reṣâfa was built long before either Hišâm's or Ḫâled's time, the only inference from Jâḳût's statement would be that his informants placed ar-Ruḍâb in the near vicinity of ar-Reṣâfa. Were this the case, we could readily understand how the Taṛleb, camping at ar-Ruḍâb, were able to escape. Learning in time of the raid at az-Zmejli, they fled with their wives, children, and flocks to the neighboring town of ar-Reṣâfa, the mighty white walls of which warned off Ḫâled from afar. This place he could easily leave alone, as the task he had set for himself had been accomplished to his full satisfaction. The eastern half of northern Arabia trembled before the Moslems.

After the defeat of the Taṛleb, as sudden as complete, Sejf (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2074f.) goes on to relate that Ḫâled turned to al-Firâḍ, a frontier town between Syria, Irak, and Mesopotamia. — The whole context justifies the belief that from ar-Ruḍâb Ḫâled did not go farther north or northwest, but that he returned southeast. The Taṛleb mustering places were cleared, yet not far off were Byzantine strongholds, and it surely was not Ḫâled's intention to fight the Byzantines too. Therefore he turned back. On his march to al-Bišri he followed the transport road through the desert far from the Euphrates; returning, he probably came near the great river to supply himself from the settlements in that region. The report we have cited names the settlement of al-Firâḍ. This word is the plural of al-Furḍa, the name of a station, known to all the Arabic geographers, on the right bank of the Euphrates, whence a road branched off to al-Bišri. It is identical with the present aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins.

In the meantime, opposite al-Firâḍ on the left bank of the Euphrates, the Byzantine and Persian border garrisons, as well as Bedouins of the various tribes, were assembling. Below al-Firâḍ they crossed over to the right bank and attacked Ḫâled, but (*ibid.*) suffered a total defeat. A hundred thousand men are supposed to have fallen. Ḫâled remained at al-Firâḍ ten days longer and from this place sent his warriors back to al-Ḥîra. — Numbers are almost always exaggerated, but the fight itself may have been authentic. Among Ḫâled's prisoners were both Bedouins and Persians, Byzantine and Persian subjects. The Taṛleb, who had fled from al-Bišri to the left bank, had undoubtedly informed the Byzantine and Persian guards there of what had happened, and the latter, reinforced by the Bedouins camping on the left bank, made an effort to bar the road by which the Moslems were returning and to free the captives.

Crossing the Euphrates southeast of al-Firâḍ they attacked the Moslems, only to be repulsed.

According to aṭ-Ṭabari (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 2075 f.), who fails to give his source, Ḫâled, during his return from al-Firâḍ secretly left his corps, made a rapid trip to Mecca passing through al-ʿAnbari, Miṭḳab, and Ḏât ʿErḳ, and arrived back at al-Ḥîra almost simultaneously with his troops. —

The distance from Mecca to al-Firâḍ in a straight line is more than 800 kilometers and to al-Ḥîra from Mecca over 700, so that Ḫâled would have required for the ride alone at least twenty-five days, even if he had several good camels; for he could not have strained his physical powers indefinitely. On the other hand, if his warriors had kept close to the Euphrates, resting with their animals by the way and had been obliged to get their sustenance in the settlements they passed by, they could not have covered the distance from al-Firâḍ to al-Ḥîra in thirty days. Therefore it is not altogether impossible that Ḫâled may have returned from Mecca to al-Ḥîra at the same time as his warriors. Yet I cannot understand why Ḫâled should have left his army and traveled incognito to Mecca. The places he had to pass on this trip, al-ʿAnbari, Miṭḳab, and Ḏât ʿErḳ, can, of course, be identified in northern Arabia, but why Ḫâled when he came so close to al-Medîna should not have visited his well-wisher, Abu Bekr, to pride himself a little upon his successes is indeed hard to explain.

APPENDIX VIII

BARBALISSUS, BÂLIS, THE THAPSACUS OF XENOPHON, AND OBBANES

Barbalissus and Bâlis

Bâlis is the ancient Barbalissus, Bêt Balaš, or, simply, Balaš.

According to Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 15:17, the town of Barbalissus was situated in Chalybonitis on the Euphrates. On the *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1888), Segm. 10, Barbalisso figures as a station on the Roman Road leading along the right bank of the Euphrates.

After 293 A. D. Barbalissus belonged to the province of Augusta Euphratensis; it was garrisoned by the *Equites Dalmatae Illyriciani* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 25).

At the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century of our era the *dux* Antiochus gave orders that Bacchus, the second officer in command of the foreign Palatine Guard, should be tortured to death; he refused to permit his body to be buried. This happened in the fort of Barbarissus, lying in the eparchy of Augusta Euphratensis on the frontier near the Saracens. But in the evening some hermit brothers, who were dwelling in caves near by, came and buried the body in one of their caves. Shortly after this they took Bacchus from the cave and reinterred him beside St. Sergius at ar-Reṣâfa (Bolland, *Acta sanctorum, Oct.*, Vol. 3, [1770], pp. 835 f.; *Passio antiquior* [*Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. 14], pp, 384 f.).

The Arabic list of signatures of the Church Council at Nicaea in the year 325 includes that of the Bishop Anṭûnijûs al-Barbalis. — Gelzer, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina* (1898), p. 171, would interpret al-Barbalis as Hierapolis, but the same list (*ibid.*, pp. 147, 165) also includes the signature of a Bishop Philoxenus of Menbiğ, which is identical with Hierapolis. There is no mention of Bishop Antonius of Barbalissus in the other texts.

During the dissensions between Alexander, the metropolitan of Hierapolis, and John, the patriarch of Antioch after the Council of Ephesus in 431, Bishop Acilinus Barbalissi was expelled from the fort by the Patriarch John (Mansi, *Concilia* [1759—1798], Vol. 5, col. 966) and in his place one Marinianus was unlawfully installed and consecrated as bishop (*ibid.*, cols. 908, 913).

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 158, writes that Barbalissus is a fortified settlement.

Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae* (Geyer), p. 150, states that from Quiro to Barbarisso, where St. Sergius and Bacco were killed, the distance is sixty miles. From Barbarisso as far as Eneapoli . . . in Calonico is eighty miles. From Calonico to Constantina, sixty miles. — Eneapoli is probably corrupted from Leontopoli, as Callinicus was sometimes called. The distance is not eighty but approximately only seventy miles (98 kilometers).

In the spring of 540 Chosroes I marched via Zenobia (Ḥalebijje) and Sura (Sûrija) on the town of Hierapolis (Menbiğ), which ransomed itself. Then he advanced against Beroea and Antioch; these he took and demolished. Leaving Antioch, he attacked the harbor of Seleucia, Apamea, and Chalcis, this town being 84 stades from Beroea. In order to bring his loot safely to Persia, Chosroes did not return by the road by which he had come, along the right bank of the Euphrates, but at the settlement of Obbanes, forty stades from the fort of Barbalissus, he had a boat bridge thrown across the river; there he passed over to the left bank and reached Edessa by way of the little town of Batna (Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 5—12). — If Chosroes could set out from Obbanes to Mesopotamia with so many thousand prisoners and so much plunder, there must have been a good road from that place. The ford of Obbanes is to be sought on the fields of al-Isḥâḳijje by the Samûma ruins.

Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, p. 348, relates that in the ninth year of the Emperor Justinian the commander Adharmôn, under the orders of Chosroes, marched out and pillaged Bêt Balaš, Ḳasrin (Ḳâṣerîn), Bêt Dama, the environs of the town of Gabbul, and Ḳennêšrin, and came back with many prisoners (Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, Vol. 3, p. 399).

In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Justinian the Persians pillaged Callinicus and Bêt Balaš and took away the relics of the martyr Bacchus as well as the gold ornaments from the sarcophagus of St. Sergius (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 296).

Justinian paid much attention to all the towns and fortified settlements on the borders of the province of Euphratensis, such as Barbalissus, Neocaesarea, Gabulon (Gabula), etc. (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 9:10).

Antonine of Piacenza, *Itinerarium* (Geyer), p. 191, says that he journeyed from Carran (Carrhae), the birthplace of Abraham, to the town of Barbarisso, where rested St. Bacchus, the brother of St. Sergius. — This record, intended as a guide for pilgrims, likewise proves that a

transport road led from Carrhae (Ḥarrân) to Barbalissus and that the ford across the Euphrates was in the neighborhood of the Bâlis of today.

In the plain between Bâlis and ar-Raḳḳa lay the famous monastery of Mar Ḥananja (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 379). — Mar Ḥananja may be identical with the Medînt al-Fâr ruin.

When the Moslems arrived in Syria, the settlements of Bâlis and Ḳâṣerîn belonged to two noble Byzantines. Many inhabitants emigrated to Byzantine territory east of the Euphrates, and the rest made terms with the leader of the Moslems, Abu ʿObejda, agreeing to pay the *ǧizja* head tax levied upon Christians and Jews. Abu ʿObejda made Bâlis his residence and settled the neighborhood partly with his soldiers, partly with Arabs from Syria, who had accepted Islam, and finally with nomads of the Ḳejs tribe. The land around Bâlis is very fertile but was not sufficiently irrigated. Therefore the inhabitants of the settlements of Bâlis, Buwejlis, Ḳâṣerîn, ʿÂbedîn, and Ṣiffîn, as well as of those situated above Bâlis, begged Maslama, the son of the Caliph ʿAbdalmalek, who happened to camp there during his march against the Byzantines, to have an irrigation canal dug for them from the Euphrates. This Maslama did, and after that time Bâlis with all the surrounding villages remained the property of him and his descendants, until they were driven out by the Abbassides (al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], pp. 150f.; Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Maḥreʾ, *Chronicle* [Chabot], pp. 26f.). —

Al-Belâḏori mentions settlements above Bâlis without naming them; those named as lying below Bâlis have to be looked for between this settlement and Ṣiffîn. Buwejlis may be recognized in the ruin mound at the eastern end of the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ḫarûm; Ḳâṣerîn in the al-Ḥwêra ruins east of the *ḳṣejr* of ad-Dibsi, and ʿÂbedîn in the ruin mound on the right side of an old irrigation canal still farther east. Ṣiffîn then, according to this account, must have been identical with the present Abu Hrêra, as the canal irrigating Bâlis and the other villages could have extended only so far. This canal undoubtedly branched off from the Euphrates below the settlement of aṭ-Ṭannûze at the point where the river swerves from a southerly to an easterly direction. The remains of such an old canal, without question the Nahr Maslama, are visible from the al-Mellâḥ fields as far as Abu Hrêra. Between the end of the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ḫarûm and the ad-Dibsi ruin as well as near Abu Hrêra the Euphrates has changed its course and broken into this canal. It is not certain if Maslama had a new canal dug; more probably he had an ancient one cleaned. This may also be indicated by the fact that later Arabic authors make no mention whatever of Maslama's canal. It therefore must again have become filled in.

Ḳâṣerîn is brought into connection with Ṣiffîn also by Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 348, and by Theophanes, *Chronographia* (De Boor), pp. 346f., who say that in 657 Moawiyah encamped beyond Barbalissus near Kaisarion (Caesarium) and the Arabs under ʿAli at Sapphin. — Kaisarion is identical with our Ḳâṣerîn, Sapphin with Ṣiffîn.

The poet ʿAmr mentions (*Muʿallaḳât* [Nöldeke], p. 24) Ḳâṣerîn, where he drank good wine.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 16, writes that Ḳâṣerîn was a settlement not far from Bâlis on the Euphrates.

Maslama's descendants lived at Bâlis in the fort he built there. In 750 Bâlis was raided by 150 cavalrymen of the Abbasside army, who with

their commander maltreated Maslama's descendants and their wives. Their adherents finally came to the rescue and killed all the tormentors (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 52).

In 820 the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre' conferred with several bishops in the fort of Bêt Balaš (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 504).

In 821 Naṣr ibn Šabaṭ, the leader of the opponents of the increasing Persian influence, bought the fort of Bêt Balaš, garrisoned it with his partisans, and then advanced to the Hani canal which flows around Callinicus (*ibid.*, p. 505).

ʿAbdallâh, son of Ṭâher, defeated Naṣr's followers and in 825 took the fort of Bêt Balaš, inhabited by many Christians, who suffered much during the siege (*ibid.*, p. 510).

In 859 an earthquake caused much damage at Bâlis, ar-Raḳḳa, and some other towns (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 1440).

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 62, describes Bâlis as a little town on the right bank of the Euphrates on the borders of Syria and Irak. The Syrians used to go there through a country which was both inhabited and cultivated, and at Bâlis crossed the Euphrates. — This shows that from the Bâlis ford an important transport road led into the inner regions of Mesopotamia.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 119, mentions that the walled town of Bâlis suffered much after the death of Sejfaddowle (944—967 A. D.), the powerful lord of the Aleppo district. The consequence was that the commercial caravans ceased to come there and only wheat and barley were exported. Between the town and the Euphrates were large gardens.

In March, 1060, Bâlis was governed by ʿAṭijje, brother of the administrator of the Aleppo district (Ibn Taṛri Birdi, *Nuǧûm* [Popper], Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 227).

Sibṭ ibn al-Ǧawzi, *Mir'ât* (De Meynard), p. 554, mentions (referring to the year 1115) that the road leading from Aleppo to ar-Raḳḳa crossed the Euphrates at Bâlis, whereas the road from ar-Raḳḳa to Damascus crossed it at ar-Ramr (this word being wrongly transcribed in the French translation as "az-Zowr").

In 1117 the Crusaders allied with the Aleppans besieged the fort of Bâlis; but in vain, as they had to retire before reinforcements approaching from Mardin (Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Meynard], p. 613).

In 1182—1183, in the war for Nûraddîn's inheritance, the fort of Bâlis was demolished, and in 1200—1201, during the quarrel between the heirs of Saladin, the settlement of Bâlis was plundered (Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rîḫ* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d'or. lat.*, Vol. 4, pp. 162, 223).

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 477f., states that the settlement of Bâlis lay originally on the Euphrates proper on the right bank, but that the river gradually shifted southeast so that already by his time (the beginning of the thirteenth century) it was four miles distant.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il (*Marâṣid* [Juynboll], Vol. 1, p. 122) corrects Jâḳût and states that it was not very far from Bâlis to the Euphrates and that Bâlis was situated below Ṣiffîn. —

Jâḳût's statement does not agree with al-Belâḏori's account nor with the facts. Not far to the east of the settlement of Bâlis an old canal is visible, but nowhere is there a trace of an old Euphrates river bed. From

the ruins of Bâlis to the Euphrates is quite two kilometers, and Bâlis lies not below but above Ṣiffîn.

In 1240 the Khorasmians crossed the Euphrates by the boat bridge at ar-Raḳḳa, plundered Bâlis, and killed all its inhabitants who had not fled either to Aleppo or Menbiǧ. A second time they crossed the Euphrates by the same bridge in the beginning of 1241 and reached al-Fâja', Dejr Ḥâfer, Ǧabbûl, and as far as Tell ʿAran. On their return they pillaged Salamijja and ar-Reṣâfa, where they were defeated by the Arabs under ʿAlî ibn Ḥadîṯa, and their loot was taken away from them. Fleeing towards the Euphrates, they encamped on February 19 opposite ar-Raḳḳa and west and north of Bâlîl. The Aleppan troops hastened by way of Ṣiffîn to prevent their crossing the river but came one hour too late. The Khorasmians entrenched themselves at Bustân al-Bâlîl behind a rampart and a ditch and repulsed all the attacks of the Aleppans until sunset. One hour after sunset the Aleppan troops marched back to Ṣiffîn, leaving behind only a few companies; these the Khorasmians killed and then crossed to ar-Raḳḳa (Kemâladdîn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 3; al-Maḳrîzi, *Sulûk* [Blochet's transl.], pp. 468f.). Dejr Ḥâfer, Ǧabbûl, and Tell ʿAran are settlements west-northwest of Bâlis.

In 1257 the *maphrian* (Metropolitan) Ṣalîba of Tekrît journeyed by way of Balaš to Aleppo (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* [Abbeloos and Lamy], Vol. 1, col. 723).

In 1260 the Mongols got possession of the fort of Balaš, killed all its inhabitants, and left their own garrison there (idem, *Chron. syriacum* [Bedjan], p. 532).

Al-Ḳazwîni, *ʿAǧâ'ib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 203, copies Jâḳût and states that the small settlement of Bâlis lies on the west bank of the Euphrates, which is steadily moving farther east, so that it is now four miles distant from Bâlis.

Ad-Dimišḳi, *Nuḫba* (Mehren), p. 205, describes Bâlis as already deserted and says that it is an old town by the Euphrates not far from Ṣiffîn and ar-Ruṣâfa, the latter built by Hišâm ibn ʿAbdalmalik among the ruins of ancient Greek structures.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 593, who uses old sources, states that the counties of Bâlis and ar-Reṣâfa belong to the district of Ḳinnesrîn, the capital of which is Aleppo, and that, like Bâlis, Ḳalʿat Ǧaʿbar also is inhabited by Turkomans.

Evlija' Čelebi, *Ta'rîḫ* (Von Hammer's transl.), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 94, says that Bâlis is a sanjak of the Aleppo district and that it pays annually 20,000 pieces of money.

The Thapsacus of Xenophon

North of Bâlis I locate the ancient ford of Tifsaḥ (Thapsacus).

In 1 Kings, 5: 4, we read that Solomon ruled all the country on the other side of the river (Euphrates) from Tifsaḥ as far as Gaza.

A passage in 2 Chronicles, 8: 4, states that Solomon also fortified Tadmur in the desert. Even the town of Reṣef, now ar-Reṣâfa, is mentioned in connection with Solomon, which makes it evident that, according to the Jewish tradition, he controlled important transport roads. Of Tadmur we have, so far, no older records; but that this oasis was of great

importance as early as the reign of the Achaemenids cannot be denied. In the Orient the records of the building activity of early rulers are of much importance as historical sources.

Xenophon (*Anabasis*, I, 4: 11) crossed the Euphrates by the ford of Thapsacus in the spring of 401 B.C. with the army of Cyrus the Younger (see above, p. 214).

Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 7, says the same thing of Alexander the Great, who at the end of June, 331 B.C., found at Thapsacus two boat bridges.

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 1: 11, records that according to Aristobulus Alexander had boats built in Phoenicia and on the island of Cyprus, loaded them in sections, and brought them in a seven days' march to Thapsacus, where the sections were put together and the boats sailed down to Babylon (Arrian, *op. cit.*, VII, 19; Plutarch, *Alexander* [Sintenis], p. 354).

According to the same Aristobulus (Strabo, *op. cit.*, XVI, 3: 3) the people of Gerrha carried their wares on light vessels to Babylon and from there on the Euphrates as far as Thapsacus, whence they were distributed throughout the country.

Cassius Dio, *Historiae*, XL, 17, writes that Crassus (in 53 B.C.) crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, this place being thus called since the expedition of Alexander, who forded the river there.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXIV, 150, mentions an iron chain by the Euphrates in a town called Zeugma used by Alexander the Great in fastening the bridge there. —

Neither the Zeugma of Cassius Dio nor that of Pliny is identical with the former Thapsacus, but with the later ford of Zeugma, where the Euphrates was crossed in the Seleucid period. The region around this Zeugma was full of hillocks (see Cassius Dio, *op. cit.*, XLIX, 19).

Pliny, *op. cit.*, V, 87, names in Syria the towns of Europus and the former Thapsacus, in his time called Amphipolis; also the Scenitan Arabs. The Euphrates reaches Sura where it turns to the east and leaves the Palmyrene deserts of Syria, which extend as far as Petra and the territories of Arabia Felix. —

These statements of Pliny, like so many others, are evidence of the carelessness with which he arranged his quotations. According to Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), pp. 90, 711, Amphipolis lay by the town of Oropus, the original name of which was Telmessus (Carchemish), while Amphipolis was called Turmeda by the Syrians. Oropus they called Aghripus, later changed into the Arabic Ğerâbîs.

Stephen of Byzantium, *op. cit.*, p. 307, records Thapsacus as a Syrian town by the Euphrates, for which statement Theopompus was his source.

On Thapsacus see also above, pp. 217—221.

Obbanes and Samûma

Not far from Thapsacus Stephen of Byzantium places the town of Aenus (*ibid.*, p. 52). — With "Ainos" (Aenus) I compare the name of the settlement of Obbanes, where, in 540, the Persians crossed the Euphrates (Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 12: 4). *ʿObbâ* in Syriac signifies a bay, a bend of a river or arm of the sea, or a depression in a plain, just as does the Arabic *ʿobb*. Therefore we may divide the name Obbanes into ʿObb and Anes. This latter word closely resembles "Ainos" and might

easily arise from it either through a mistake in hearing it pronounced or through misspelling. The settlement was called "Ainos"; the neighboring bay (*ʿobb*) where the ford or crossing was situated was probably called after the settlement ʿObb Aines, and in that manner the settlement itself may later have been so designated.

The ford of Obbanes lay forty stades, or about six kilometers, above Barbalissus (Bâlis). If our opinion in regard to the identity of Obbanes and Aenus is correct, we must look for Thapsacus in the neighborhood of Aenus, hence near Barbalissus. In this we are helped by Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 4: 10f., who immediately after mentioning the manor of Belesis, the Syrian satrap, speaks of Thapsacus. The manor certainly did not stand isolated and it, together with the settlement — not the satrap who lived there — was probably called Belesis. This name is identical with Balisos, Balaš, and Bâlis, for the syllable *bar* in Barbalissus only stands for son (*eben*). Of course, Xenophon locates the manor of Belesis on the river Dardas, not on the Euphrates, but that is merely one of his numerous mistakes (see above, p. 264). It was the easier to make as not even our Belesis (Bâlis) was situated directly on the Euphrates, but on a canal issuing from it.

To attain a particular end, the same means and often also the same roads as in olden times are still used in the Orient. In 1906 the Turkish Government wished to strengthen its political influence in Babylonia and on the northwest shore of the Persian Gulf. The military equipment consisting of guns, ammunition, tents, and the most necessary provisions were shipped toward the end of the year by steamer to Beirut and from there by train to Aleppo. Here the whole armament weighing 4100 quintals was loaded on freight cars and transported to al-Meskene on the Euphrates, four kilometers from the Bâlis ruins. The reason for selecting this place was its proximity both to Aleppo and the Mediterranean. In al-Meskene (near Samûma) everything was put into seventy-six heavy, flat-bottomed boats, called *šaḫtûra*, and floated in three divisions to al-Fellûğe, reaching this place in eight days (Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen* [1913], pp. 177f.).

The men who executed the orders of Alexander the Great doubtless knew northern Syria just as well as the Turkish general Pertew Pasha. They likewise had the loaded boats transported to the Euphrates by the shortest route, and, since Aristobulus records (Strabo, *loc. cit.*) that after being unloaded the boats were launched into the Euphrates at Thapsacus, we are justified in looking for Alexander's Thapsacus at Samûma near Bâlis.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXI, 7: 7, says that in 361 the Emperor Constantius had a boat bridge built across the Euphrates at Capersanam, visited Edessa, and returned to Hierapolis.

Theodoretus, *Religiosa historia*, 19 (Migne, col. 1427), writes that the monk Salamanes hailed from the village of Capersana on the right bank of the Euphrates.

The name of the Samûma ruins suggests that of a settlement of Kafr (village) Sanam, if we may read Sanam for Samam (Samûma).

APPENDIX IX

SEPE, ṢIFFÎN, AND ABU HRÊRA

Abu Hrêra is the ancient Sepe and the Ṣiffîn of the Arabic authorities. No old building material is to be seen anywhere around. In all probability it was carried away to the fort Ḳal'at Ğa'bar, near by.

The anonymous Ravenna geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 5 (Pinder and Parthey, p. 54), calls it Sepe, also Sephe. — Sephe suggests aṣ-Ṣafja, as the sources of the *še'îb* of Selmâs terminating at Abu Hrêra are called. Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 25, mentions Sippa.

Ḥamzat al-Iṣfahâni, *Ta'rîḫ* (Gottwald), p. 119, says that Ğabala ibn an-No'mân, the victor of 'Ajn Ubâṛ, used to reside at Ṣiffîn.

In 634—635 A. D. al-Muṭanna sent two of his lieutenants from al-Anbâr to attack the Taṛleb tribe at Ṣiffîn and followed later himself. When he approached Ṣiffîn, whoever could do so escaped thence to Mesopotamia. The supplies of the army commanded by al-Muṭanna being exhausted, the soldiers killed their riding camels and lived on the flesh. A little later, meeting with some pack caravans owned by the inhabitants of Dabba' and Ḥawrân, they slew the escort and captured the animals (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 2206f.; Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 2, p. 343). —

Ṣiffîn lies on the right bank of the Euphrates; al-Muṭanna therefore must have marched along this bank. On the right bank of the Euphrates 135 kilometers east-southeast of Ṣiffîn the fortified settlement of Zabba' was situated. The correct reading therefore should be Zabba', not "Dabba'" as is printed in the editions of both aṭ-Ṭabari's and Ibn al-Aṭîr's works. On the right bank of the Euphrates, 340 kilometers from Zabba' and not far from the settlement of Ğubba the broad Wâdi Ḥawrân ends. Probably there were settlers or nomads camping there at that time, and al-Muṭanna seized their goods also.

Towards the end of the spring of 657 there was an encounter at Ṣiffîn between the Caliph 'Ali and his antagonist, the caliph Moawiyah. The latter, encamping with his Syrian army in the plain on the right bank of the Euphrates, barred all the easy roads to the river. Unable to force its way to the water, 'Ali's army suffered much from thirst (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 3268).

Theophanes, *Chronographia* (De Boor), pp. 346f., writes that in 657 Moawiyah fought with 'Ali by the Euphrates. Moawiyah camped beyond the town of Barbalissus near Caesarium, the Arabs at Sapphin.

Ad-Dînawari, *Aḫbâr* (Guirgass), pp. 178f., says that 'Ali, after staying three days near al-Baliḫ, gave orders to build a bridge of boats, on which he crossed the Euphrates. Two commanders sent out by him in advance met a troop of the enemy in Sûr ar-Rûm. During the night Moawiyah encamped with his cavalry at Ṣiffîn, a demolished settlement originally built by the Greeks within a bow's shot of the Euphrates. Between it and the river extends a thicket two parasangs long, through which the

ground water spreads. Only one road, but this one paved with stone, leads to the Euphrates. Most of the thicket is nothing but mud or morass. As the steep bluffs form another impediment to travel, the road is the only means by which the river can be reached with ease. — From the end of the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šaʿba to Banât abu Hrêra the flood plain is bordered on the south by rocky bluffs which do not allow of descent to the river except through a few gaps. The flood plain itself is swampy and covered with *ṭarfa* and other bushes, which make approach to the river difficult.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 75f., writes that west of the Euphrates, between ar-Raḳḳa and Bâlis, lies the district of Ṣiffîn, where a tomb was built for ʿAmmâr ibn Jâser.

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 610, says that Ṣiffîn is a place in Irak where a battle took place between ʿAli and Moawiyah. There also Sejfaddowle ʿAli al-Ḥamdâni defeated the Egyptian governor, thus gaining possession of Syria. — Al-Bekri locates the district of Ṣiffîn in Irak, to which it never properly belonged. Sejfaddowle possessed himself of Syria in 944, selecting Aleppo for his residence.

In 1108—1109 ʿAli ibn Sâlem, lord of the town of ar-Raḳḳa, was attacked and driven away by the Numejr tribesmen, who then took possession of the town themselves. On learning this, al-Malek Raḍwân marched out from Aleppo against them. Near Ṣiffîn he met ninety Crusaders, bearing the ransom sent by the lord of Edessa to the lord of ar-Raḥba. Al-Malek Raḍwân compelled them to give up the ransom to him and made many of them captives. Then, reconciling himself with the Beni Numejr in ar-Raḳḳa, he returned to Aleppo. (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 10, p. 324.)

At the beginning of 1121 Joscelin, the lord of Tell Bâšer, undertook an expedition with his Crusaders against the Arabs and Turkomans in Ṣiffîn, despoiled them, and drove their flocks from the Euphrates (Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *Ḏajl* [Amedroz], p. 203).

In 1139 *ḳâḍi* Bahaʾaddîn ibn aš-Šahrazûri was buried in the mosque of Ṣiffîn (*ibid.*, p. 266).

On September 14, 1146, the Sultan ʿImâdaddîn Zenki, while besieging the castle of Ǧaʿbar, which belonged to the family of Prince Sâlem ibn Mâlek al-ʿOḳejli, was killed by his own soldiers and buried at Ṣiffîn (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Slane], pp. 132—135; according to his *Kâmil* [Cairo, 1884], Vol. 11, p. 50, Zenki was buried in ar-Raḳḳa).

In the beginning of May, 1195, a meeting took place at Ṣiffîn between al-Malek al-Afḍal and his uncle al-Malek al-ʿÂdel The latter gave his nephew the fort of Ǧaʿbar for his residence. (Al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâʿiẓ* [Blochet's transl.], pp. 229f.)

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, pp. 402f., writes that Ṣiffîn is a place near ar-Raḳḳa on the right bank of the Euphrates, between ar-Raḳḳa and Bâlis. Also, that Moawiyah and ʿAli fought there and in one hundred and ten days had ninety skirmishes.

Al-Ḳazwîni, *ʿAǧâʾib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 142, states that Ṣiffîn is an old settlement built by the Greeks not far from ar-Raḳḳa on the right bank of the Euphrates. Between it and the Euphrates extends a swampy growth of bushes about two parasangs long, through which the Euphrates can be reached only by a single path paved with stone. — From Ḳalʿat Ǧaʿbar to ar-Raḳḳa is seven parasangs. The swampy flood

plain spoken of still exists, stretching opposite Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar as far as Banât abu Hrêra.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 269, remarks that the distance from the settlement of Bâlis to Ḳalʿat Dawšar, also called Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar, east of the Euphrates, is five parasangs. West of the Euphrates, opposite Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar, extends the district of Ṣiffîn, where ʿAli and Moawiyah once fought.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 162, corrects Jâḳût by observing that Ṣiffîn is a region above the settlement of Bâlis and about half a march distant from it on the right bank of the Euphrates, while ar-Raḳḳa lies east of the great river below Bâlis. In another place (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 442) Abu-l-Faḍâ'il defines the location of the fort of Ğaʿbar by stating that the distance thence to the Euphrates is nearly one mile, whereas Ṣiffîn is over ten miles up-stream from this fort. — These statements of Abu-l-Faḍâ'il have not been correctly preserved. From Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar to Bâlis is forty kilometers. If Ṣiffîn were situated above this settlement, it could not be ten miles from Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar. From Bâlis to Abu Hrêra is twenty-seven kilometers, or about half a march, not upstream but downstream. From Abu Hrêra to Ḳalʿat Ğaʿbar is fourteen kilometers, or ten miles, as the crow flies. Thus Abu-l-Faḍâ'il also leads us to Abu Hrêra.

APPENDIX X

SURA OR SÛRIJA

During the decline of the Seleucid power the course of the great transport routes changed; Palmyra began to grow in importance, and her caravans crossed the Euphrates at Sûrija, owing to which fact many records of this town have been preserved.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, V, 87, writes that at Sura the Euphrates turns east, leaving the Palmyrene desert. — The river Euphrates does not turn east exactly at the walled town of Sura, but seventy-five kilometers to the west.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 15:25, mentions Sura among the Palmyrene towns lying on the Euphrates.

In 165 A. D. Avidius Cassius probably defeated the Parthians at Sura and took the towns of Nicephorium and Dausara (Suidas, *Lexicon, sub voce* 'Zeugma' [Bekker], p. 459; Lucian, *De historia conscribenda*, 29; Fronto, *Epistula ad Verum*, II, 1).

The *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1888), Segm. 11, records Sure as the terminus of the Roman highway from Damascus by way of Palmyra and Oruba (aṭ-Ṭajjibe) to the Euphrates. At Sure the Roman empire ended and the barbarian borderland began.

After 293 A. D. Sura belonged to the province of Augusta Euphratensis and was, according to the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, no. 28, the residence of the *praefectus legionis sextaedecimae Flauiae firmae*.

At the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century of our era the commander of the foreign Palatine Guard, Sergius, was taken from

the fort of Barbarissus (the present Bâlis) to the fort of Syrum (i. e., Sura) and thence driven to the fort of Tetrapyrgium (the Ḳṣejr as-Sêle of today), at a distance of nine Roman miles (Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum, Oct.*, Vol. 3, p. 835).

The resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 were signed by the metropolitan Stephen of Hierapolis (Menbiğ) in the name of his suffragan, a certain "Uranios poleos Suron" (Uranius of the town of Sura) (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, col. 485).

In June, 504, the Byzantine Constantine, who had joined the Persians, returned through the desert to Syria. For a fortnight he traveled with his two wives by day and night without meeting anyone. Not until reaching Šîla (*var.*, Šîna) did he find some Roman Arabs, who accompanied him to the fort of Šûra, whence he was brought to the town of Edessa (Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* [Martin], LXXV).— Šîla may be the estate of as-Sêle, twelve kilometers south-southwest of Šûra', as the Syrians called Sura.

In 512, Marion, bishop of the town of Šûra' d' Rûmaje', participated in the consecration of Bishop Severus as patriarch (*Notices relatives à Sévère* [Kugener], pp. 319, 321; *Chronica minora* [Guidi], p. 221; *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum* [Brooks], p. 41).

Marion was a bishop as late as 521, when he was exiled (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4. p. 267).

We read in John Malalas' *Chronographia* (Migne), XVIII, 175, that the Emperor Justinian sent to the Orient several dignitaries, who were to direct the defense of some towns against the Persian King Kawâdh I (496—531). Among others the towns of Beroia (Beroea, or Aleppo), Suron (Sura, or Sûrija), and Constantina (Constantine) prepared themselves for defense.

In 531 Belisarius with his army pursued the Persians returning with their loot from Syria. He went as far as the town of Suron (Sura), where he met them in battle (Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 18: 14).

In the spring of 540 Chosroes the son of Kawâdh (*ibid.*, II, 5; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo* [1891], p. 13; *Edessenische Chronik* [Hallier], pp. 156f.; Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719–1728], Vol. 1, p. 416; James of Edessa, *Canon* [Brooks], p. 300; Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 287) marched along the right bank of the Euphrates and reached a point opposite the Roman fort of Circesium, which, however, he did not attack; nor did he cross the Euphrates. Then, marching again as far as a vigorous man can go in three days, he arrived before the town of Zenobia on the right bank. Seeing that the country was not inhabited, was sterile and of no importance whatever, he tried to persuade the townspeople to surrender. Failing in this, he continued on his way. After covering about the same distance as from Circesium to Zenobia, he came to the town of Suron (Sura) on the Euphrates and ordered it to be taken by assault. The first attack the commander Arsaces repulsed, but when he was killed the Persians succeeded in entering the town, which they looted, making all the inhabitants captives.

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 9: 1f., says that the fortifications of Suron Polisma (the little town of Sura) were so weak that they could resist Chosroes barely half an hour. The Emperor Justinian, therefore, had the town restored, enclosed with a strong wall, and provided with various other defensive works.

In 543 one Sergius was bishop of Šûra' (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* [Abbeloos and Lamy], Vol. 1, col. 215).

Antonine of Piacenza, *Itinerarium* (Geyer), p. 191, records how he (Antonine) came from Barbarisso (Barbalissus, the modern Bâlis) to the town of Suras (Sura), through which flows the river Euphrates, there crossed by a bridge. In this town Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus were tortured to death. Saint Sergius rests twelve miles farther in the desert of the Saracens at the town of Tetrapyrgio. — Bacchus was tortured in Barbarisso (Bâlis), Sergius in ar-Reṣâfa, where he was also buried. In Tetrapyrgio, now called Ḳṣejr as-Sêle, the latter spent the night only.

The little town of Sura is mentioned at the end of the sixth century in Nicephorus' *Vita sancti Symeonis junioris* (Migne), col. 3184.

In the spring of 657 two partisans of the Caliph ʿAli set out from al-Kûfa and proceeded along the right bank of the Euphrates until they reached ʿÂnât (ʿÂna). Being informed there that ʿAli was marching along the left bank of the Euphrates with Moawiyah and his army advancing against him from Damascus, they planned to cross at ʿÂnât to the left bank, but the inhabitants of this town prevented this by removing all the available boats. They therefore retraced their steps and, crossing the Euphrates at Hît, overtook ʿAli at some settlement below the fort of Ḳarḳîsija', from which they advanced against the inhabitants of the settlement of ʿÂnât, intending to punish them. Yet, as the latter had fortified themselves and many had dispersed, nothing was accomplished. When ʿAli crossed the river at ar-Raḳḳa, he sent the two partisans in advance of himself. In the settlement of Sûr ar-Rûm they met a troop of the caliph Moawiyah's Syrian army (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 3260f.). —

Sûr ar-Rûm is the true Arabic translation of the Syrian name Šûra' d' Rûmaje'.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 184, knew of no settlement of Sûra' and only mentions that, according to Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Adîbi, Sûra' is a place in Mesopotamia and is pronounced Sawra'.

Al-Battâni, *Zîǧ* (Nallino), Part 3, p. 240, writes Sûra', fixing its geographical position as lat. 36° and long. 80° 30′.

Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, cols. 545f., as late as 1471 mentions the monastery of Mar Abi at Šûra'.

APPENDIX XI

NICEPHORIUM, CALLINICUS, AND AR-RAḲḲA

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 1 : 27, knew of a river called Basileos between the Euphrates and Tigris and in the territory of Anthemusia he knew of a river Aborras. —

In Basileos the name Balichus is hidden. Strabo's informant, who knew Aramaic, read its name as Malichus (king) and translated it as Basileos. The town of Anthemusia lay (Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones*

parthicae [Müller], pp. 244f.) on the road from Zeugma-Apamea to Edessa, eight *schoeni* east of Apamea, hence far from the basin of the river Aborras, or al-Ḫâbûr. The river Balichus has preserved its name to this day, being now called al-Balîḫ.

The flood plain on the left bank of the Euphrates could be irrigated from the al-Balîḫ river as well as by canals leading from the Euphrates itself. That this plain was once twice as large as it is today, since the Euphrates has changed its course, is proved by the wide swampy ground on the river's right bank in this vicinity. Of the canals on the left bank the most important were those of Hani and Mari. In the latter name there was preserved into the Middle Ages the name of the town to which the surrounding country once belonged. This town of Mari may be located between the left bank of the Mari canal and al-Balîḫ. Since an important trade route led along the latter from upper Mesopotamia to the Euphrates and at Mari crossed another route following the left bank of the Euphrates, the inhabitants of Mari, supported by the fertile territory under their control, might easily have dominated the trade caravans as well as other less prosperous settlements along the Euphrates. It is no wonder, therefore, that as early as the close of the third millenium B. C. the town of Mari controlled the upper half of the middle Euphrates just as Ḫana (perhaps ʿÂna) dominated the lower half (Herzfeld, *Ḫana et Mari* [1914], p. 136). On the site of the ancient Mari or beside it at the outlet of al-Balîḫ into the Euphrates the famous town of Nicephorium was situated (Isidore of Charax, *op. cit.*, p. 247).

Appian, *Historia syriaca*, 57, relates that Seleucus Nicator (301—281 B. C.) founded many towns in Syria, to which he gave Greek or Macedonian names, among others Nicephorium in Mesopotamia. — That at this important place a settlement had existed before is certain. It was called Mari (Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris* [1916], pl. 2, l. 23, p. 10); this name persisted in that of the Mari canal (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 457; al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], p. 180). That the Greeks preferred to alter the native appellations was already known to Posidonius (Strabo, *op. cit.*, XVI, 4:27), but Ammianus Marcellinus (*op. cit.*, XIV, 8:6) found in his sources a note that Seleucus Nicator and his successors, although arbitrarily changing the names of many localities, had not eradicated the original names, the use of which was continued.

Isidore of Charax, *loc. cit.*, ascribes the foundation of Nicephorium to Alexander the Great, as does Pliny, who writes (*Naturalis historia*, VI, 119) that near the Euphrates lies Nicephorium built by Alexander after he had recognized the importance of the site. — We possess no absolute proof that Alexander ever came as far as the mouth of the river Balichus and cannot, therefore, judge whether it was he who had the town of Nicephorium built. A like tradition arose in regard to other towns along the Euphrates, which all claimed to have been founded by Alexander, although we know without doubt that such was not the case.

At the outlet of the Balichus into the Euphrates, thus near the point where Nicephorium stood, Callinicus (Kallinikos) rose later (Ammianus Marcellinus, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 3:7).

Chronicon paschale (Migne), col. 429, and Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, p. 78, ascribe the founding of this town to Seleucus II Callinicus (247—226 B. C.) in either 244 or 242 B. C.

Libanius, *Epistolae*, I, 20 (*ad Aristaenetum*), says that the town of Callinicus on the Euphrates was named after the rhetorician Callinicus, who resided there. — This rhetorician, a native of Petra, lived in the reign of Gallienus, about 269 A. D. It is very doubtful whether the Christians, of whom there was a great number in the town as early as the third century and who were in complete control of it in the fourth, would have accepted and kept for the town the new name given it after a pagan rhetorician. It seems that at the outlet of the river Balichus into the Euphrates there existed from time immemorial two settlements. One, rebuilt by Seleucus Nicator, received the name Nicephorium; the second, restored by Seleucus II (Callinicus) received the name Callinicus. For many centuries Nicephorium was more important than Callinicus, but later the relation was reversed in favor of the second town, which began to prosper exceedingly. Finally, in the third century of our era, Nicephorium perished as a town, remaining merely as a suburb of Callinicus. This statement is confirmed by the Arabic writers, especially the poets of the era before the Abbassides, who mention two towns of the name ar-Raḳḳatân, calling one the "black," or "burnt," the other the "white" ar-Raḳḳa. The white town of ar-Raḳḳa they call also by the old name Callinicus, from which I conclude that the "black" or "burnt" town was the ancient Nicephorium.

Droysen, *Geschichte* (1878), Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 310, locates Callinicus in the Heraḳla ruin, but Heraḳla was a manor built by the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid for a highborn Byzantine beauty, whom he made captive (Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 4, p. 962; aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, p. 710).

Crassus in 54 B. C. easily possessed himself of towns with inhabitants largely Greek, as was the case with Nicephorium (Cassius Dio, *Historiae*, XL, 13).

Florus, *Epitoma*, III, 11, relates that when Crassus camped at Nicephorium he was visited there by the envoys of Orodes.

According to Strabo, *op. cit.*, XVI, 1:23, in the fairly productive country between Zeugma in Commagene and the ancient Zeugma near Thapsacus there lived a people called by the Macedonians Mygdones. In their territory were the towns of Nisibis, Tigranocerta, Carrhae, Nicephorium, etc.

Pliny, *op. cit.*, V, 86, likewise knew of a town of Nicephorium in the Mesopotamian prefecture.

According to Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 17:5, Nicephorium lay on the Euphrates in Mesopotamia.

Eutropius, *Breviarium*, IX, 24, and Theophanes, *Chronographia* (Migne), col. 69, both record that Galerius Maximianus in 297 was totally defeated between the towns of Callinicus and Carrhae.

Libanius, *op. cit.*, I, 20, records that the garrison of Callinicus could not support itself and had to be supplied by the prefect of the province of the Euphrates.

In 363 Ammianus Marcellinus visited Callinicus and writes in regard to it (*op. cit.*, XXIII, 3:7) that it is a huge fort and important as a commercial center.

Uranius, *Fragmenta* (Müller), p. 529, mentions the old name Nicephorium with the further remark that the town is also called Constantina and lies near Edessa.

In 393 the Jewish synagogue in Castrum Callinicum was set on fire by the Christians. The Emperor Theodosius ordered the bishop of that town to have the synagogue rebuilt. In response to this Bishop Ambrose of Milan wrote to the emperor complaining that the Jews had burned many basilicas without paying for their rebuilding (Ambrose, *Epistola ad Theodosium* [Migne], cols. 1105ff.).

The Council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.) was attended and the letter of the bishops of the province of Osroëne to the Emperor Leo was signed by Damianus, bishop of Callinicus (Mansi, *Concilia* [1759—1798], Vol. 6, col. 571; Vol. 7, col. 553).

In 465—466 the Emperor Leo rebuilt in the province of Osroëne the town of Callinicus, called it Leontopolis, and installed a bishop there (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syriacum* [Bedjan], p. 77; Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719—1728], Vol. 1, pp. 258, 405; *Edessenische Chronik* [Hallier], p. 152).

Toward the end of 503 the Persian king Kawâdh I (496—531) was returning along the Euphrates from the territory of the town of Sarûğ. Reaching Callinicus he ordered one of his commanders to attack the town. The officer did as he was bidden, but was surprised by the Roman general Timostrates and made prisoner. Kawâdh then threatened to besiege and completely destroy Callinicus if Timostrates did not surrender the captive. This Timostrates did. (Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* [Martin], LXV; Assemanus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 276.)

At the beginning of the sixth century mention is made of the monasteries of Mar Zakkaj and Ḳadar or ʿAmûd near Callinicus (*Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum* [Brooks], p. 38; Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 414f.).

In 529 an order was issued by Justinian that henceforth all trading between the Byzantines and Persians was to be done only in the frontier towns of Nisibin, Callinicus, and Artaxata, to prevent the Byzantine merchants from spying in the Persian empire and the Persian merchants from doing the same in the Roman empire (*Codex Justinianus*, IV, 63 : 4; [Krueger], p. 188). — It is interesting to note that Justinian does not recognize the name Leontopolis given to Callinicus by his predecessor.

Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae* (Geyer), p. 150, counts it sixty miles from Calonico (Callinicus) to Constantina and from there to Edessa as eighty miles. In the latter town lived King Abgar, who wrote to Jesus Christ.

Hierocles (about 535) mentions among the towns of the Osroëne eparchy Leontopolis or Kallinike (*Synecdemus* [Burckhardt], p. 39).

Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 21, relates that in 542 Chosroes got possession of Callinicus with great ease. As the ramparts were quite dilapidated in some places, Justinian had ordered them to be rebuilt (idem, *De aedificiis*, II, 7). This was to be done by tearing them down section by section and rebuilding them at once. Chosroes, unable to get possession of Sergiopolis, had a boat bridge thrown over the Euphrates, approached Callinicus, and entered the town at a place where the wall had just been torn down. The soldiers and wealthier residents sought refuge elsewhere, but the town itself was crowded with peasants from the surrounding country. These were captured and the town demolished; but, soon after,

it was again fortified by Justinian (James of Edessa, *Chronological Canon* [Brooks], p. 300; Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 287).

The learned Bishop Cyriac of Amid (578—623) hailed from the monastery Mar Zakkaj at Callinicus (*ibid.*, p. 399).

In the synod held in the monastery of Mar Ḥananja, situated in the desert between Barbalissus and Callinicus, the young priest Peter, son of Paul of Callinicus, was elected patriarch of Antioch (*ibid.*, pp. 370, 379; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.* [Abbeloos and Lamy], Vol. 1, col. 250; John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 22).

After ascending the throne, the Emperor Justin II sent the patrician John from Callinicus with presents to Chosroes. On his return a synod was held in the monastery of Mar Zakkaj. At this period mention is made of Mar Cyrus in Callinicus. (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 331, 334.)

At the beginning of the seventh century (602 A. D.) Georgius Cyprius (*Descriptio* [Gelzer], p. 45) uses in the list of the towns of the eparchy of Osroëne the older name Callinicus but adds that it is also called Leontopolis.

Denha (*History of Marûtha* [Nau], p. 70) mentions shortly before 629 the monastery of Mar Zakkaj at Callinicus.

In 639 the Moslems got possession of Callinicus or, as it was also called by the Syriac authors, ar-Raḳḳa. A detachment sent by their leader, ʿEjâḍ, against ar-Raḳḳa attacked the farms and settlements of the Arabs and the peasants in the vicinity and drove them for refuge into the town. When ʿEjâḍ approached with the main army, he encamped before the ar-Ruha' gate. After five or six days the patrician governing the town asked for peace. ʿEjâḍ guaranteed the inhabitants their lives, property, and good order in the town, and became its lord. (Elijah of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* [Brooks], p. 133; al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], pp. 172f., 175.)

On his expedition against Moawiyah in 656—657 ʿAli marched from an-Nuḫejla to al-Madâ'in and from there farther to ar-Raḳḳa. There he ordered the inhabitants to build him a bridge of boats, so that he could pass over the Euphrates to Syria. The inhabitants complying, he crossed with his infantry and the whole train. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 3259; Ibn Miskawajh, *Taǧârib* [Caetani], p. 571.) — An-Nuḫejla is identical with the modern Ḫân eben Nḫejle, sixty kilometers north-northwest of al-Kûfa. Al-Madâ'in is the Arabic designation for Ctesiphon and the neighboring towns, former suburbs of Seleucia.

Ar-Ruḳajjât, *Dîwân* (Rhodokanakis), p. 222, mentions that about the year 690 the two settlements of ar-Raḳḳa and al-Ḳalas were deserted, as if they had no inhabitants. Even the monastery near al-Balîḫ was empty and its high walls stood up like a memorial of an extinct people. In another place (p. 285) he says that, during his journey from the southwest or south, the ridge of al-Bišr gradually appeared to him and finally ar-Raḳḳa as-Sawda'. —

That many settlements around ar-Raḳḳa were deserted and that owing to this many people had to leave the two towns of ar-Raḳḳa, we learn also from other Arabic sources, but that there should not have been any inhabitants at all is surely poetical exaggeration. Al-Ḳalas is probably the poetically distorted name of Callinicus. The monastery standing near

al-Balîḫ is undoubtedly identical with the monastery of Estûna or al-ʿAmûd (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 414), but even this was not deserted at that time. Rhodokanakis (*loc. cit.*, note 3) puts Dejr al-Ğâṭalîḳ (*katholikos*) on the Tigris, which is absolutely impossible; al-Bišr is the present ridge of al-Bišri; ar-Raḳḳa as-Sawdaʾ, or Black Raḳḳa, was one of the two former towns, perhaps Nicephorium. The second town was called ar-Raḳḳa al-Bêḍaʾ, White Raḳḳa, and is mentioned by the poet al-Aḫṭal, *Dîwân* (Salhani), p. 304, who describes the glistening of its spires.

The caliph Hišâm, to whom the vicinity of ar-Raḳḳa fell as a fief, had the Hani and Mari canals dredged in the beginning of the eighth century, several settlements founded along their banks, and a bridge built across the Euphrates (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 457; Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Maḥreʾ, *Chronicle* [Chabot], pp. 26, 31; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syriacum* [Bedjan], p. 156).

In the time of Merwân II (744—750) mention is made of John, bishop of Callinicus, who in 760 was elected patriarch (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, p. 468; Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Maḥreʾ, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* [Abbeloos and Lamy], Vol. 1, cols. 321, 323; Elijah of Nisibis, *op. cit.*, p. 176).

In 772 the caliph al-Manṣûr built the town of ar-Râfiḳa near Callinicus. Harun ar-Rashid had it encircled with another wall (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 476, 483; Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Maḥreʾ, *op. cit.*, pp. 120f.; al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* [Houtsma], Vol. 2, p. 430).

In 793 Cyriac, a monk from the monastery of Bezûna, or Estûna, (ʿAmûd) at Callinicus, was elected patriarch (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.* [Abbeloos and Lamy], Vol. 1, col. 329).

Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 205, mentions in 872 a church of St. Thomas belonging to the Tekrît townspeople at ar-Raḳḳa. In 873 the patriarch John was buried in the monastery of Mar Zakkaj, where he had formerly been a monk (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, cols. 385, 387).

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 132, writes that ar-Raḳḳa lies in the center of the territory belonging to the Muḍar tribe. Ar-Raḳḳa is said to have been completely rebuilt by the caliph al-Manṣûr (754—775) and then garrisoned as well as settled by people from Khorasan.

Ibn Serapion, *ʿAğâʾib* (Le Strange), p. 12, says that the river al-Balîḫ flows by ar-Raḳḳa and empties into the Euphrates below that part of the town called ar-Raḳḳa as-Sawdaʾ.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 75f., records that ar-Raḳḳa is the largest of the towns in the territory of the Muḍar tribe. Ar-Raḳḳa and ar-Râfiḳa are two towns connected with each other. Each has a *mesǧed ǧâmeʿ* (cathedral mosque). They are situated on the left bank of the Euphrates and contain many trees and much water. There is a spot shown in ar-Raḳḳa where ʿAli laid down some baggage when marching on Ṣiffîn.

Besides ar-Raḳḳa, the center of the Muḍar tribal lands, al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 137, 141, also mentions the burnt towns ar-Rafḳa (ar-Râfiḳa), Ḫânûḳat al-Ḥarîš, and Tell Meḥraʾ. Ar-Raḳḳa is a huge fort with two gates and numerous ancient memorials. There are fine market places there; among its products are soap and olive oil; it is also known for its salubrious atmosphere, gardens, and settlements. Among the buildings he names a *ǧâmeʿ* and even bathhouses. But soon the town was surrounded by the nomads, and the roads leading to it became difficult

to pass. Ar-Raḳḳa al-Muḥtariḳa, or "Burnt Raḳḳa," situated not far off, was deserted by its inhabitants and demolished. Ar-Râfiḳa is a suburb of ar-Raḳḳa. Near by there is a shrine fastened to a column.

Aš-Šâbušti, *Dijârât* (Codex berolinensis), fol. 95v., writes that the monastery of Zakkaj is situated in ar-Raḳḳa on the Euphrates close to the river al-Balîḫ, which flows around it on two sides. Being one of the most pleasant monasteries, it was a favorite stopping place of royalty, who found there all they longed for: fine lodgings, a beautiful location, pure air, and, close by, gazelles, hares, and other game, as well as various birds, even *ḥabâri* (a kind of bustard); and in the Euphrates fish could be caught with nets.

In February, 1135, the Atabeg Zenki went from ar-Raḳḳa by way of al-ʿObejdijje to Ḥama' (Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rîḫ* [De Meynard], p. 669).

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 994, knew of the canals of al-Hani and al-Mari at ar-Raḳḳa and ar-Râfiḳa. They were dredged by the order of Hišâm ibn ʿAbdalmalek, who also founded several settlements on their banks. Later they became the property of the rulers of the Abbasside family and were restored by Umm Ǧaʿfar. The poet Ǧarîr likewise mentions the al-Hani canal dug by Hišâm.

About 1177 John Denha was bishop in Callinicus (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, col. 565).

Ad-Dimišḳi, *Nuḫba* (Mehren), p. 191, states that ar-Raḳḳa is the principal center of the Muḍar territory. Ar-Raḳḳa al-Bêḍa' is supposed to be a Roman town of great antiquity. The caliph al-Manṣûr in 772 built a new town beside it and called it ar-Râfiḳa. The first town (i. e. ar-Raḳḳa al-Bêḍa') is said to have been demolished, but its name persisted and is still used in connection with the town of ar-Râfiḳa. The al-Hani and al-Mari canals flow by the town and on their banks are settlements. This vicinity is considered as among the most beautiful parts of the world. The town of Ḥarrân became the capital of the Muḍar territory.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 277, relates that in his time (in the beginning of the fourteenth century) ar-Raḳḳa was demolished and entirely deserted.

Evlija' Čelebi, *Ta'rîḫ* (Von Hammer's transl.), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 95, mentions the sanjaks of Ǧemâsa, Ḥârpud, Dejr Raḥba, Beni Rabîʿa, Sarûǧ, Ḥarrân, Raḳḳa, and Ruha (or ʿOrfa) where the pasha resides.

APPENDIX XII

BIRTHA, ZENOBIA, AND ḤALEBIJJE

In Ḥalebijje I locate the town of Dûr Karpati, or Nibarti Ašur, built in 877 B. C. by the orders of Asurnazirpal III (*Annals* [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Insciptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 1, pl. 24], col. 3, ll. 49 f.; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], pp. 360 f.; see above, p. 208).

Ḥalebijje was subsequently called Zenobia and still later az-Zabba'.

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 8 : 4-8, writes that between the border province of Commagene, as the province of Euphratesia was formerly

called, and the Persian empire extends a vast, desolate region containing nothing worth fighting for. The Persians and Romans both built on the borders of this desert fortresses of mud bricks, which were never attacked because they protected nothing that could incite the lust for spoil. In this desert the Emperor Diocletian had three fortresses built of mud bricks; of these three forts the Emperor Justinian restored the demolished fort of Mambri (*var.*, Mabri) which lies scarcely five Roman miles from Zenobia. — Mambri, or Mabri, is to be sought in the as-Šejḫ Mubârek ruin at the present station of at-Tibni, seven kilometers from Ḥalebijje.

Procopius (*De bello persico*, II, 5 : 4—7; idem, *De aedificiis*, II, 8 : 8—25) records that the town of Zenobia is three full days' march from Circesium. It was founded by and named after Zenobia, the wife of Odenath, the king of the Saracens of that region, who were allied with the Romans. When in course of time the fortification fell into ruin, the inhabitants left the town, thus enabling the Persians to enter the Roman territory at their will and long before the Romans could learn of it. This town Justinian then had rebuilt and peopled, and a strong garrison with a commander was placed there. Not merely the old town but the surrounding hillocks as well were fortified to prevent the inhabitants from being shot at from the higher summits. The Euphrates flows between high crags close by the town. When in flood the river reaches as far as the town walls and undermines them. For that reason Justinian had this part of the rampart built of large stone blocks and he strengthened it in addition with a protective dam of huge basalt boulders, so that the water could not reach the blocks. On the north the town was extended, the high hill to the west fortified, and a church, baths, and arcades built. — The distance from Ḳarḳîsija' to Ḥalebijje is one hundred kilometers; Procopius therefore reckons thirty-three kilometers to one march.

According to the *Liber chalipharum* (Land), p. 16, in 609—610 A. D. the Persians occupied the towns of Edessa, Ḥarrân, Callinicus, and Circesium, as well as all the other towns east of the Euphrates, which thus formed a boundary line. On August 6, 610, Šahrvaraz crossed the river and took the town of Zenobia on the western bank of the Euphrates.

Ibn Ḳotejba, *Maʿârif* (Wüstenfeld), p. 317, relates that it was (the legendary) Ǧaḏîma's intention to marry az-Zabba', a daughter of the king of Mesopotamia, who had become queen after her husband had died. When she gave him her consent, Ǧaḏîma went to her but was murdered by her. To revenge him az-Zabba' was killed by his friends and her town occupied and plundered.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* (Houtsma), Vol. 1, p. 238, relates that Ǧaḏîma's avengers made use of a stratagem in order to get into the town of Queen az-Zabba'. They loaded two thousand cases with four thousand warriors, carried them into her town, opened the cases in the inns there, attacked the queen at night, and killed her.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 912, and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 504, write that az-Zabba' is a town on the bank of the Euphrates, so called after az-Zabba', Ǧaḏîma's sweetheart. Towards the end of the twelfth century the old town of az-Zabba' was demolished, but a large number of beautiful memorials remained to excite admiration. —

Southeast of Ḥalebijje at the point where the canal of al-Maṣrân issues from the Euphrates extend the Zelebijje ruins. Their location is

of great significance. Lying on the western border of a long flood plain which supplied all its needs, Zelebijje dominated both the land and water routes of the region. For this reason the natives as early as the beginning of the first millennium before Christ had their own fort there, which King Asurnazirpal during his expedition in 877 B. C. (Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 24], col. 3, ll. 27—50; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 353—361) gave orders to strengthen, calling it Kâr-Ašurnâṣirpal. We may assume that the natives called their administrative center, Birtu (Fort) and that the official name Kâr-Ašurnâṣirpal had disappeared, but that the native name Birtu as applied to the principal fort of the district had persisted (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 105).

We learn from Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), p. 247, that on the site of the present Zelebijje there was once a royal station with a temple of Artemis and that King Darius had a royal palace and Semiramis an irrigation canal built there. To make the water flow from the river into the canal, the Euphrates was narrowed by a dam constructed of stone. In the autumn, when there was little water in the river, many boats were wrecked on this dam. — King Darius probably had his royal palace built in the center of the administrative district, and this center was Birtha, the Assyrian Birtu.

In the reign of the Seleucids the Macedonians founded a number of settlements on the left bank of the middle Euphrates. Later authors call the town of Birtha also by the name Macedonupolis, which leads us to think that Macedonians also settled at Birtha; of such a settlement the temple of Artemis may be a memorial. With the natives the new official name evidently never became popular and disappeared with the extinction of the Seleucid reign; nor did it reappear until the Christian era, when the Church brought a revival in the use of the Greek language on the middle Euphrates. That explains why Isidore of Charax does not mention the name of the royal station where the temple of Artemis was located.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 19: 3, records a settlement of Birtha but places it on the right bank of the Euphrates in Arabia Deserta south-east of the influx of the river Aborras (al-Ḫâbûr), thus in the ancient political district of Ḫindânu. As the word Birtha is a common designation for a fort, and several places in the territory tributary to the middle Euphrates and Tigris bore this name, Ptolemy may have meant some other fort.

The resolutions of the Council of Nicaea in 325 A. D. were signed by a certain Mareas of Macedonupolis as one of the bishops of the province of Mesopotamia. In the Syriac text his name reads Mara of Birtha. (Gelzer, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina* [1898], pp. 22, 64, 102.) — At no point did the province of Mesopotamia reach the right bank of the Euphrates; we must, therefore, seek the bishopric of Birtha, or Macedonupolis, on the left bank.

A Bishop Daniel of Birtha (Macedonupolitanus, in Latin) from the eparchy of Osroëne participated in the Council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.) (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit*, Vol. 4, p. 199). — Osroëne never reached the right bank of the Euphrates.

After this council, John, the local archimandrite, was expelled from Kefra Birtha (*ibid.*, p. 266).

The archimandrite Constantine of the Kefra Birtha monastery is mentioned in *Documenta... monophysitarum* (Chabot), pp. 163, 173, 181, 184.

Bishop Sergius, from the fort Birtha situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, towards the end of the year 505 received a subvention from the emperor Anastasius (491—518) which enabled him to repair the fortification walls of his residence (Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* [Martin], xciii).

Hierocles, *Synecdemus* (Burckhardt), p. 39, and Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio* (Gelzer), p. 45, name Birtha as one of the towns of the eparchy of Rosroines (Osroëne).

APPENDIX XIII

PHALIGA, CIRCESIUM, AND ḲARḲÎSIJA'

The modern settlement of al-Bsejra is the ancient Circesium.

Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, p. 78, relates that the Syrian king Seleucus, called Callinicus, built two towns on the river Ḥabôra (or al-Ḥâbûr). One he named Callinicus (Kallinikos) after himself, the second Carcis. (Barhebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum* [Bedjan], 38, writes Ḳarḳîsûn instead of Carcis.) —

Not one of the classical authors known to us mentions a town of Carcis built by Seleucus Callinicus (Seleucus II, 247—226 B. C.). But the Seleucids were great builders and it is therefore possible that they founded the Hellenic settlement of Carcis at the junction of al-Ḫâbûr with the Euphrates, an important commercial point where there had probably been a native settlement before. The Hellenic name Carcis was later revived by Diocletian as Circesium.

Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), p. 248, refers to the settlement of Phaliga at the influx of the Chaboras into the Euphrates, and states that the name Phaliga means "halfway"; he also mentions a fortified little town of Nabagath adjoining Phaliga.

Arrian, *Fragmenta*, X (Müller, p. 588), where he describes the sailing of Trajan's fleet on the Euphrates, mentions a place called Phalga (see Roos, *Studia arrianea* [1912], pp. 50f.).

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 656, says correctly in explanation that Phalga is a place situated halfway between Seleucia Pieria and Seleucia in Mesopotamia. — The distance from Phalga to Seleucia Pieria along the Euphrates is 840 kilometers and thence to Seleucia in Mesopotamia 850 kilometers. The name Phalga was probably given to the settlement by the commercial caravans, while its original name no doubt sounded entirely different. In my opinion Phalga is identical with the Hellenic settlement of Carcis, built for the merchants close to the native settlement of Nabagath. Even the present ruins appear to be divided into two unequal halves. In the southern half, or the present al-Bsejra, I locate the fortified settlement of Nabagath; in the northern, or the present al-Mitraṣ, the commercial center of Carcis or Phalga.

It must be of this commercial center of Phaliga that Pliny was thinking when he said (*Nat. hist.*, V, 89) that very close to the Roman town of Sura lies the Parthian town of Philiscum, about ten days' sail from Seleucia and nearly as far from Babylon.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIII, 5 : 2, relates that the Emperor Diocletian had the small, miserable Circesium (Cercusium) enclosed by high walls with towers in order to prevent the Persians from pillaging Syria as easily as they had done until a few years previously. — It follows from this that Diocletian did not build a new settlement, but only fortified the ancient Circesium (or Carcis [Phaliga]), making of it a powerful frontier stronghold. The settlement of Nabagath was joined to the Hellenic settlement of Carcis and the Hellenic designation revived.

In 363 A. D. the Emperor Julian, while marching against the Persians, reached Circesium, a Roman camp on the Assyrian border, enclosed by the rivers Abora (al-Ḫâbûr) and Euphrates (Ammianus Marcellinus, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 5 : 2; Magnus Carrhenus, Fragmenta [Müller], pp. 4f.; Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 13).

The resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 were signed among others by Abraham, bishop of Circesium (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 199; Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, col. 473; Mansi, *Concilia* [1759—1798], Vol. 7, col. 432).

In 502 Persian Arabs suddenly appeared near the fort of Circesium on al-Ḫâbûr, but the *dux* Timostrates from the town of Callinicus overtook and annihilated them (Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* [Martin], p. 58).

In the beginning of the sixth century one Nuna from Circesium is mentioned as bishop (*Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum* [Brooks], p. 61).

In 536 the declaration of the Eastern bishops against the Acephalians was signed by David, bishop of Circesium (Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 1222).

During the reign of Justinian, al-Mundir, the king of the Persian Arabs, plundered the border districts along al-Ḫâbûr and al-Balîḫ and also got possession of the town of Ḥomṣ (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 270f.).

The Roman frontier fort of Circesium lay on the right bank of the river Aborras (al-Ḫâbûr) where it flows into the Euphrates, and formed with its bastioned walls a triangle between these two rivers (Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 5 : 2—4).

Diocletian did not wall in the whole fort but had merely a rampart built outside the town from the Aborras to the Euphrates, strengthening it, in addition, with a tower overlooking each river. The sides adjoining the rivers were left without ramparts, the rivers forming, in his opinion, a sufficient protection in themselves. When the southern tower by the Aborras was undermined to such an extent as to be on the point of collapsing, at Justinian's order it was rebuilt of basalt. The two sides along the rivers were also provided with ramparts and the settlement raised to the rank of a town. It received a garrison commanded by a *dux*; furthermore, baths were built there. (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 6 : 2—12; Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 9.)

In 580 a Roman army under the commander Maurice marched past the Roman town of Circesium. Its intention was to cross the remainder

of Arabia and then to surprise Babylonia. But the phylarch Alamundar (al-Mundir) is supposed to have informed the Persians, who destroyed the bridge across the Euphrates in the province of Bêt Aramâje', and simultaneously a Persian army led by Adormaan (*var.*, Adharmahan) appeared before the town of Callinicus. To counteract this, Maurice had the supply boats on the Euphrates burned and, hastening with some chosen troops to the aid of the endangered town, soon compelled the Persians to retreat. (John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 40; VI, 16f.; Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, III, 17: 5—11; Evagrius, *op. cit.*, V, 20.)

In 590 Chosroes II was fleeing before his stronger antagonist Warahân along the Euphrates between such forts tributary to the Persians as Pêrôz Šâbûr (al-Ambâr), Hît, and ʿÂna, in the direction of Circesium. When about ten miles from this frontier stronghold he sent messengers to its prefect Probus. After the third night watch they arrived before the gates and were at once admitted by the prefect; the next morning Chosroes himself entered the town with his women and suckling children. (Nöldeke, *Syrische Chronik* [1893], pp. 5f.; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo* [1893], p. 7; Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, IV, 10: 4—11.)

Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio* (Gelzer), p. 46, among the towns of the eparchy of Osroëne mentions Kirkesia (Circesium) lying on the borders of the Byzantine and Persian empires.

In 637 the Moslems from the town of Hît arrived before Ḳarḳîsija' (Circesium) and took this town by force (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2479).

Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 176, records that the Moslems in 639—640 concluded peace with the inhabitants of Ḳarḳîsija' on the same terms as with the town of ar-Raḳḳa.

In 684 mention is made of John, bishop of Circesium or Ḥabôra (al-Ḥâbûr) (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, pp. 438, 440). — The Syriac and Arabic authors therefore called the town not only Ḳarḳîsija' but gave it a name derived from that of the river al-Ḥâbûr.

About 700 in the time of the Caliph ʿAbdalmalek, Chief ʿUmejr ibn al-Ḥubâb encamped with his warriors of the Ḳejs tribe by the river al-Balîḫ between Ḥarrân and ar-Raḳḳa, whence he made raids on the Kalb and al-Jemânijje tribes. Thence he transferred his camp to al-Ḥâbûr. The Taṛleb tribe camped at that time between the rivers al-Ḥâbûr, Euphrates, and Tigris. ʿUmejr attacked the Taṛleb settlement at Mâkesîn by the river al-Ḥâbûr one day's march from Ḳarḳîsija'. The warriors of the Taṛleb tribe in retaliation plundered the settlements of the Ḳejs tribe in the neighborhood of Ḳarḳîsija'. (Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 20, p. 127; Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 4, pp. 254f.)

Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 106, mentions among the Mesopotamian districts Râs al-ʿAjn, Ḳarḳîsija', and ar-Raḳḳa.

Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâʾib*, (British Museum MS.), fols. 32 r. f., (Le Strange), p. 12, says that the rivers al-Ḥâbûr and al-Hermâs merge in the desert into one single stream which flows past the various estates built north of Ḳarḳîsija', where this stream empties into the Euphrates.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 139f., 155, records that the nomads possessed themselves of numerous towns and settlements on the river al-Ḥâbûr. Whenever the Euphrates country has a powerful lord

the settlements there live in peace; but, once the power is taken away from such a lord, they soon perish under the predatory attacks of the nomads. The town of Ḳarḳîsija' lying on al-Ḫâbûr is blessed with numerous trees and gardens, where various kinds of vegetables are raised. The distance from there to the town of al-Ḫânûḳa is two days.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 74, says that there are gardens and fields on al-Ḫâbûr for a distance of twenty parasangs above its mouth at Ḳarḳîsija'.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 145, records that al-Ḫâbûr is a town on the Euphrates, not large but very pleasant. It is surrounded by trees and gardens with much fruit and vegetables.

In 1220 al-Malek al-Ašraf had the son of ʿImâdaddîn, the lord of the town of Ḳarḳîsija', arrested and then took possession of the town of ʿÂna and other places belonging to him (Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rîḫ* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d'or. lat.*, Vol. 5, p. 63).

In 1260 a pontoon bridge was built at Ḳarḳîsija' for the Mongols (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syriacum* [Bedjan], p. 554).

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 281, writes that Ḳarḳîsija' is a town which once belonged to Queen az-Zabba' and that there are various inhabited houses there.

Ad-Dimišḳi, *Nuḫba* (Mehren), p. 191, states that the river al-Ḫâbûr rises at Râs al-ʿAjn. Its length is seven parasangs and it is adjoined by the districts of aṣ-Ṣuwwar, Mâḳesîn, Šamsânijje, ʿArâbân, Ṭâbân, al-Maǧdal, and Sâʿa', as well as by the capital Ḳarḳîsija'; the latter, however, had already been demolished before ad-Dimišḳi's time (the beginning of the fourteenth century).

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 444, states that the town of Ḳarḳîsija' lay in the territory of the Muḍar tribe on the right bank of al-Ḫâbûr at its outlet into the Euphrates. Ǧarîr ibn ʿAbdallâh al-Beǧeli died there.

APPENDIX XIV

ZAITHA, DURA, AND SAOCORAS

Al-Merwânijje was the station of Zaitha, the burial place of the Emperor Gordian.

Eutropius, *Breviarium*, IX, 2, relates that Gordian was murdered not far from the Roman borders at the instigation of Philip, who became emperor after him. At the twentieth milestone from Circesium the soldiers erected a mausoleum in his honor, but his body they brought to Rome.

Julius Capitolinus, *Gordiani tres*, 34, adds to this that the soldiers built the mausoleum to Gordian at Circeium (*var.*, Circesium) on the Persian border and carved on it Greek, Latin, Persian, Jewish, and Egyptian inscriptions. This mausoleum is said to have been destroyed later by Licinius.

In the first half of the fourth century of our era the hermit Benjamin lived in the deserted town of Dûra', after which the whole surrounding

desert is named. The Angel of God (the Lord's messenger) ordered him to go from there to the ridge of Sinğâr, situated to the east. (Hoffmann, *Auszüge* [1880], pp. 28 f.) — The town of Dûra' is aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje and ač-Ča'âbi of today.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIII, 5 : 4—8; XXIV, 1 : 5, records that in the year 363 A. D. from Abora (al-Ḫâbûr) the Roman army reached a place called Zaitha — this name meaning "Olive Tree" — where stood a monument to the Emperor Gordian, visible from afar. After paying honor to his predecessor, Julian hastened toward the deserted town of Dura. On the way his soldiers captured a large lion. Dura lies two marches from Cercusium (Circesium) on the river bank. In the vicinity several herds of deer were grazing.

Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 14, writes that Julian's army after a march of sixty stades (from Circesium) reached the station of Zautha and from there came to the former town of Dura, where a mausoleum was erected to Gordian. —

Neither the distance from the settlement of Zaitha to Circesium nor the record of the location of Gordian's sepulchral mound, which was not at Dura but at Zaitha, has been correctly preserved by Zosimus. Zosimus is the first who brings the colony of Zaitha into connection with the town of Dura and who ascribes to the latter events which really happened in the former. The settlement of Zaitha lay in the district of Dura, so called after the old town of Dura, or Nicanoropolis, built by the Macedonians, to which the Greeks gave the name of Europus (Isidore of Charax, *op. cit.*, p. 247).

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 2, p. 1735, relates that Hišâm received in fief a desolated district called Dawrîn. — This Dawrîn district is identical with the desert or district of Dûra'.

Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Maḥre', *Chronicle* (Chabot), p. 26, states that in 717—718 A. D. Hišâm had irrigation canals dug, various towns, forts, and many settlements restored, and also gardens planted, all in the district of Zejtûn. — The "district of Zejtûn," called after the Zaitha colony, is merely another name of the desert of Dawrîn or Dûra'.

Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 180, records that Hišâm son of 'Abdalmalek originally resided at az-Zejtûne, had the canals of al-Hani and al-Mari dug, planted the estates of al-Hani and al-Mari, and restored a part of the town of ar-Raḳḳa. — According to this account, Hišâm resided at az-Zejtûne (Olive Tree), the old Roman colony of Zaitha, in his fief of Dawrîn or Zejtûn. When he became caliph and built himself a splendid residence in ar-Reṣâfa, he ordered the al-Hani and al-Mari canals to be dug near ar-Raḳḳa, which was not far from his residence; these canals irrigated the environs of ar-Raḳḳa on the right bank of al-Balîḫ.

Hišâm received the news that he had become caliph in 724—725 in a modest house at az-Zejtûne (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1467 f.) — that is, in the settlement of Zaitha.

In 744—745 (*ibid.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1895, 1907, 1908 f., 1913) the Caliph Merwân sent his lieutenant, Ibn Hubejra, with twenty thousand auxiliary troops to march towards Irak, but with orders to encamp at Dawrîn and there to wait for him. After this, Merwân marched from ar-Reṣâfa by way of ar-Raḳḳa in the direction of Ḳarḳîsija', repeating his order to Ibn

Hubejra to remain in his camp near Dawrîn. Another account makes Ibn Hubejra encamp by the canal of Saʿîd ibn ʿAbdalmalek. — Both these reports, although seemingly at variance, are in reality in agreement and confirm us in the following explanation of the circumstances. Merwân must have marched from ar-Reṣâfa by way of ar-Raḳḳa towards Ḳarḳîsija', following his lieutenant, Ibn Hubejra. Accordingly the camp of the latter should be located southwest of Ḳarḳîsija', where the district of Dawrîn extends between the left bank of the lower al-Ḫâbûr and the Euphrates. The Nahr Saʿîd — that is, the canal named after Saʿîd, the son of ʿAbdalmalek — branched off from the Euphrates about thirteen kilometers northwest of Ḳarḳîsija' to irrigate the flood plain along the right bank of the river as far down as the southern end of the district of Dawrîn. The army led by Ibn Hubejra camped without doubt on both banks southwest of Ḳarḳîsija', therefore partly in Dawrîn and partly in the district of Nahr Saʿîd.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 74, names az-Zejtûne among the more important administrative districts of that period. — This az-Zejtûne evidently indicated the vicinity of the ancient settlement of Zaitha and consequently the whole district of Dawrîn. Moreover, as Hišâm, a member of Merwân's family, after receiving in fief the district of az-Zejtûn (or Dawrîn), restored the neglected canals and thus caused the agricultural areas as well as the towns and settlements there to flourish anew, it is not surprising that the memory of the Beni Merwân, their former lords, was kept green among the people and that the residence of these lords, the settlement of Zaitha, was called al-Merwânijje in their honor.

The Caliph Merwân II (744—750 A. D.) issued an order to demolish Hišâm's estates on the Euphrates and at other points; but Hišâm's protégés, withdrawing into his fort on the Euphrates opposite ar-Raḥba, defied Merwân from there in an insulting manner. Hastily collecting some troops, Merwân marched on their stronghold, captured it, and had four hundred of them executed (Agapius, *ʿUnwân* [Vasiliev], *Patrol. or.*, Vol. 8, pp. 517 f.). — We shall not be far wrong in locating Hišâm's fort in the Roman camp of Zaitha, the az-Zejtûne of Hišâm, al-Merwânijje of today. Ar-Raḥba, the present al-Mijâdîn, lies about twenty kilometers to the northwest on the right bank of the Euphrates.

According to al-ʿImâd (Abu Šâma, *Rawḍatejn* [Cairo, 1277—1278 A. H.], Vol. 2, p. 32), Saladin in the latter part of 1182 took Râs ʿAjn, Dawrîn, Mâkesîn, aš-Šamsânijje, al-Fudejn, al-Maǧdal, and al-Ḥuṣejn — all situated on the river al-Ḫâbûr, which he crossed beyond the Ḳanṭarat at-Tunejnîr on the road to Naṣîbîn. — The place names are not given in their geographical order. Ad-Dawrîn probably stands for the whole district, yet it is not unlikely that al-ʿImâd thus called the settlement of as-Sukejr, at which the Dawrîn canal branches off from the river al-Ḫâbûr.

The Dawrîn canal issues from al-Ḫâbûr below the settlement of as-Sičer, the ancient as-Sukejr. According to Ibn Serapion, *ʿAǧâ'ib*, (British Museum MS), fols. 32 r. f., (Le Strange), p. 12, the river al-Ḫâbûr joins the river al-Hermâs in the desert, forming one single stream which flows along the farms north of Ḳarḳîsija' and at this town empties into the Euphrates. From al-Hermâs the river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr again branches off at a point near Sukejr al-ʿAbbâs, runs through the desert, and flows into

the Tigris below Tekrît. — Ibn Serapion gives us a solution of the riddle of the river Saocoras; this river, according to Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 18: 3, rises east of the Chaboras (al-Ḫâbûr) and empties southeast of it into the Euphrates. The upper course of Ptolemy's Saocoras is identical with al-Hermâs of the Arabic writers, which, coming from the northeast, joins al-Ḫâbûr proper. The latter rises to the northwest. At the settlement of as-Sukejr fifteen kilometers north of Ḳarḳîsija' the Dawrîn canal issues from the united al-Ḫâbûr and al-Hermâs, and flows 112 kilometers southeast to where it empties into the Euphrates. Ptolemy evidently believed that this canal was the lower course of the Saocoras, deriving the name from the settlement of Sukejr, where the canal leaves al-Ḫâbûr. He recorded correctly the upper and lower courses of his Saocoras, but failed to state that in its central part it formed with al-Ḫâbûr one single stream. The Arabic geographers, to whom Ptolemy was a source of much information, understood well enough that his Saocoras at its origin was identical with al-Hermâs, but, knowing also that it did not flow into the Euphrates independently, they connected its middle and lower course with mysterious river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr.

APPENDIX XV

THE THAPSACUS OF PTOLEMY AND AR-RAḤBA OF THE ARABS

Al-Mijâḍîn I regard as the ford of Thapsacus placed by Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 19: 3, on the right bank of the Euphrates below the mouth of the river Chaboras (al-Ḫâbûr) (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 502f.). This is confirmed by the Moslem tradition that in the time before Islam this town was called Furḍat Nu'm. Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 917, says that Furḍat Nu'm is Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ.

Ibn Miskawajh, *Taǧârib* (Caetani), p. 87, writes that originally Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ bore the name al-Furḍa.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 797, asserts that the place Nu'm lies at Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ on the Euphrates and that close by was the monastery of Dejr Nu'm (*ibid.*, Vol. 2. p. 704). Elsewhere he says that the valley of Na'mân in Syria winds near ar-Raḥba (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 796).

The name Thapsacus (Ford) has the same meaning as the Arabic al-Furḍa. Al-Furḍa was the first Roman settlement (going up the Euphrates) while al-Ḳâjem was the first Persian frontier fort (going down the Euphrates) (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 760; Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 5, pp. 123f.; al-Bekri, *Mu'ǧam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 359; Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* [Juynboll], Vol. 1, p. 437). — The Persian fort of al-Ḳâjem is identical with the present station of al-Ḳâjem, 106 kilometers east-southeast of al-Mijâḍîn, the Roman Thapsacus and early Moslem ar-Raḥba.

Al-Belâḍori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 180, relates that there were no remains of old buildings on the spot where, in the reign of the Caliph

al-Ma'mûn (813—833 A. D.), Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ ibn ʿAttâb at-Taṛlebi built and restored the town of ar-Raḥba.

Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 7, p. 188, also says that Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ at-Taṛlebi built the town of ar-Raḥba. The latter died in 873 - 874 A. D.

His son Aḥmad succeeded him as the lord of the town, but in 883 was driven out by Ibn Abi as-Sâǧ, to whose share fell al-Anbâr, Ṭarîḳ al-Furât, and Raḥba Ṭowḳ (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 2039).

On March 3, 928 A. D., the town of ar-Raḥba was attacked by the Carmathians, who, besides looting it, carried away with them from the town and the vicinity about five thousand captives (Ibn Miskawajh, *Taǧârib* [Amedroz], Vol. 1, pp. 182f.; ʿArîb, *Ṣila* [De Goeje], p. 134; al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* [De Goeje], pp. 384f.; Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, p. 132).

The following years were filled with continual fights for the government of the town, which suffered greatly in consequence. In 938—939 soldiers, sent by Baǧkam of Bagdad, reached ar-Raḥba in five days, arrested the unreliable governor, and brought him on a camel to Bagdad (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, pp. 266f.).

In 941—942 Baǧkam's courtier, ʿAdel, obtained possession of ar Raḥba and of the whole district of Ṭarîḳ al-Furât, as well as of a part of al-Ḫâbûr (*ibid.*, p. 295).

In 947—948 Ǧamân, a member of the Taṛleb tribe and an untrustworthy lieutenant of Nâṣeraddowle, became the lord of ar-Raḥba. Ǧamân rebelled against his chief and laid siege to the town of ar-Raḳḳa, but was repulsed. The inhabitants of ar-Raḥba then fell upon his followers and killed many of them in revenge for their cruel administration. For this Ǧamân made the inhabitants suffer greatly when he returned; but he was soon afterwards expelled by one of Nâṣeraddowle's courtiers and on his flight was drowned in the Euphrates. (*Ibid.*, pp. 357f.)

The sons of Nâṣeraddowle begrudged each other the inheritance from their father and from quarreling came to blows about it. Ar-Raḥba fell to the share of Nâṣeraddowle's son, Hamdân, but in the spring of 969 the latter was driven out and fled to Irak. Being reconciled with his brothers, he returned to ar-Raḥba in the spring of 970, but not long afterwards was compelled to yield his position to his brother Abu-l-Barakât and seek refuge in the desert near Tadmur. Yet no sooner had Abu-l-Barakât marched off to ar-Raḳḳa, than Hamdân with his men approached the town at night; some of the troops climbed over the walls and opened the gate to Hamdân, who entered the town again without the governor, who had been appointed by Abu-l-Barakât, learning of it. Hamdân then gave orders to alarm the town by blowing horns and beating drums, which brought the defenders to the walls, as they believed the enemy were firing outside. There some were killed, some made prisoners, and Hamdân again became the lord of ar-Raḥba. Leaving his lieutenant there, he now crossed the Euphrates and marched against the town of ʿArabân. But the lieutenant, stealing all his master's property, fled with it to Hamdân's brother, Abu Taṛleb. This caused Hamdân to return quickly to ar-Raḥba, but he was soon besieged by Abu Taṛleb's army and had to flee. Abu Taṛleb thus became lord of ar-Raḥba and had its walls rebuilt. (*Ibid.*, pp. 437f.)

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik*, (De Goeje), p. 155, says that Raḥbat Mâlek

ibn Ṭowḳ exceeds al-Ḥânûḳa in size. It is a fine town, enclosed by stout walls, but suffers greatly from interminable factional fights. There are water and many trees there on the east side of the Euphrates; date palms and various other fruits also thrive.—

Ibn Ḥawḳal's account is not sufficiently clear. It would seem that ar-Raḥba lay on the east side of the Euphrates, whereas in reality it was built on the right bank. On the left bank there were probably a suburb and irrigated tracts owned by the townspeople. Date palms will grow there, but their fruit will not ripen. The present inhabitants say that dates ripen in the environs of Abu Čemâl only rarely in especially hot summers and when winter sets in much later than usual. The limit of the date belt is marked by the islet of al-Karâble near ʿÂna, to which the hot southeast winds penetrate up the Euphrates valley.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 77, writes that Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ is larger than Ḳarḳîsija' and that it contains many trees and much water and is on the west bank of the Euphrates.

In 978—979 Abu Taṛleb lost ar-Raḥba, which, together with ar-Raḳḳa, came under the control of ʿAḍudaddowle (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, pp. 511f.).

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 142, mentions that ar-Raḥba is the center of the administrative district of al-Furât. It was a large town built in a semicircle on the edge of the desert and protected by a mighty fort. Other towns by the desert were also inhabited.

In 991—992 the inhabitants of ar-Raḥba requested Baha'addowle to send them a governor, which he did (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, p. 64).

Soon after, ar-Raḥba came into the possession of Abu ʿAli ibn Ṯamâl al-Ḥafâği, who, in 1008—1009, was killed by ʿÎsa ibn Ḫalâṭ of the ʿOḳejl tribe; but in turn the slayer was defeated and killed by the army sent against him by the Egyptian sultan, al-Ḥâkem Bi'amrallâh. This army was driven out by Bedrân ibn al-Muḳalled, also an ʿOḳejli, but Lu'lu', the lieutenant of the Egyptian sultan in Damascus, then took both ar-Raḳḳa and ar-Raḥba and brought them once more under Egyptian rule. However, one Ibn Muḥkân (or Meğlekân), a citizen of ar-Raḥba, obtained possession of the town and, seeking support, finally allied himself with Ṣâleḥ ibn Mirdâs al-Kilâbi, who owned the town of al-Ḥilla. Ibn Muḥkân also took the settlement of ʿÂna, but was killed by his ally, who then became the lord of ar-Raḥba. (*Ibid.*, p. 148; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *ʿIbar* [Bûlâḳ, 1284 A.H.], Vol. 4, p. 271.)

Abu ʿAlwân Ṯamâl, the son of Ṣâleḥ, succeeded his father in the control of ar-Raḥba and in the autumn of 1042 also took possession of the fort of the town of Aleppo (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, p. 163).

At this time ar-Raḥba had many Christian inhabitants, who also had their bishop (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, Vol. 3, p. 263).

The Syriac authors called this town Reḥobôt (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syriacum* [Bedjan], pp. 291, 305).

In the spring of 1060 the town was taken by ʿAṭijje, another of Ṣâleḥ's sons (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 8).

In 1086—1087 the sultan Malekšâh gave in fief to Muḥammad, son of Šarafaddowle, ar-Raḥba with all the environs, as well as Ḥarrân. Sarûğ, ar-Raḳḳa, and al-Ḫâbûr (*ibid.*, p. 105; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 9).

In 1096 the town of ar-Raḥba was conquered and plundered by one Kerbôḳa, who came out against it from al-Ḥilla (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 177).

After Kerbôḳa's death in 1102, ar-Raḥba was held by Ḳâjimâz, a former general of Sultan Alp Arslân. The sultan of Damascus besieged him without success. Ḳâjimâz died at the close of the spring of 1103 and was succeeded by a Turkish commander named Ḥasan. Therefore the sultan of Damascus sent a new expedition against ar-Raḥba, which was surrendered to him by the inhabitants. Ḥasan defended himself in the fort for a time, but at last accepted a pardon and as reward received in fief several estates in Syria. The sultan of Damascus restored order in the town, treated the inhabitants charitably, and left a garrison there, at the same time appointing as governor Muḥammad ibn as-Sabbâḳ of the Beni Šejbân tribe, whose little son he took with him to Damascus as hostage. (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 249.)

In the beginning of 1107 Ǧâwali set out from Mosul by way of Sinǧâr to ar-Raḥba, which he besieged from February 26 to May 19. The inhabitants offered a brave resistance, but when the distress in the town became unbearable, the defenders of one of the towers promised the enemy commander to let him in if he would spare life and property. The commander then sent his men on the flooded river in boats up to the walls, whence at midnight they were hoisted by ropes into a tower. Once in the town the soldiers blew their horns and beat their drums and so frightened the rest of the defenders that next morning Ǧâwali was able to enter the town. He permitted his army to plunder until noon of that day. Muḥammad aš-Šejbâni became reconciled with him and accepted service under him. (Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *Dajl* [Amedroz], pp. 156f.; Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 297.)

Soon after this, ar-Raḥba came into the power of the al-Barsaḳi family (*ibid.*, pp. 360f.). In 1127 ʿEzzeddîn Masʿûd ibn al-Barsaḳi, who attempted to conquer Syria, died there. He began his campaign at ar-Raḥba, to which he laid siege. The inhabitants defended themselves vigorously. ʿEzzeddîn fell sick but felt much relieved when he learned that the garrison of the main fort had surrendered. When he died an hour later the inhabitants regretted having let his troops enter the fort. After his death his followers dispersed, pursued and killed each other, none taking the least care of the dead body of their leader, which was not buried until some time after. The succession falling to ʿEzzeddîn's young brother, his affairs were administered by the mameluke, Ǧâwali, to whom Sultan ʿImâdaddîn Zenki gave ar-Raḥba in fief. (*Ibid.*, pp. 453f.)

In 1149—1150 Ḳoṭbaddîn, the son of Zenki, was the lord of ar-Raḥba (*ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 93). At that time the town, lying on the banks of the river and to the east of the Euphrates, was flourishing. According to al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 145, it was enclosed by walls of mud bricks and adorned with various buildings and market places.

Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *op. cit.*, p. 344, records that on August 12, 1157, both Salamja and ar-Raḥba were demolished by an earthquake.

At the end of 1161 the Ḥafâǧe tribesmen were pillaging the country around al-Ḥilla and al-Kûfa and when the military were sent against

them they retreated as far as Raḥbat aš-Šâm, where they were pursued by the soldiers. Numbers of other nomads having joined the Ḥafâğe tribe, they attacked the soldiers' camp and captured their supplies and mules; whereupon the soldiers took to flight and many of them perished. One of their commanders took refuge behind the walls of ar-Raḥba, whence he was brought to Bagdad. (*Ibid.*, pp. 182f.) — It is interesting to note that this account mentions first Raḥbat aš-Šâm and then ar-Raḥba. It would seem from the context that the two names do not indicate the same town.

Saladin gave ar-Raḥba and Ḥomṣ in fief to his cousin Nâṣeraddîn Muḥammad ibn Šîrkûh, a drunkard who died in his cups. Ar-Raḥba remained in the hands of his family until 1264, when the sultan Bîbars of Egypt appointed his own governor there. (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 341; Vol. 12, p. 189; Abu-l-Feda', *Muḫtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 4, p. 142; Vol. 5, p. 16.)

Jâḳût, who visited the town at this time, writes (*Muʿğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 764) that the distance from Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ to Damascus is eight days, to Aleppo five days, and to Bagdad one hundred parasangs, while to ar-Raḳḳa it is little over twenty parasangs. Raḥba is situated between ar-Raḳḳa and Bagdad on the bank of the Euphrates below Ḳarḳîsija', and according to some is said to have been built in the reign of the Caliph al-Maʾmûn; according to others during Harun ar-Rashid's reign. Its geographical latitude is 33°, its longitude, 60° 15'.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, pp. 464f., in repeating Jâḳût's statement, substitutes ʿÂna for Bagdad, writing that ar-Raḥba lies on the Euphrates between ar-Raḳḳa and ʿÂna.

Ad-Dimišḳi, *Nuḫba* (Mehren), p. 202, mentions, among the eastern Syrian towns, ar-Raḥbat al-Furâtijje, which is situated on the enemy's boundaries and dominates large territories.

In 1313 Ḫarbanda with his Mongols besieged ar-Raḥba and made raids into Syria. The lords of the different Syrian towns assembled with their armies in the environs of Ḥamaʾ, and their spies penetrated as far as ʿOrḍ and as-Suḫne. When hunger and pestilence broke out in Ḫarbanda's camp, he withdrew, leaving his siege engines behind. The defenders brought them to the fort of ar-Raḥba. (Abu-l-Feda', *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pp. 268f.)

In 1315—1316 Ibn al-Arkaši, the governor of ar-Raḥba at the time when it was besieged by Ḫarbanda, died at Damascus (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 300).

Ḫalîl aḍ-Ḍâheri, *Zubda* (Ravaisse), p. 50, as late as the second half of the fifteenth century of the Christian era writes that ar-Raḥba was a town of fine buildings and that many settlements belonged to it. It formed a part of the political district of Aleppo.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 444, merely repeats the older accounts of ar-Raḥba. He says that is was built by Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ at-Taṛlebi on a hill by the Euphrates between ʿÂna and ar-Raḳḳa. After some time it was demolished, but in 1321 Šîrkûh ibn Muḥammad, the lord of Ḥomṣ, had it rebuilt and in his time it was an important center for the caravans between Syria and Irak. — Ḥağği Ḫalfa was undoubtedly thinking of the fort of ar-Rḥaba lying near the town al-Mijâḍîn, because in his time all caravans going from Bagdad to Syria turned away from the Euphrates at this fort, as we are told by the

European authors. Thus Tavernier, *Les six voyages* (Paris, 1676), Vol. 1, p. 285, writes that Mached-raba is a fortress not far from the Euphrates on a hill at the foot of which a copious spring fills a pond. A high wall with several rectangular towers enclosed white huts, where the inhabitants kept their cattle. — This Mached-raba is the French transcription of the word Mašhad ar-Raḥba and refers to the fortified settlement of al-Mešhed or Mešhed ʿAli, nine kilometers southwest of the fort of ar-Rḥaba, near al-Mijâḏîn.

APPENDIX XVI

ANATHA OR ʿÂNA

The center of the ʿÂna settlement originally lay on the islands, which have always been very fertile and in former times were surely not eroded away to the extent they are today. Their inhabitants were not only safe from the nomads, but were even able to subjugate the surrounding settlements. For this reason the Assyrians usually had the political district of Sûḫi administered by the lords of ʿÂna.

Tukulti Enurta II (889—884 B.C.) received as the tribute due him from Ilu Ibni, the prefect of Sûḫi, who lived in the town of Anat lying in the middle of the Euphrates: three talents of silver, twenty minae of gold, a chair inlaid with ivory, three *pidnu* of ivory, eighteen pieces of lead, forty tree trunks of *meškanni* wood, a couch of *meškanni* wood, six tables of *meškanni* wood, a bronze pitcher, various dresses and embroideries, variegated fabrics, cattle, sheep, bread, and drink (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pl. 3], obverse, ll. 69—73; Scheil *op. cit.*, p. 18).

Arrian, describing in his tenth book the sailing of Trajan's fleet to Coche, calls this settlement Anatha and also Tyros (Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* [Meineke], p. 643; Roos, *Studia arrianea* [1912], pp. 50f.).

After having become Christian, Muʿajn, commander under the Sassanian king Sapor II (309-379 A.D.), built ninety-six monasteries, churches, and other sanctuaries and consecrated priests and other clergy at Šiggâr (Sinǧâr). Afterwards he went to ʿÂnath, where, on the banks of the Euphrates two miles from ʿÂnath, he built for himself a hermitage, in which he lived seven years. He healed the sick with such success that his fame spread all over Persia. (Hoffmann, *Auszüge* [1880], p. 30; Wright, *Catalogue* [1870—1872], p. 1135, col. 1.)

Fort Anatha was situated on an island. In 363 A.D. the Roman fleet surrounded it before daybreak. When observed at sunrise, the Romans put their siege engines in readiness and summoned the inhabitants to surrender. After consulting together the latter did so, driving before them a garlanded bull as a sign that they desired peace. The fort was then set on fire and the inhabitants moved with their property to the Syrian town of Chalcis. Next day several ships were sunk by the wind and swollen waters and broken to pieces on the walls built in the river

for irrigation purposes (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 1: 6—9).

Mebârak, a contemporary of Mar Bar-ʿIdta' in the middle of the sixth century of our era, was a native of ʿÂna, a town by the river Euphrates (Budge, *Histories* [1902], Vol. 1, p. 127).

In the beginning of 591 Varamus sent a troop of soldiers to the fort of ʿÂna, lying on the Euphrates near Circesium, to prevent Chosroes from returning to Persia. But the soldiers killed their commander and declared for Chosroes. (Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, V, 1: 2; V, 2: 3.)

In the beginning of the seventh century the bishop of the Ṭaʿlabijje nomads resided at ʿÂna (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719—1728], Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 607).

Imrulḳajs (*Dîwân* [De Slane], p. 36), al-Aḫṭal (*Dîwân* [Salhani], p. 117), and ʿAlḳama (*Dîwân* [Socin], p. 7) mention the wine of ʿÂna.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 74, names among the towns of the administrative district of al-Furât: Ḳarḳîsija', ar-Raḥba, ad-Dâlija, ʿÂnât, Hît, al-Ḥadîṯa, and ar-Rabb. — Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh names the separate towns in the order of their location from northwest to southeast.

Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 233, writes that the Euphrates flows alongside of ar-Raḥba, all around ʿÂna, and past the settlements of Hît and al-Anbâr.

Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 129, also refers to ʿÂnât among the towns famous for their wine.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 78, describes ʿÂna as a little town in the middle of the Euphrates.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 138, says that the largest town on the Euphrates is Raḥbat ibn Ṭowḳ. Besides this, there are Ḳarḳîsija', ʿÂna, ad-Dâlija, and al-Ḥadîṯa. Aš-Šâbušti, *Dijârât* (Codex berolinensis), fols. 100 v. f., refers to the monastery Ma' Serǧîs in the inhabited town of ʿÂna on the Euphrates, a fine large structure with many monks and a favorite resort of the population. It was surrounded by vineyards, gardens, trees, wine presses, and pleasure grounds. Close to the settlement of ʿÂna the wet nurse of the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid is buried. She accompanied him once on a journey from Bagdad to ar-Raḳḳa, fell sick and died at ʿÂna. Harun ar-Rashid then bought a tract of land near the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳanâṭer on the banks of the Euphrates and, burying her there, built a tomb over her grave, called to this day Ḳubbet al-Barmakijje (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, pp. 693 f.; Abu-l-Farağ, *Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 17, p. 129).

In 1008—1009 the inhabitants of the little town of ʿÂna accepted Ibn Muḥkân as their lord. He sent them a number of his followers and trusted his property to their charge, but exacted hostages. Soon afterwards, however, they rebelled against him, exchanged his captive children for their hostages, and kept his property. Ibn Muḥkân found an ally in the person of Ṣâleḥ ibn Mirdâs, emir of the Kilâb tribe. With his help he regained ʿÂna, but was soon afterwards assassinated by Ṣâleḥ, who became the sole lord of ʿÂna and ar-Raḥba. (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 9, p. 148.)

In 1023—1024 Ḥassân, emir of the Ṭajj tribe, Ṣâleḥ ibn Mirdâs, emir of the Kilâb tribe, and Sinân ibn ʿAlejjân formed a league against the Egyptian governor of Syria and agreed among themselves that Ṣâleḥ

was to get the territory between Aleppo and ʿÂna, Ḥassân the region from ar-Ramle as far as Egypt, while Damascus was to go to Sinân. Ṣâleḥ actually succeeded in conquering the whole territory from Baalbek to ʿÂna and resided in Aleppo for six years. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 162.)

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 641, says that ʿÂna, like Hît, belonged to the administrative district of al-Anbâr and was renowned for its wine. The settlements of ʿÂna and Hît had been almost completely in ruins at the time when Anushirwan had a ditch dug from Hît as far as al-Kâẓima near al-Baṣra (where it ended in the sea) and had watch-towers built as a protection against the inroads of the Arab nomads into the cultivated territory. —

I have examined the country southeast of Hît for a distance of nearly 250 kilometers without finding a trace of a fortification ditch, although I made a diligent search for one. The story probably originated in the natural formation of the ground. Fifty-five kilometers southeast of Hît begin the plateaus of Ṭâr al-Hejbân, Ṭâr aṣ-Ṣejhed, and others, which fall gently towards the east, but on the west overlook the depressions of al-Bḥêra and Ǧufr al-Mâleḥ with a somewhat precipitous escarpment. This escarpment, intersected in places by gaps of various widths, can be followed far to the southeast. A few kilometers below the settlement of Hît the remnants of a huge irrigation canal are still visible. This canal extended to the very beginning of the natural escarpment of Ṭâr al-Hejbân. All Persian frontier stations were built to the east of the scarp, which formed for them something of a natural line of fortification, as it could be ascended by the Arab camels with riders or freight only at the more passable places.

The inhabitants of ʿÂna joined the religious sect of al-Bâṭenijje. For a long time no notice was taken of this sect, but at last, during the reign of the Caliph al-Muḳtadi, they were denounced to him and their elders had to undergo an examination by the vizier, Abu Šuǧǧâʿ (1083–1091), at Bagdad; but as they denied everything, nothing was done to them. (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 221.)

In October, 1103, the Turkomans took the towns of ʿÂna and al-Ḥadîṯa, which until then had belonged to the Beni Jaʿîš clan. When Sejfaddowle Ṣadaḳa ibn Mazjad came to the clan's assistance, the Turkomans fled. But no sooner had he returned to the town of al-Ḥilla than the Turkomans possessed themselves of the towns again, plundered them, captured all the women, and then advanced against Hît along the right bank. Not far from Hît they turned back, not desiring to meet the army sent against them by Sejfaddowle. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10. p. 252.)

In 1143—1144 the Atabeg Zenki occupied ʿÂna (*ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 64).

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, pp. 144f., writes that ʿÂnât is a little town on an island in the Euphrates. There are market places and factories there.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 594f., states that the famous settlement of ʿÂna lies between the towns of ar-Raḳḳa and Hît in the administrative district of Mesopotamia. It is built on an elevation above the Euphrates near Ḥadîṯat an-Nûra and includes a stout fort. When King Anushirwan heard that the nomads were making raids on the inhabited borders, he restored the walls of the town of Alûs, built by the order of Sapor, and put in a garrison to guard the desert line. He also had a ditch dug from

the settlement of Hît, which was to run through the border of the desert as far as al-Kâẓima by al-Baṣra and to terminate in the sea. Along the ditch watchtowers were put up and barracks for the garrisons, whose duty it was to prevent the nomads from entering the settled territory. These fortifications were the cause of the destruction of Hît and ʿÂnât. —

The Anushirwan mentioned by al-Bekri and Jâḳût was Chosroes I (531—578). Alûs is the station of Âlûsa lying almost sixty kilometers northwest of Hît. King Sapor was Sapor II (309—379). According to this record Hît and ʿÂnât fell because they were situated northwest of the frontier forts and the garrison of the fort Alûs could not defend them.

In 1238 ʿÂna as well as ar-Raḥba and al-Ḥâbûr were subjected to the lord of Ḥomṣ (al-Maḳrîzi, *Sulûk* [Blochet's transl.], p. 427).

At the end of January, 1239, Naǧmaddîn Ajjûb yielded the towns of Sinǧâr, ar-Raḳḳa, and ʿÂna to Emir Jûnus al-Malek al-Ǧawwâd, who sold ʿÂna to the caliph al-Mustanṣer. With the proceeds of the sale Emir Jûnus crossed the desert to Gaza and joined the Crusaders in the fort of ʿAkka. (Abu-l-Feda', *Muḫtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 4, pp. 438, 460f.)

In the spring of 1241 ʿÂna was the caliph's property. The Khorasmians fleeing from the pursuit of al-Malek al-Manṣûr, who had just conquered Tell Ḥâbûr and Ḳarḳîsija', sought refuge there. (Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rîḫ* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d' or. lat.*, Vol. 6, pp. 12f.)

Towards the end of 1249 the Sultan al-Malek al-Muʿaẓẓam Tûrânšâh set out from ʿÂna with about fifty companions on a journey through the desert of as-Samâwa and reached without accident the settlement of al-Ḳuṣejr east of Damascus (al-Maḳrîzi, *op. cit.*, p. 528).

In 1253—1254 al-Malek an-Nâṣer Dâ'ûd, the ex-lord of al-Kerak, who had been imprisoned at Ḥomṣ, was set at liberty at the caliph's intercession. Al-Malek an-Nâṣer then went across the desert to Bagdad for the jewels he had deposited there, but was not allowed to enter the town. For that reason he remained in the neighborhood of ʿÂna and al-Ḥadîṯa. He was in such distress that the then lord of the towns of Tell Bâšer, Tadmur, and ar-Raḥba sent him flour and barley. Afterwards permission was given him to settle in the town of al-Anbâr, distant three days from Bagdad. (Abu-l-Feda', *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 530f.)

Al-Ḳazwîni, *ʿAǧâ'ib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 280, writes that the settlement of ʿÂna, situated between Hît and ar-Raḳḳa, is encircled by the Euphrates on all sides. There are many trees there and fruit; also vineyards which yield a famous wine. It has a strong fort. Whenever the Bagdad people are in distress they say that the caliph is in the settlement of ʿÂna. This saying dates from 1059, when the caliph of that period, al-Ḳâjem Bi'amrallâh, was imprisoned in ʿÂna, whence he did not return until the spring of 1060.

At the end of August, 1316, Muhanna ibn ʿÎsa, who had paid a visit to the Mongol leader, Ḥarbanda, near a place spelled "ḲNṚRlân," camped in the vicinity of ʿÂna (Abu-l-Feda', *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 308).

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 287, records that ʿÂna is a rather small settlement on an island in the middle of the Euphrates.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Faḏlakat at-tawârîḫ* (Codices vindobonenses, No. 1064 [H. O. 64], fol. 162r.; No. 1065, fol. 140r.), writes that in 1616 the lord of ʿÂna and Ḥadîṯa was Aḥmad abu Rîš.

In 1629 Philip the Carmelite (*Orientalische Räisebeschreibung* [Frankfurt, 1671], p. 78) came after two marches from Theibas (aṭ-Ṭajjibe) to the settlement of Reiba (ar-Raḥba), lying on a hillock not far from the Euphrates. Marching farther he found only small islets near the town of Anna. This town was said to have been the largest in that part of the desert and to have been quite famous until it was demolished by the Persians a few years before. It stretched on both sides of the Euphrates for about a mile at the foot of a mountain, from which it was separated by an enclosure. On the islet in the river a castle was built, which could be brought under fire from all the surrounding hills. The town was then half in ruins and populated only by Arabs and Jews.

Tavernier, *Les six voyages* (Paris, 1676), Vol. 1, pp. 285—287, relates that while going from Bagdad through the desert to the little town of Anna he saw at a distance of five hundred paces a lion in the act of mating with a lioness. The town of Anna he described as not very large and said that it belonged to an Arabian emir. The land was well cultivated for half a mile around. There were gardens and pleasure places there. Its situation reminded one of Paris, because it was built on both sides of the river opposite an islet where stood a fine mosque.

Della Valle, *Viaggi* (Venice, 1664), Vol. 1, p. 515, states that the town of Anna lay on both banks of the Euphrates, which was crossed in boats, of which the inhabitants had a great number. On either bank the town consisted of a single street over five miles long. The huts for the most part were built of mud, but were compact and pretty. Each had a garden with various trees, such as palms, oranges, lemons, figs, olives, pomegranates, and the like. In the river were many islets also overgrown with fruit trees. On the central island stood a fort. The town was not enclosed by a wall, but the steep bluffs shut in the gardens from the rear, leaving at both ends only a narrow passage along the river. The bluffs were so precipitous that it was impossible even to enter the town from them. The lord of the town and of the whole desert was Emir Feiad, who had a fine house there. His old surname was Abu Rizc ("The One With the Feather"). Although some of the inhabitants professed to be Moslems, they must have had a different faith, as they belonged to some secret sect. —

Emir Fejjâẓ abu Rîš was a member of the al-Mwâli tribe which dominated the right bank of the Euphrates from Palmyrena to al-Kûfa.

In the middle of the seventeenth century ʿÂna and Bîreğîk formed a part of the administrative district of ar-Raḳḳa, but Bâlis belonged to that of Aleppo (Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire* [1670], p. 178).

Ḥağği Ḥalfa, *Ǧihân numa*ʾ (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 465, writes that the island town of ʿÂna lay above the settlements of Hît and al-Ḥadîṯa on the border of the Bagdad territory. It was said to be the only settlement in this territory where olives thrive. It also enjoyed great renown as the birthplace of many scientists, saints, musicians, and experts in physics. Formerly many adherents of the Nuṣejrijje sect lived in the district, but in the seventeenth century there were only a few left.

Evlijaʾ Čelebi, *Taʾrîḫ* (Von Hammer's transl.), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 101, says that ʿÂna belonged to the province ar-Raḳḳa.

In 1807 Saʿûd eben ʿAbdalʿazîz with his Wahhâbites plundered ʿÂna and Dejr az-Zôr (Rousseau, *Pachalik de Bagdad* [1809], pp. 180f.).

APPENDIX XVII

ID OR HÎT

Tukulti Enurta II camped in 885 B. C. opposite the settlement of Id near bitumen springs (*iddû*) where there is the *ušmeta* stone and the great gods speak (Annals [Scheil, *Annales* (1909), pll. 2f.], l. 59, Scheil, *op. cit.*, p. 16). — The bitumen springs are mainly on the right bank while the naphtha bubbles out especially on the left. West and southwest of Hît are ancient stone quarries whence building material for the dams on the Euphrates was brought. Probably the yellowish limestone for the Babylonian buildings was also taken from there and we might identify it with the *ušmeta* stone. Yet *ušmeta* perhaps means hardened bitumen, which issues with a peculiar sound from many springs thereabouts. The name Id or It has some connection with *iddû*, as the Babylonian bitumen was called (*ibid.*, p. 38).

Herodotus, *History*, I, 179, refers to the town of Is at a distance of eight days from Babylon. Past this town flows a little river, also called Is, which joins the Euphrates. Its waters carry bitumen such as was used in building the fortifications of Babylon.

Isidore of Charax, *Mansiones parthicae* (Müller), p. 249, mentions the station of Ispolis — which spelling is correct and not, as printed, Aeipolis.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 19 : 4, records on the right bank of the Euphrates the town of Idikara. This name we may split up into *id* and *kara*. *Id* is the Babylonian, *ḳâr* the Aramaic-Arabic word for bitumen.

In the Talmudic literature the town of Ihi (for Idi) or Ihidacira is mentioned (Berliner, *Beiträge* [1882—1883], p. 62).

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 2 : 3, and Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III, 15, relate that in 363 A. D. the Roman army entered the town of Diacira, above which rose a church built in a fort on a high hill. The town was deserted; only a few women were left and these were killed. The Romans found plenty of corn and white salt there. Zosimus calls the town Dakira and adds that it was so completely demolished that from the left bank it seemed as if there had never been a town. — Dakira is the Syriac *da ḳîra'*, Arabic *ḏu ḳîr*, "the place where bitumen comes out of the ground."

About 525 the Persian king, Kawâdh I (488—531 A. D.), the son of Peroz, met at Ḳanṭarat al-Fajjûm King al-Ḥâreṯ ibn ʿAmr of the Kinda family (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 888). — Al-Fajjûm is supposed to have been a settlement not far from the town of Hît (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 933).

Ibn Ḳotejba relates that not long after this meeting al-Ḥâreṯ was driven out by King al-Mundir and his son Mâlek was murdered in Hît. Al-Ḥâreṯ sought refuge at Mushulân, where the Kalb tribe killed him (Abu-l-Farağ, *Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 8. p. 65).

In 637 the inhabitants of Hît as a defence against the Moslems entrenched themselves with a deep ditch. The Moslems then invested the town on all sides, preventing both exit and entrance. Pillaging on the

way, half of them marched along the Euphrates as far as Ḳarḳîsija', which place they took by force. When the inhabitants of Hît saw that the Moslems were preparing to encircle the town with another ditch and a rampart, they surrendered. After this the Moslems drew off northwestward. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 2479.)

In 659 the Caliph Moawiyah sent troops against Hît, where his rival ʿAli had a majority. On reaching Hît the troops found no adherent of ʿAli there and started for al-Anbâr. (*Ibid.*, Ser. 1, p. 3445.)

In 685 the penitents left a place called Ḳabr al-Ḥusejn and proceeded by way of al-Ḥaṣṣâṣe, al-Anbâr, aṣ-Ṣadûd, and al-Ḳajjâra to Hît, and from there to Ḳarḳîsija' (*ibid.*, Ser. 1, pp. 548—551). —

Ḳabr al-Ḥusejn is the present Kerbela. Al-Ḥaṣṣâṣa is to be sought north of Kerbela in the vicinity of al-Msajjeb of today, through which there formerly led a road to al-Anbâr (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 4, p. 328) and aṣ-Ṣadûd northwest of al-Anbâr. Al-Ḳajjâra is undoubtedly identical with the spring of an-Naffâṭa, thirty-two kilometers southeast of Hît. The penitents went from al-Anbâr to Ḳarḳîsija' along the left bank of the Euphrates.

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 187, refers to the springs of al-ʿErḳ at a distance of a few parasangs from Hît.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 652, repeats this. — The springs of Abu ʿEržâje are thirty-five kilometers east-northeast of Hît.

Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 107, writes that under the Persian rule the settlements of Hît and ʿÂnât formed the border of the cultivated region belonging to the settlers in Irak and were a part of the administrative district of al-Anbâr. When Anushirwan (Chosroes I) learned that some Arab tribe was making raids on the borders of the desert and the cultivated territory, he gave orders to restore the walls of the town of Âlus that had been built by Sâbûr ḏu al-Aktâf (Sapor II) and then to have a garrison put in to keep watch over the desert near by. He likewise ordered a fortification ditch to be dug from Hît through the frontier tract of aṭ-Ṭaff, which divided the desert from the inhabited territory.

In 906, from their camp near ad-Dimʿâne and al-Ḥâla, the Carmathians made a raid on Hît, attacked the suburbs at sunrise, plundered the boats anchored by the town, and after three days returned to the desert with three thousand camels carrying the loot, mainly wheat. The town of Hît proper, being fortified, they could not take (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 2258). — I locate their camp in the neighborhood of al-Ḳaʿara on the road Darb as-Sâʿi from Damascus to Hît (see my *Arabia Deserta*, p. 63, note 15).

ʿAli ibn ʿÎsa records (Kremer, *Einnahmebudget* [1887], p. 27) the manner in which tolls were collected at Hît in 918—919. Hît formed an administrative district from which, according to the same author (*ibid.*, p. 31), the farms as-Sikr were excluded. Thus writes Kremer referring in note 10 to al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 53, 114, where, likewise, a settlement of as-Sikr is mentioned. But this settlement lay in the administrative district of Wâseṭ and could not therefore adjoin the district of Hît. The manuscripts have "al-SKN," either with or without a dot above the *N*, or "al-SKR." The *R* is undoubtedly a corruption from *N* and we should read "Maskin." *M* in conjunction with an *L* could easily escape the copyist's attention. The settlement al-Masken, lying 133 kilometers east-northeast of Hît, formed the center of another district.

In 928 Abu Ṭâher, the Carmathian lord of al-Baḥrejn, arrived before Hît, the inhabitants of which were reinforced by the caliph's garrison. A part of Abu Ṭâher's followers, after pillaging the environs of al-Anbâr, passed over from the left to the right bank in boats, which they had seized at a place called Fam Baḳḳa below Hît. They joined Abu Ṭâher and made their first attack on Sunday, February 3. The defenders burned many of the Carmathians' siege engines. Forced to return to his camp without success, Abu Ṭâher drew off early on Monday morning and marched to the district of Raḥbat Mâlek ibn Ṭowḳ, where he took by assault that town as well as Ḳarḳîsija'. Seven months later he again tried to take Hît, but its inhabitants in the meantime had repaired and strengthened their fortifications and they repulsed his attack. He then went to al-Kûfa. (Ibn Miskawajh, *Taǧârib* [Amedroz], Vol. 1, pp. 180–183; al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* [De Goeje], p. 383; Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 8, pp. 126f.) —

The name Fam Baḳḳa (Inlet of Baḳḳa) shows that at the settlement of Baḳḳa a canal branched off from the Euphrates. This settlement lay below Hît on the left bank, hence to the southeast. It could not be far distant, since the defenders of Hît concealed their boats there. I locate it about two kilometers southeast of Hît in the al-Baḳḳ gardens, where a remnant of a canal is still visible.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 77, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 155, write that Hît is a town of medium size on the west bank of the Euphrates and is well populated and provided with a fort. There is a tomb there in which ʿAbdallâh ibn al-Mubârek was buried.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 123, says that the large walled town of Hît lies on the Euphrates not far from the desert.

The deposed vizier Abu-l-Ḳâsem, who was imprisoned in Hît for two years and five months, died in 1038—1039 (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, p. 317).

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 834, records that Hît marks the western boundary of Irak and is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. Its inhabitants were not held in high esteem, as diverse derogatory adages witness; for instance: "O Lord of the town of Hît, save us from the abyss (hell)!" or: "In the town of Hît there is the shark (*ḥût*)," for some believed that it was there where the shark assailed the prophet Jonah.

In 1056—1057 one Ḳurejš ibn Bedrân was the lord of the districts: Nahr al-Malek, Bâdûraja', al-Anbâr, Hît, Duǧejl, Nahr Bajṭar, ʿOkbara', Awâna', Tekrît, al-Môṣul, and Naṣîbîn (Ibn al-Aṯîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 9, p. 433).

In 1065—1066 Šarafaddowle Muslim ibn Ḳurejš ibn Bedrân, the lord of Mosul, received al-Anbâr and Hît in fief. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 35.)

In 1087—1088 the inhabitants of Hît subjected themselves voluntarily to the governor of Irak, who at that time was Kemâl al-Malek Abu-l-Fatḥ ad-Dahistâni. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 107.)

In 1092 Tutuš ibn Alp Arslân, the lord of Damascus, journeyed to his brother, Sultan Malekšâh, at Bagdad. On reaching Hît he learned of his brother's death and took possession of this town as well as of ar-Raḥba. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 149).

Tutuš did not remain long the lord of Hît, for the sultan Barkijâroḳ gave it in fief to Baha'addowle Ṯarwân ibn Wuhejba of the Beni ʿOḳejl

tribe, who was closely related to Sejfaddowle Ṣadaḳa. The latter would have liked to take Hît. His first attempt failed, for his son Dubejs, who was sent there, returned without having accomplished anything. Later Ṣadaḳa possessed himself of the town of Wâseṭ and then marched on Hît again, to find Ṭarwân's nephew opposing him there. But some members of the Rabî'a tribe opened the gates, Ṣadaḳa entered the town, occupied it, and in 1102—1103 appointed one of his relatives as governor. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 247; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *'Ibar* [Bûlâḳ, 1284 A.H.], Vol. 4, p. 281.)

The Nestorian *katholikos* Elias II (1111—1132) consecrated the monk Zacharias as bishop of al-Anbâr and Hît (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, Vol. 2, p. 449).

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 144, says that the walled town of Hît has the most inhabitants of all the settlements on the Euphrates and that it lies west of the Euphrates opposite Tekrît, which marks the northern boundary of Irak on the right bank of the Tigris.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 997, writes that the settlement of Hît lies on the Euphrates above al-Anbâr. There are many date palms and various other things there.

According to al-Ḳazwîni, *'Aǧâ'ib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 186, Hît is a pleasant town on the Euphrates with many trees and palms and abounding in wealth. It is blessed with a healthy climate, good soil, fresh water, and splendid land all around.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), pp. 275, 299, records (quoting Ibn Ḥawḳal) that at Hît were the remains of the residence once occupied by the Caliph Abu-l-'Abbâs al-Ḳâjem. Hît is supposed to lie east of the Euphrates, with many palm trees and fields. There is a ford across the Euphrates. Springs of bitumen and naphtha also flow forth there. The distance to al-Ḳâdesijje is eight parasangs and to al-Anbâr twenty-one parasangs. — Here the distance from Hît to al-Ḳâdesijje is confused with the distance to al-Anbâr. From Hît to the latter is eighty-five kilometers or about fourteen parasangs, while to al-Ḳâdesijje it is 245 kilometers, or about forty parasangs. Abu-l-Feda' attributes to Hît what Ibn Ḥawḳal wrote of al-Anbâr. The latter lies east of the Euphrates and Abu-l-'Abbâs built his residence there.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 465, writes that the settlement of Hît belongs to the settlement of 'Âna. It is distant eight parasangs from al-Anbâr and is famous not only for its sanctuary, where 'Abdallâh ibn al-Mubârek is buried, but also for its bitumen and naphtha springs.

APPENDIX XVIII

PIRISABORAS OR AL-ANBÂR

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 748, derives the name al-Anbâr from the storehouses erected in that town, which was also called al-Ahra' (The Granaries) on account of the provisions supplied from there to servants of the Persian kings.

The town of al-Anbâr was built (*ibid.*, Ser. 1, p. 839) by the order of Sapor I (241—272 A. D.), who gave it the name of Buzurg Sâbûr or Pêrôz Šâbûr.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIV, 2 : 9—22, writes that the extensive and populous town of Pirisaboras lay as if on an island and was enclosed by a mighty double line of fortification walls. One night in the year 363 A. D. the Romans under Emperor Julian succeeded in breaking down a strong corner tower. This made the inhabitants leave the town and flee for safety to a castle built on a steep isolated hill washed by the Euphrates. The walls of this castle were made of bricks and bitumen. The besieged defended themselves heroically, but surrendered when promised that they would be allowed to depart freely. About 2500 left the castle, the rest saving themselves in small boats which took them to the other bank of the river. The magazines in the castle were full of food and arms. The Romans took what they wanted, burning the rest and the town also.

At the end of the fourth century of our era the hermit Mar Jûnân took up his abode in the then desolate environs of al-Anbâr. After his death he was buried in the suburb of al-Anbâr and above his grave a church and a few cells were built to mark the spot. However, one day the Redeemer revealed himself to the priest Mar ʿAbdaʾ, ordering him to say prayers at Mar Jûnân's grave and then to remove his body to the church at al-Anbâr. This was accordingly done and Mar Jûnân was buried on the right of the altar not far from the font. (*Chronicle of Sairt* [Scher], *Patrologia orientalis*, Vol. 5, p. 248.)

Jâḳût, *Muʿgam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 701, says that the monastery of Mar Jûnân was also called ʿOmr Mar Jûnân. It was large, strongly fortified, and adjoined the main mosque.

Abu-l-Faḍâʾil, *Marâṣid*, (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 441, adds that this monastery was called Dejr al-Ḳurâb and lay below al-Anbâr. The Christians used to celebrate church festivals there and went there annually as if it were a pleasure resort.

Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* (Rome, 1719—1728), Vol. 3, pp. 198, 511, quoting ʿAmr, writes that about 540 A. D. ʿAbdalmesîḥ from al-Ḥîra had a monastery of St. Jonas built near al-Anbâr; this monastery, as well as that of St. Cyriac, was demolished in 852 during the reign of the Caliph al-Mutawakkel.

Al-Ḥâreṯ ibn ʿAmr resided at al-Anbâr. When he was attacked by al-Mundir, he fled before the latter to aṯ-Ṯawijje, where he was surprised by a mounted troop of the Taṛleb, Bahraʾ, and Ijâd. He therefore sought safety in the territory of the Kalb tribe. (Imrulḳajs, *Dîwân* [De Slane], p. 4.)

Chosroes the Elder set out in 531 from Babylonia (Ctesiphon) to the desert near the settlement of Abaron (al-Anbâr) five marches from the Roman frontier fort of Kyrkension (Circesium), where he divided his army, sending one part commanded by Adormaanes along the Euphrates to the Roman territory and himself leading the other part to the river Aboras (al-Ḫâbûr), there to surprise the Romans who were besieging Daras. Adormaanes crossed the Euphrates, outflanked Circesium, and pillaged Syria. (Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, III, 10 : 6—8.)

According to John of Epiphania, *Fragmenta* (Müller), p. 275, Adaarmanes crossed the Euphrates near Circesium.

Chosroes II fled at the end of 590 by way of the fortified settlements of Abbareon (al-Anbâr) and Anathon (ʿÂna) to the fort of Kyrkension (Circesium). Halting by the tenth milestone from that place, he sent a supplication to the commander. (Theophylactus Simocatta, *op. cit.*, IV, 10: 4f.)

Chosroes fled via Pêrôz Šâbûr and ʿAnât to Kirkesion, whence he asked the protection of the Emperor Maurice (*Chronica minora* [Guidi], p. 15; Nöldeke, *Syrische Chronik* [1893], p. 6).

In 752 the Caliph Abu-l-ʿAbbâs moved from al-Kûfa to al-Anbâr, where he had a residence built for himself (Elijah of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* [Brooks], Part 1, p. 173).

In 754 Abu-l-ʿAbbâs died in his manor at al-Anbâr and was buried there (al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* [Houtsma], Vol. 2, p. 434).

In 797 Harun ar-Rashid paid a visit to al-Anbâr and took up quarters in the town of Abu-l-ʿAbbâs, about half a parasang from al-Anbâr. In this town there remained many of the inhabitants brought from Khorasan. (Ad-Dînawari, *Aḫbâr* [Guirgass], p. 386.)

Returning from a pilgrimage in 803, Harun ar-Rashid stayed for some time at al-Ḥîra, whence he took the "Road of the Desert" (Ṭarîḳ al-Barrijje) to a place in the administrative district of al-Anbâr called al-Ḥurf. He quartered himself in the al-ʿOmr monastery there, where he had his vizier Ǧaʿfar ibn Jaḥja murdered. (Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 510.)

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 678, records that Harun ar-Rashid traveled from al-Ḥîra by boat to al-ʿOmr in the environs of al-Anbâr. — Al-ʿOmr is the monastery of Mar Jûnân.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 77, calls al-Anbâr a rather small town east of the Euphrates. He says that there were some remains of buildings there which the Caliph Abu-l-ʿAbbâs had restored when he settled in that place. The inhabitants were engaged in agriculture and the raising of palms and other trees. — These trees (*šaǧar*) were poplars and willows, the wood of which they used in building boats, houses, and various implements. Both poplars and willows thrive especially well northwest of al-Ambâr.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 123, calls al-Anbâr a large town, where the Caliph al-Manṣûr originally resided.

Al-Idrîsi, *Taḳwîm* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 144, writes that al-Anbâr is a small town thickly inhabited and with a market place, various workshops, and large vegetable gardens. There the ʿÎsa canal, dug by the Moslems when they wanted to reach Bagdad by boat from the Euphrates, branched off that river.

On January 13, 1258, the Mongol leaders Bâjǧu-nôjân and Sônǧâḳ crossed the Tigris and marching by the ad-Duǧejl road reached the ʿÎsa canal, where they encamped. From here Sônǧâḳ advanced as far as the neighborhood of al-Ḥarbijje. The caliph's commanders, whose camp was between Baʿḳûba' and Bâǧisra', now also crossed the Tigris and attacked Sônǧâḳ nine parasangs from Bagdad in the vicinity of al-Anbâr, not far from Manṣûr's palace above Mezraḳa. Sônǧâḳ then returned to al-Bišerijje on the Duǧejl. On January 17 the Mongol army suddenly threw itself on the Caliph's regiments, which were defeated and crushed so thoroughly that only a few soldiers escaped to the towns of al-Ḥilla and al-Kûfa. (Rašîddaddîn, *Ǧâmeʿ* [Quatremère], pp. 278, 280.)

In 1262 the Tartar commander Kerbôḳa plundered al-Anbâr and slew many of its inhabitants (al-Maḳrîzi, *Sulûk* [Quatremère's transl.], Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 171).

Pêrôz Šâbûr, otherwise al-Anbâr, was the seat of a bishop. Chabot, *Synodicon* (1902), p. 53, records that in 486 Bishop Môše' of Pêrôz Šâbûr participated in the Nestorian Synod. In 497 either Môše' or Šama' was the bishop (*ibid.*, pp. 62, 67).

In 544 one Šim'ûn was bishop at Pêrôz Šâbûr, a town of the Ṭajjaje' (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 73; Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719—1728], Vol. 2, p. 413). — Ṭajjaje' is the name by which the Syriac authors called the early Arabs.

In 576 Bishop Marai is mentioned (Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

In 605 Bishop Šim'ûn (*ibid.*, p. 214).

In 719 Bishop Joḥannan (*ibid.*, p. 603).

The Jacobites also had a bishop at al-Anbâr. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol, 4, p. 413, mentions in 629 the Jacobite Bishop Aḥa at Pêrôz Šâbûr and in the territory where Arabs (Ṭajjaje') of the an-Namrijjîn tribe were camping.

According to the metropolitan Elias of Damascus, who, in the last decade of the ninth century, was transferred from Jerusalem to Damascus, the Nestorian *katholikos* was obeyed by the bishops of Kaškar, aṭ-Ṭejrahân, Dejr Herḳal, al-Ḥîra, al-Anbâr, as-Sinn, and 'Okbara' (Assemanus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 458).

In 900 a certain Elias was bishop of al-Anbâr (Elijah of Nisibis, *op. cit.*, Part 1, p. 196). Assemanus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 258, mentions, in 987, the Nestorian Bishop Elias.

In 1028 a certain al-Mundir was bishop (*ibid.*, p. 264).

Al-Ambâr lies on the border line dividing Mesopotamia (al-Ǧezîre) and Babylonia (al-'Irâḳ, or Irak).

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 138, 155, 158, writes that the border line of Mesopotamia runs from al-Anbâr to the town of Tekrît; farther north the borders are formed by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. But even on the left of the Tigris and west of the Euphrates there are towns and villages considered a part of Mesopotamia, although lying beyond its borders. Mesopotamia proper consists of desolate regions and extensive salt marshes. From these salt is gathered by the inhabitants as well as from the plants *al-ašnân* and *al-ḳeli* (*šnân* and *ḳelw*), the ashes of which are used in the manufacture of soap. The inhabitants of Mesopotamia belong to the Rabî'a and Muḍar tribes. They breed horses, sheep, goats, and a few camels. They live for the most part in villages. In the middle of the tenth century there came to Mesopotamia various clans of the Ḳejs tribe, such as the Beni Ḳušejr, Oḳejl, Numejr, and Kilâb, who drove the original population from their settlements and districts, such as Ḥarrân, Ǧisr Manbiǧ, al-Ḫâbûr, al-Ḥânûḳa, 'Arâbân, Ḳarḳîsija', and ar-Raḥba.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 71 f., 77, 87, bounds Mesopotamia on the west by the river Euphrates, which flows past Bâlis, ar-Raḳḳa, Ḳarḳîsija', ar-Raḥba, and al-Anbâr. From here the boundary line runs to the town of Tekrît on the Tigris, whence it follows this river toward the north. West of Tekrît, as well as between it and al-Anbâr, inhabited villages are sparse except for a distance of a few miles opposite Sâmarra'.

The rest of the district is nothing but a desert, where the Rabîʿa and Muḍar tribes camp.

Al-Ḳazwîni, *ʿAǧâ'ib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 280, records that from north to south the borders of Irak extend from Mosul to ʿAbbâdân and from east to west from al-Ḳâdesijje to Ḥelwân. — Thus, according to al-Ḳazwîni, the eastern boundary of Mesopotamia is formed by a line running from Mosul to al-Ḳâdesijje.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 273, understood by Mesopotamia the territory between the Tigris and Euphrates, together with the extensive regions to the west of the Euphrates, such as ar-Raḥba, etc., which properly belong to Syria. However, he adds that the more generally recognized boundary is formed by the channel of the Euphrates where it passes the towns of Bâlis, ar-Raḳḳa, Ḳarḳîsija', ar-Raḥba, Hît, and al-Anbâr. From al-Anbâr the boundary line runs to Tekrît on the Tigris and up this river past the towns of as-Sinn and al-Ḥadîṯa as far as Mosul.

Caetani, *Annali* (Milan, 1907), Vol. 2, p. 919, note 1, makes the northern boundary of Irak a straight line from Hît on the Euphrates to Tekrît on the Tigris. Though this agrees with the statements of some Arabic geographers, it is contrary to the statements of the classical authors and, moreover, has no relation to the physiographic configuration of the ground.

APPENDIX XIX

ḤAFFÂN OR AL-ḴÂJEM

The present al-Ḳâjem on the settlers' road from al-Kûfa to al-Baṣra is on the site of the ancient Ḥaffân.

According to Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 456, Ḥaffân was a place near al-Kûfa, frequented by pilgrims and lying in a country still infested with lions. According to other authorities it lay above the settlement of al-Ḳâdesijje. Abu ʿObejd as-Sakûni wrote that the spring of Ḥaffân flowed two or three miles beyond an-Nusûḫ near a hamlet owned by the son of ʿÎsa ibn Mûsa al-Hâšemi. Like an-Nusûḫ, Ḥaffân also lay on the border known as Ṭaff al-Ḥeǧâz, across which the road from Ḥaffân led to the town of Wâseṭ. As-Sukkari said that both Ḥaffân and Ḥafijje were areas covered with brushwood, not far from the mosque of Saʿd ibn Abi Waḳḳâṣ in the territory of al-Kûfa.

Like Jâḳût, Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 359, describes the location of Ḥaffân but superficially, which makes it evident that this place by the time of these authorities had either already acquired a different name or was not known to them personally. As-Sukkari also shows but a superficial acquaintance with the region when he connects Ḥaffân with Ḥafijje, locating them near the mosque of Saʿd ibn Abi Waḳḳâṣ, which was actually situated on the Pilgrim Road south of al-Muṛîṭa in a scorched desert where no brush is to be found. Ḥafijje was evidently mistaken by

Jâḳût for Ḫaffân, because it was Ḫafijje and not Ḫaffân that had to be traversed by the pilgrims whenever the road north of al-Ḳâdesijje was inundated.

Of much importance to us are the statements of as-Sakûni, especially where he defines the location of the settlement of an-Nusûḫ as being almost ten miles east of al-Ḳâdesijje on a road to Ḫaffân (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 782). (The hamlet of an-Nusûḫ I identify with the Umm ʿAṣâfîr ruins, fifteen kilometers southeast of al-Ḳâdesijje.) From al-Ḳâdesijje to Ḫaffân, therefore, according to as-Sakûni was twelve or thirteen miles. East in this instance, however, means southeast. Both the location and distance in this case agree with the statement of Jaḥja ibn Majmûn, a native of al-Ḳâdesijje (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, p. 295). According to him Ibn Maʿḳel, in 762 A. D., occupied al-Ḳâdesijje in order to block the passage of the inhabitants of al-Kûfa who were seeking to go to the rebel Ibrâhîm at al-Baṣra. They were in the habit of going by way of al-Ḳâdesijje and al-ʿOḏejb to Wâdi as-Sibâʿ and then, turning to the left, of reaching al-Baṣra through the desert. In this manner twelve men of al-Kûfa had come as far as the Wâdi as-Sibâʿ, where a man from the settlement of Šerâf, two miles from Wâḳiṣa, saw them and at once informed Ibn Maʿḳel. The latter went in pursuit and came up with them at Ḫaffân, four parasangs from al-Ḳâdesijje.

But there are also other records which oblige us to seek Ḫaffân southeast of al-Ḳâdesijje and on the border of the desert.

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 390, states the distance from al-Ḳâdesijje to Ḫaffân as six miles, but in so doing confuses this distance with that from al-Ḳâdesijje to al-ʿOḏejb. That Ḫaffân lies southeast of al-Ḳâdesijje on the road to al-Baṣra is also shown by the fact that the Carmathian leader Abu Ṭâher marched from Ḫaffân in a northwesterly direction to al-Ḳâdesijje, where he faced about in order to block the way of the pilgrims fleeing north. He then overtook the latter at al-ʿOḏejb, at a distance of six miles (*op. cit.*, pp. 389f.).

Caetani, *Annali* (1907), Vol. 2, p. 921, note 6 *b*, writes that al-Masʿûdi (*loc. col.*) states that the road from Arabia to al-Kûfa led by way of Ḫaffân, in the neighborhood of which the princes of the Laḫm dynasty had their famous manors called al-Ḫawarnaḳ. (In this connection Caetani also refers to aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 851.) — The texts of neither al-Masʿûdi nor aṭ-Ṭabari support Caetani's conclusion in this regard.

In 906—907 Ḫaffân (ʿArîb, *Ṣila* [De Goeje], p. 17) was traversed by a detachment of the caliph's army on its march to punish the lord of the Carmathians, Zikrwajh, who was trying to escape with the captured and robbed pilgrims from the station of Fejd by way of an-Nibâǧ and Ḫufejjer abi Mûsa al-Aš'ari to al-Baṣra.

Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 9, pp. 411 f., relates that in 1026 the Beni Ḫafâǧe pillaged al-Ǧâmiʿajn and the vicinity. The governor of this territory, Ibn Mazjad, overtook them at the desert fort of Ḫaffân. Dispersing them and taking a great deal of property from them, he laid siege to the fort, which he captured and demolished. He wanted to destroy the tower (*ḳâjem*), built of bricks and lime, but relented when its owner, Rabiʿa ibn Muṭâʿ, presented him with large gifts. This tower (*al-ḳâjem*) is said to have been a landmark for ships in the time when the sea reached as far as an-Neǧef. —

All these statements show that the old Ḥaffân is to be sought at the present hamlet of al-Ḳâjem.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 2, p. 2, visited the place on his journey from an-Neǧef by way of al-Ḥawarnaḳ to al-Baṣra and calls it Ḳâjem al-Wâṯeḳ. — It seems that the Caliph al-Wâṯeḳ (842—847 A.D.) had a mosque built there, of which there was standing in Ibn Baṭṭûṭa's time only a minaret in the center of the demolished settlement. After this prominent spire both the settlement and the vigorous spring gushing out there were called al-Ḳâjem, the old name Ḥaffân having disappeared altogether. This is confirmed by Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 382, who says that al-Ḳâjem, a structure in Ḥaffân, gave its name to this settlement situated in the desert of al-Kûfa. It is also possible that the Caliph al-Wâṯeḳ built the mosque on the site of an old monastery and al-Ḳâjem was a mere remnant of a Christian church or Persian watchtower.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 428, writes that Dejr Ḥenna is an old monastery in al-Ḥîra opposite a very high minaret resembling a watchtower and that this tower is called al-Ḳâjem. He adds that in his opinion the tower of al-Ḳâjem is identical with the one called Ḳâjem Ḥaffân.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 684, quoting Abu-l-Farağ al-Iṣfahâni, says that the tower al-Ḳâjem al-Aḳṣa' resembles the tower of Eṣba' Ḥaffân in the vicinity of al-Kûfa. Furthermore (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 291), Jâḳût knew that Eṣba' Ḥaffân was a large building near al-Kûfa, erected by the Persians to serve as a watchtower. This is repeated by Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 71.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 323, describes Ḥaffân as an area on the road leading to al-Jemâma, which was swampy, overgrown with brush, and full of lions. According to a poem of 'Amr ibn Kulṯûm the Taṛleb Arabs were said often to have camped between Ḥaffân and al-'Oḏejb.

The poet al-Aḫṭal (*Dîwân* [Salhani], p. 294), himself a Taṛlebi, used to camp at Ḥaffân. —

Al-Ḳâjem lies on the southwest border of vast swamps where wild beasts of various kinds could easily have hidden. Furthermore, for a distance of fifty kilometers west of the Euphrates there is plenty of water, although of a brackish taste. In the numerous flats and vales of this lowland the *ṭarfa* forms bushy clumps, above which rise wild palm trees with leaves luxuriant and almost black or else dry and dark gray. From their color these are called *as-sumr* (the black) by the natives. The undergrowth and the shallow pools could have afforded the wild animals shelter as well as water.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 359, quotes from his informant al-'Urani that from al-Baṣra to the 'Ajn Ǧamal is 30 miles, thence to the 'Ajn Ṣajd 30 miles, thence to al-Aḫâdîr 30 miles, thence to Uḳur 30 miles, thence to Salmân 20 miles, thence to La'la' 20 miles, thence to Bâreḳ 20 miles, thence to Mesǧed Sa'd 40 miles, thence to al-Muṛîṭa 30 miles, thence to al-'Oḏejb 24 miles, thence to al-Ḳâdesijje 6 miles, and thence to al-Kûfa 45 miles. — From Salmân to al-Kûfa then, according to al-'Urani, is 185 miles, or 314 kilometers; in reality it is about 160 kilometers. The different distances cited, therefore, are not worthy of consideration.

From al-Ḳâdesijje to al-Kûfa, according to al-ʿUrani, is 45 miles, or 76 kilometers. In reality, it is only 30 kilometers, or 17 miles.

From al-Ḳâdesijje to al-ʿOḏejb is 8 kilometers; according to al-ʿUrani it is 6 miles, which might agree well enough if we were to count one and a half kilometers as equal to one mile.

From al-ʿOḏejb (ʿAjn as-Sejjed) to al-Muṛîṭa is 36 kilometers; according to al-ʿUrani it is 24 miles; this would agree, too, counting one and a half kilometer to a mile.

From al-Muṛîṭa to Mesǧed Saʿd is 40 miles according to al-ʿUrani, although the distance from there to al-Msejǧed, as the latter place is now called, would actually be only 23 miles.

The location of the station of Bâreḳ is not known. Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 463, makes Bâreḳ a dividing point between al-Ḳâdesijje and al-Baṣra. However, I think that *ǧudd* (well) is the proper spelling, not *ḥadd* (border, dividing point), for al-Ḳâdesijje has never been the center of a political administration and consequently Bâreḳ could not divide two administrative districts. But on the other hand there was a road from al-Baṣra to al-Ḳâdesijje by way of the station of Bâreḳ, and, since each desert station had a watering place, we may safely assume that this was represented at Bâreḳ by a well (*ǧudd*).

From al-Msejǧed to Salmân is sixty kilometers.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 1f., journeyed from Mešhed ʿAli by al-Ḫawarnaḳ to the station of Ḳâjem al-Wâṭeḳ, a demolished settlement with a shrine, of which only the tower was left. From there he proceeded along the bank of the Euphrates through swampy, brush-covered land called al-ʿIdâr, in which the semi-*fellâḥîn* of the Maʿâdi clan were hiding; and then farther on to al-Baṣra. — The swampy stretch of al-ʿIḏâr is at present known as al-Ṛadâri; instead of ʿIdâr, Ṛiḏâr should have been printed. The name of the Maʿâdi clan is identical with the name of the Maʿdân clan, settled both on the right and left banks of the Euphrates.

APPENDIX XX

AHAWA, MASCHANA, AND MESČÎN

The position of Mesčîn is of great importance and explains why a settlement like as-Sumejče subsequently arose and flourished here in the neighborhood of the ruins. At this point in ancient times as today two roads, one leading westward and one northwestward, branched off from the transport road following the right bank of the Tigris. The site of Mesčîn was and now is at an important crossing, and I see in it the Hebraic Ahawa and the classical Scenae, or Maschana.

Esdras (8: 15, 21, 31) writes that he assembled the Jews, who were to return with him from Babylonia to Palestine, by a river flowing in the direction of Ahawa; there they stayed three days, fasting. — Apparently this river or canal flowing in the direction of Ahawa is to be sought on the borders of Babylonia proper, because the region which

the Jews had to cross beyond that point was said to have been very dangerous. The word *ahawa* signifies a settlement consisting of tents, the same as *skenai* or *maschana*. The Israelites could have returned to their motherland either along the Euphrates or through central Mesopotamia. The first route was shorter but far more difficult and dangerous than the second. There was no corn ripe as yet in early April on the Euphrates, and the Jews would therefore have found neither food for themselves nor pasture for their animals. Moreover, the chiefs of the diferent settlements along the Euphrates, always more or less independent, would undoubtedly have troubled them with their demands. The chiefs from the surrounding country would not have hesitated to fall upon a body of strangers not protected by Persian soldiery and who, as they knew or at least imagined, had plenty of money and supplies.

Esdras himself (8: 31) points out the danger threatening him and his people on their way home. Disliking, however, to ask the Persians for military protection, he put his trust in God alone and then, most likely, chose the longer but easier and safer route through central Mesopotamia. This route led first along the right bank of the Tigris northward nearly as far as the Mosul of today; then it turned west along the foot of the northern mountain range and went through the region between the desert and the settled country as far as the Euphrates, which it reached at the ford of Thapsacus in the neighborhood of the present Bâlis ruins. If Esdras chose this route, then his starting point must have been our Mesčîn, the classical Scenae and Hebraic Ahawa. The river flowing towards Ahawa is the Duğejl canal of the Arabs.

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 1: 8, 26f., leads us to the same point. According to him the neighbors of Babylonia, on the side of Adiabene and Gordyaea, are the Scenitan Arabs (Skenites), whose camps are south of the mountain range in that part of Mesopotamia which lacks water and is therefore sterile. Between the Euphrates and the Tigris flows the so-called Royal River and then the Aborras, which intersects the territory of Anthemusia and that of the Scenitae, now (in Strabo's time) called Malii. Through their part of the desert a commercial road from Syria leads to Seleucia and Babylon. The merchants cross the Euphrates at Anthemusia, a place in Mesopotamia. Beyond the river, at a distance of four *schoeni*, lie Bambyce, also called Edessa and Hierapolis, where the Syrian goddess Atargatis is worshiped. From the ford a road leads through the desert as far as Scenae, a town of considerable size on the Babylonian border and built near an irrigation canal. The journey from the Euphrates ford to Scenae takes twenty-five days. The merchants travel on camels and have their roadside inns supplied with water usually kept in cisterns but also brought from elsewhere. The Scenitae are friendly, demanding only small payments; just on this account the merchants avoid the river banks, preferring to go through the desert and thus to leave the river almost three marches on their right. For the chiefs along both sides of the river, in a region not very fertile though cultivated, are independent of each other, and each demands a payment — seldom a moderate one — when his domain is crossed. It is very difficult among so many and such greedy people to introduce a common standard of duties favorable to the merchants. The distance from Seleucia to Scenae is eighteen *schoeni*. —

Strabo's statements are not sufficiently clear. According to him the Scenitan Arabs camped south of the mountain range in the southern part of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Babylonia adjoining them on the southeast. His Royal River was the Arabian Balîḫ, or classical Balichus (see above, pp. 325f.). His informant pronounced it Malichus and translated it by the word Royal. The Aborras was al-Ḫâbûr. Anthemusia was not situated above the Euphrates ford but far to the east of it. Bambyce is not identical with Edessa. If the caravans marched from the ford to Scenae in a straight course, they would have been at a distance of three marches from the Euphrates at three places only. For a much longer time they would have traveled much nearer, sometimes no more than thirty kilometers from the river. In such places they might of course have been molested by the chiefs of the settlements along the stream and deprived of the advantages of the march through the desert. No account of a great transport route through the desert three marches northeast of the middle Euphrates has been preserved, but we know the route of the old transport road northeast of the Euphrates along the southern foot of the mountain range and along the dividing line between the desert and settled territory. In its eastern section this road turned towards the river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr, reaching the latter about where the al-Ḥaḍr ruins are situated. From here one branch led east to the ancient town of Ashur, the present Ḳal'at Šerḳât and another through the valley of aṭ-Ṭarṭâr in a south-southeasterly direction. The latter, leaving the valley below the al-Žedma ruins and avoiding all rough *še'ibân*, turned east-southeast, leading finally to what are now the Mesčîn ruins. In my opinion the commercial road mentioned by Strabo may be identified with this one, as only in this manner can the origin and the flourishing state of the town of Hatra (al-Ḥaḍr) be explained. The different stations from al-Ḥaḍr south-southeast are still visible, the surviving ruins being called *benijje* (building). From Seleucia to Mesčîn is eighty-five kilometers, hence fourteen, not eighteen *schoeni*.

Asinius Quadratus mentions (Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* [Meineke], p. 437), in connection with the war between the Emperor Septimius Severus and the Parthians, the town of Maschana, situated opposite the region of the Scenitan Arabs. — This agrees with the location of our Mesčîn, since the Emperor Septimius Severus, having twice besieged the town of Hatra, could proceed from Mesčîn along aṭ-Ṭarṭâr to al-Ḥaḍr.

Bêt Maškene' as early as 224 A. D. was the residence of a Christian bishop (*Chronicle of Arbela* [Sachau's transl.], p. 62).

Sometime after 422 the Persian king, Varhân, robbed the church of Ḳârvân in "MŠK" of its wonderful jewels, which the Roman king had sent by the Bishop Acacius to honor Varhân's father, King Yezdegerd (Hoffmann, *Auszüge* [1880], pp. 40f.; Braun, *Persische Märtyrer* [1915], p. 165). — The context shows that "MŠK" is identical with the older Bêt Maškene' and the Arabic Maskin or Mesčîn. The church of Ḳârvân was perhaps built by the merchants who imported and exported goods there by land and water.

Al-Aḫṭal, *Dîwân* (Salhani), p. 79, refers to Maskin.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 529, states that Maskin is a place near Awâna' by the ad-Duǧejl canal near the monastery of al-Ǧâṭulîḳ.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 3, p. 98, adds that Maskin is the name of the tract where Awâna' is situated and that it belongs to the administrative district of Duǧejl. A settlement arose near the grave of Muṣ'ab, and the monastery of al-Ǧâṭulîḳ is not far away.

The ruin mounds of Uwâne and Ṣrîfîn or Eṣrîfîn are visible to the east of Mesčîn.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 384, asserts that Ṣarîfûn is a large settlement overgrown with trees and near 'Okbara' and Awâna' on the bank of the Duǧejl canal. When a call goes out there for prayers, it can be heard in Awâna' as well as in 'Okbara'. In the space between these and Maskin, 'Abdalmalek had an encounter with his opponent Muṣ'ab. — This is corrected by Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 154f., who says that Ṣarîfûn lies above the settlement of Awâna' near the old channel of the Tigris called aš-Šuṭejṭa and extends as far as the farms of Awâna'. 'Okbara' is opposite Awâna' on the other bank of aš-Šuṭejṭa. The Duǧejl canal lies at a considerable distance from it.

APPENDIX XXI

BIRTU AND TEKRÎT

The name Tekrît appears in the Babylonian chronicle preserved in the British Museum Tablet, No. 21,901, lines 16—22 (Gadd, *Fall of Nineveh* [1923], p. 38). In the year 615 B. C. Nabopolassar, king of Babylonia, attacked the city of Ashur (Ḳal'at Šerḳât) but was compelled to flee down the right bank of the Tigris as far as the city of Takrîtajn. He made his army go up into the citadel (*birtu*) of Takrîtajn, where he was besieged. For ten days the king of Assyria made assaults on them, but did not capture the city and returned to his country. — As the citadel (*birtu*) was the strongest and most important part of the city of Tekrît, which was situated on two hills (therefore the dual form Takrîtajn is used), the city itself was called Birtu by the Assyrians (Limestone Tablet [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 2., pl. 67], obverse, ll. 8f.; Rost, *Keilschrifttexte* [1893], Vol. 1, p. 56; Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* [1839—1900], Vol. 2, pp. 5, 11, 29). Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 18: 9, who also knew of the town of Birtha at about the point where the Tekrît of today is situated, follows the Assyrian usage.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XX, 7: 17, relates of Sapor II (309—379 A. D.) that, having already possessed himself of several smaller forts, he laid siege to the ancient fort of Virta, which according to common belief was built by Alexander of Macedon on the remotest frontier of Mesopotamia. It was walled in by mighty ramparts provided with towers and was very difficult of approach. Unable to capture the town by force or friendly offers and, having suffered heavier losses than he himself inflicted, Sapor finally withdrew from Virta without success.

Al-Ja'ḳûbi, *Ta'rîḫ* (Houtsma), Vol. 1, p. 258, writes that the Ijâd tribe emigrated from al-Jemâma to al-Ḥîra, where it owned the manors

of al-Ḥawarnaḳ, as-Sadîr, and Bâreḳ. Later they were established by Kisra' in the old town of Tekrît on the banks of the Euphrates. — The inhabitants of Tekrît (Takârte) were soon arabicized. This is easy to understand, as their town became the marketing center for the nomads between the middle Euphrates and Tigris after the decay of al-Ḥaẓr.

The inhabitants of Tekrît joined the Jacobites. Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* (Abbeloos and Lamy), Vol. 2, cols. 67, 85, relates that Barṣawma, after his expulsion from Nisibis (449 A. D.), tried to convert them to Nestorianism, but without success.

Tekrît became the seat of the *maphrian*, or representative of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, who administered the whole Jacobite East.

Bishop Aḥûdemmeh (559—575) built not far from Tekrît, at a transport road where there was no water, the monastery of Ga'tani (*ibid.*, cols. 99, 101; Aḥûdemmeh, *History* [Nau], p. 32). Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* (Rome, 1719—1728), Vol. 2, p. 414, speaks of two monasteries built by Bishop Aḥûdemmeh at Ğawîka and 'Ajn Ḳena'.

The first *maphrian* in Tekrît was Marûta' (629 A.D.). At first only ten, but, soon after, twelve, bishoprics were subordinated to him (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 413; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 123; Elijah of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* [Brooks], Part 1, p. 127; Denḥa, *History of Marûta'* [Nau], p. 79).

The Moslems gained possession of Tekrît in 637. Al-Belâḏori, *op. cit.*, p. 333, narrates that both life and property were guaranteed to the inhabitants of the fort of Tekrît. They are said to have received a written agreement to that effect, but it was burnt during a hostile attack some time later. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2474—2477.)

According to Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, cols. 123, 125, 131, the *maphrian* Marûta' (629—649) surrendered the fort of Tekrît to the Moslems. This *maphrian* built in the fort of Tekrît a cathedral church, where he was buried.

Barjesu (669—683) built in Tekrît the church of the holy martyrs Sergius and Bacchus; later it became the second cathedral church. Besides that he founded near Tekrît the monastery of Bêt 'Urba' (Assemanus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 422, 429; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, cols. 133, 143, 145). — Bêt 'Urba' may be identical with the present al-Arba'în.

The *maphrian* Denḥa (after 684), desiring to be independent, consecrated bishops without the consent of the patriarch. On account of this he was deposed, incarcerated in a monastery, and not until the decease of the Patriarch Julian was he installed again. (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 448.) He built a new church of St. Aḥûdemmeh, which was made the third cathedral church (Assemanus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 430; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 147).

In 767 the Nestorians built for themselves a small church outside the ramparts but close to Tekrît and remained in it until the end of the thirteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 157; Assemanus, *op. cit.*, p. 432). In 817 the Jacobite patriarch, Cyriac, died in Mosul. His body was brought in a boat to Tekrît and there buried in the great church of the fort. (*Syriac Chronicle* [Brooks], pp. 578 f.)

Ibn Roste, *A'lâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 106, says that Tekrît belongs to the administrative district of Mosul.

In 939 the Caliph ar-Râḍi and the Turkish commander Bağkam of Bagdad marched against Nâṣeraddowle, who was approaching Mosul. The caliph remained at Tekrît, while his army encountered Nâṣeraddowle near the settlement of Kuḥejl. (Elijah of Nisibis, *op. cit.*, Part 1, p. 210.)

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 155, relates that both in Bagdad and Tekrît he often met the priest Abu Zakarijja' Denḥa. In the church of al-Ḥaḍra' in Tekrît he often discoursed with him on the Holy Trinity and other Christian teachings. — Abu Zakarijja' was, under the name of Denḥa, *maphrian* from 912 to 932.

Al-Masʿûdi, *Murûǧ* (De Meynard and De Courteille), Vol. 2, p. 329, writes that most of the Jacobites live in Irak in the vicinity of Tekrît and that this town is also the residence of their bishop.

According to al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 77, Tekrît is a town on the west side of the Tigris. Christians comprise the great majority of the inhabitants.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 156, 168, states that Tekrît, the inhabitants of which are largely Christians, stands on a huge steep hill on the right bank of the Tigris. On the summit of this hill is a place called The Fort. It is a stronghold enclosed by stout walls built long ago. In the town there are a number of old churches and monasteries, erected soon after the death of Jesus and his disciples. They had not changed greatly, as they were solidly constructed of hard material. The largest church is that of al-Ḥaḍra', built of gypsum, bricks, and stone. In 932 Ibn Ḥawḳal saw below Tekrît the remains of a former bridge built of bricks.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 115, 123, names among the towns belonging to the administrative district of Sâmarra' the following: 'Okbara', Ajwâna', Dimimma, al-Anbâr, Hît, and Tekrît; from the last named, the story goes, much sesame and woolen cloth was exported. The Christians had a church there. to which they made pilgrimages.

Aš-Šâbušti, *Dijârât* (Codex berolinensis), fol. 73v., describes the monastery of St. John close by Tekrît. It was a large inhabited edifice, and contained many rooms and monks. Pilgrims came to it from all parts. Among its possessions were fields, gardens, and vineyards. It is supposed to have been the property of the Nestorians, and the Melchite monk ʿAbdûn had a cell by its gate. ʿAbdûn lived there, and the monastery was named after him. Rooms for the guests were built extending sideways from the monastery. — Aš-Šâbušti is not justified in calling ʿAbdûn a Melchite or in ascribing the monastery to the Nestorians.

Another monastery, al-ʿAğğâğ, according to aš-Šâbušti, *op. cit.*, fols. 133 r. f., lay between Tekrît and Hît. It was inhabited by many monks. Not far off bubbled out a spring filling a pond where throve black fish which were praised for their savory taste. The monastery was surrounded by field and vegetable gardens irrigated by the spring. — Perhaps the ruins near Ḳwêrât ʿAmar and the natural well of al-Fwâra, 35 kilometers northeast of Hît on the road to Tekrît, are the remains of this monastery.

When writing of al-ʿAğğâğ, Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 678, gives *ḥuṣn* (fort) instead of *ḥaḍar* (vegetable gardens). Thus of the vegetable gardens he made a fort, while Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 435, converted the fort into a fortified monastery.

In 1017 the *maphrian* Ignatius, stealing the church utensils and ornaments, fled with them to Bagdad, where he became a Moslem (Elijah of Nisibis, *op. cit.*, Part 1, pp. 226f.; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, cols. 287, 289).

In 1089, in the time of the *maphrian* John (1075—1106), the governor of Tekrît had the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus on the upper hill demolished. The church of St. Aḥûdemmeh was looted, the Christians dispersed, and the *maphrian* fled to Mosul. (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, cols. 305, 309; Assemanus, *op. cit.*, p. 448.)

The *maphrian* Dionysius (1112—1142) returned to Tekrît, collected the believers, and repaired the churches. He was buried in the church of St. George under the altar of Barṣawma, which he had built. (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, cols. 317, 331; Assemanus, *op. cit.*, p. 449.)

After 1153 the *maphrian* no longer resided in Tekrît. The number of Christians decreased, and the Moslems increased. (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, col. 337.)

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, pp. 147f., records that Tekrît is in the administrative district of the political department of Mosul. It lies west of the Tigris opposite the town of al-Ḥaḍr. A great part of the inhabitants of Tekrît are Christians. The houses are built of gypsum and bricks.

At the beginning of June, 1182, Tekrît was visited by the traveler Ibn Ǧubejr. He says (*Riḥla* [De Goeje], p. 232) that Tekrît is a large town with extensive suburbs, wide streets, much frequented markets, and many sanctuaries. Very numerous are the inhabitants, who excel in honesty, cheating nobody when selling by weight. The Tigris flows deep beneath Tekrît and above it rises a stout fort, the most important part of the town, which is protected by mighty bastions, already crumbling in many places. Tekrît is one of the towns formerly famous.

In 1218 the *maphrian* Ignatius visited Tekrît, the seat of his predecessors, in order to see the town which had been the capital of the Orient. Its inhabitants came out to meet him with great rejoicing, carrying gospels and crosses on their spears, and singing Syriac and Arabic hymns. This welcome incensed the Moslems to such a degree that they cast the *maphrian* into jail and fined the people of Tekrît twenty thousand gold pieces. The *maphrian* fled from Tekrît to al-Ḥâbûr (Ḳarḳîsija') and was later elected Jacobite patriarch. (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, col. 389; Assemanus. *op. cit.*, pp. 450f.)

The *maphrian* Barhebraeus (*op. cit.*, cols. 447) relates that he himself visited Tekrît in 1277. About 1365 the *maphrian* Athanase, traveling to Bagdad, approached Tekrît. The Christians came out to meet him, rejoicing greatly, and carried him into the town on the old *maphrian* seat. (*Ibid.* col. 527.)

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 2, p. 133, writes that the great town of Tekrît has large suburbs, fine markets, and many mosques. Its inhabitants are known for their good qualities. The huge fort stands on the bank of the Tigris. There are many ancient buildings in the town, which is enclosed by a wall.

Ad-Dimišḳi, *Nuḫba* (Mehren), p. 190, remarks that Tekrît lies on a high hill west of the Euphrates. The river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr, which originates in the river al-Hermâs and empties into the Tigris, flows by the town. — Tekrît is not situated west of the Euphrates, but on the right bank of

the Tigris. The river aṭ-Ṭarṭâr flows fifty kilometers west of Tekrît and never emptied into the Tigris.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 289, states that Tekrît is one of the last towns in Mesopotamia in the direction of Irak. It lies west of the Tigris in the Mosul desert. The distance from there to Mosul is six days' march.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 209, records that the correct name of the town is Tekrît. It is a famous settlement between Mosul and Bagdad, thirty parasangs from the latter and on the west bank of the Tigris, which washes one side of its stout fort.

Thevenot, *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1727), Vol. 2, pp. 202 f., came to Tekrît, the sixth caravan station from Mosul. Twice he tried unsuccessfully to enter the town, but could not climb the steep rocks to the walls. Therefore he examined only the houses on the water front. They were stately enough, all being built of stone. He learned merely that once it was a great town, of which now nothing remained but ruins and an insignificant hamlet. The town stood on a high cliff, undoubtedly for protection against the spring floods of the Tigris.

Tavernier, *Les six voyages* (Paris, 1679), Vol. 1, p. 206, describes the town of Tegrit in Mesopotamia. There was a demolished fort there with only a few chambers intact. The river Tigris forms the moat of this town both on the north and east. On the west and south the steep declivity under the fort was lined with hewn stones. The Arabs related that in olden times it was the greatest fort in Mesopotamia, although two hills near by rise higher than it. The Christians lived about a quarter of a mile from the town, where the ruins of a church and a tower could still be seen, their extent showing that it must have been a building of great size

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 434, writes that the administrative district, or *liwa* (subdivision of a vilayet), of Tekrît forms the remotest boundary of Mesopotamia. The town of Tekrît, six days' march from Mosul, is situated on the right bank of the Tigris. The fort of this town, built by Šâbûr ibn Ardešîr Bâbek, was in ruins. Close by a naphtha spring bubbles out.

Evlija' Čelebi, *Ta'rîḫ* (Von Hammer's transl.), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 97, mentions Tekrît in the province of Mosul.

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The letters NA *refer to the author's map of Northern Arabia.*

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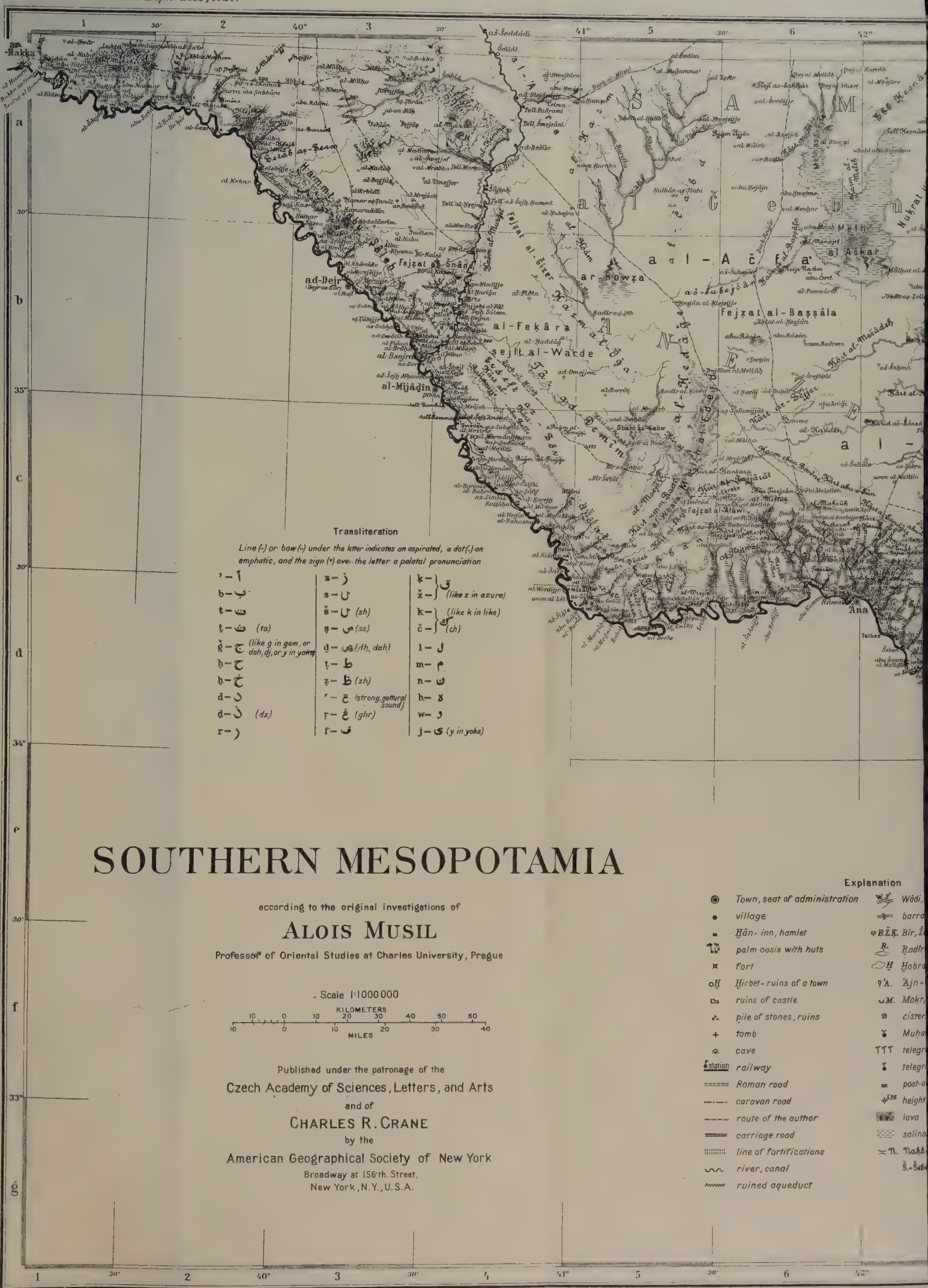
ERRATA

p. 34, note 23, line 5: *for* 1169–70 *read* 1159–60.
p. 106, Fig. 34: *southwest is at the top.*
p. 110, line 1: *for* southeast *read* southwest.
p. 123, line 34: *for* northeastern *read* northwestern.
p. 124, line 29: *for* west-northwest *read* east-northeast.
p. 124, line 34: *for* left *read* right.



SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

according to the original investigations of

ALOIS MUSIL

Professor of Oriental Studies at Charles University, Prague

Scale 1:1000000

KILOMETERS 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60

MILES 10 0 10 20 30 40

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Explanation

- Town, seat of administration
- village
- Ḫân- inn, hamlet
- palm oasis with huts
- fort
- Ḫirbet- ruins of a town
- ruins of castle
- pile of stones, ruins
- tomb
- cave
- station railway
- Roman road
- caravan road
- route of the author
- carriage road
- line of fortifications
- river, canal
- ruined aqueduct

Wâdi
barra
B.Ž.Ḫ. Bîr, Ž
R. Radîr
Ḫ Ḫabra
ʾA. ʾAjn-
M. Mokr,
cister
Muḥa
TTT telegr
telegr
post-o
536 height
lava
salina
N. Nahr
Š.-Šat

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Tekrit
Sâmarra
Tummûm
al-Kâẓimên
BARDÂD
BABYLON
al-Hillâ
Below
Hît
Nukrat al-Uwên
Hôr Mwejd
Jebel Hamrîn
Jebel Makhûl
Jebel Sinjâr
Jebel Abyaḍ
Jebel Bishrî
Jebel Ḥamrîn
Jebel Makhûl
Jebel Sinjâr
Wâdi Tharthâr
Wâdi Ḥauran
Wâdi Ḥauran
Wâdi Tharthâr
Nahr Dijâla
Nahr Dijâla
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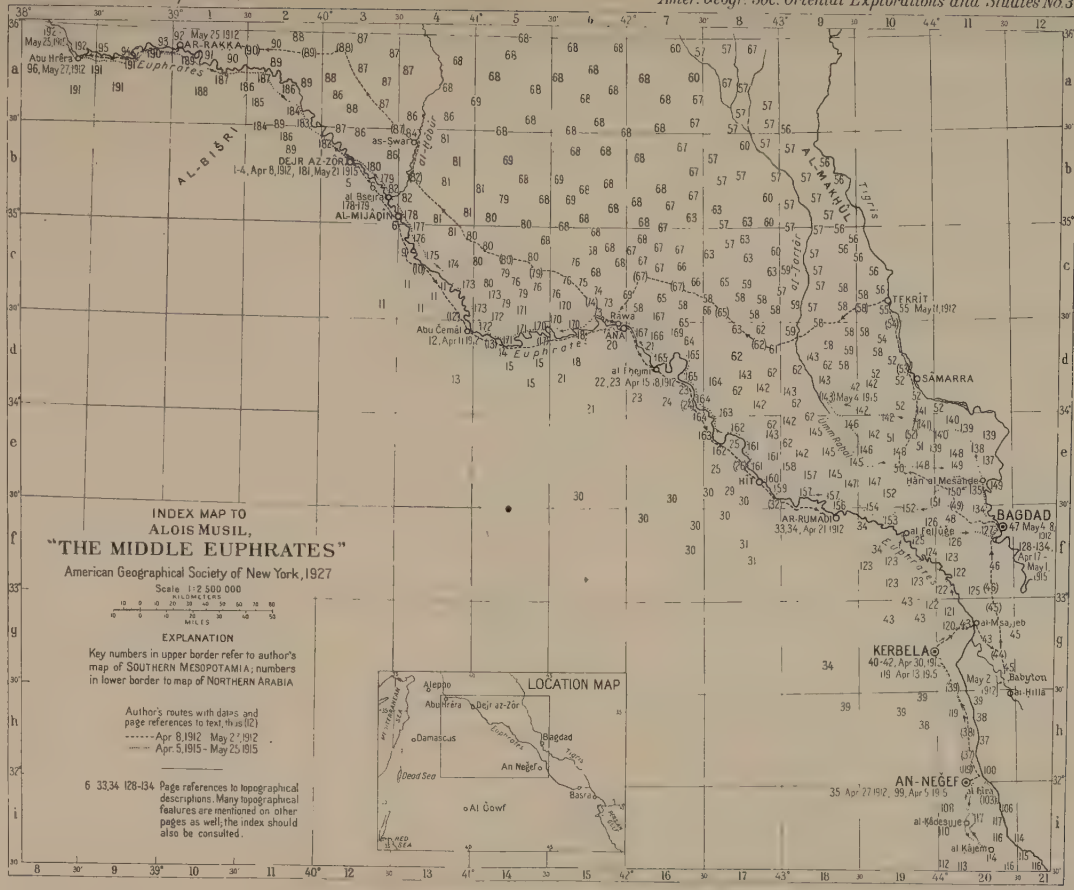
INDEX MAP TO
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KILOMETERS
MILES
EXPLANATION
Key numbers in upper border refer to author's map of SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA; numbers in lower border to map of NORTHERN ARABIA
Author's routes with dates and page references to text, thus (12)
Apr 8,1912 May 27,1912
Apr. 5,1915 - May 25,1915
6 33,34 128-134 Page references to topographical descriptions. Many topographical features are mentioned on other pages as well; the index should also be consulted.
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Aleppo
Abu Hrera
Deir az-Zor
Damascus
Baghdad
An Nefud
Dead Sea
Al Gowf
Basra
Euphrates
Tigris
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Khabur
Wadi Tharthar
Euphrates
Tigris
Diyala
Hammam
AL-MAHUL

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